

NICOLAUS OLAHUS

EPISTULAE

PARS I

1523–1533

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NICOLAUS OLAHUS

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EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI

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## PREFACE

The letters of Miklós Oláh have been known to Hungarian and international research for a long time, at least a large number of them: some of his letters were already published more than two hundred years ago, in 1805 by György Pray in his critical edition *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*.<sup>1</sup> Although Pray was aware of Oláh's so-called *Leveleskönyv* (*Book of Letters*) (originally preserved as *Epistolae familiares*), which Oláh had collated himself, he could not have been familiar with it, since it was latent at the time and only surfaced several decades later. In the end, Arnold Ipolyi, president of class II of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, published the collection under the title *Oláh Miklós levelezése* (*The Correspondence of Miklós Oláh*) in 1875.<sup>2</sup>

Ipolyi's text edition is a fair edition of the source, bearing all the marks of the editing traditions of its time: on the one hand, it uses modern theories of text edition, but also methods that can be considered outdated today. He standardized the orthography of the text and placed the letters in a chronological order; however, he did not add notes on his modifications (either at the micro or at the macro level), and the edition does not have a critical apparatus or historical-explanatory notes, either. These deficiencies on their own might not call for a new edition, did they not conceal the true nature of Oláh's texts. Oláh namely selected his correspondence when he put together his collection, he rewrote the letters and occasionally censored them, and these modifications can be traced in the manuscript, revealing Oláh's editing methods and his different modes of *self-fashioning*.<sup>3</sup> However, the readers of the Ipolyi edition do not learn of any of this. And as it usually goes, the edition overrode the manuscript, which has not been handled by anyone since the edition was published, and so Oláh's disposition as a writer has also been unknown to Oláh research. In addition, Oláh's letter corpus has another segment that has been left out of Ipolyi's edition, i.e. the many letters that Oláh either did not select for his collection, or the ones written after it had been completed. While *Leveleskönyv* (*Epistolae familiares*) contains the correspondence between 1527 and 1539, Oláh's letters encompassing his later works, his career and politics in Hungary of almost 30 years (except for the publication of a few letters) have been unpublished, and so they have been virtually unknown to research as well.

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<sup>1</sup> PRAY 1805. | <sup>2</sup> IPOLYI 1875. | <sup>3</sup> On his intentions behind the edition, his editing processes and censoring see SZILÁGYI 2015a.

To change this, the editors of the series *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából (Monumenta ecclesiastica tempora innovatae in Hungaria religionis)*<sup>4</sup> and *Monumenta Habsburgica regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae*<sup>5</sup> have made important headway, as did István Fodor and József Bessenyei in the last few decades. Fodor has presented some of Oláh's Hungarian-language letters,<sup>6</sup> while during his research in the Vatican Secret Archive Bessenyei found some Oláh letters that had been unknown, and he published these among the letters written by the princes to the pope.<sup>7</sup> Introducing Oláh's years in Brussels is also important for research on Dutch humanism, and so it is no surprise that Amédée Polet published previously unknown correspondence by Oláh in his book on Petrus Nannius.<sup>8</sup> Since Oláh had a wide circle of correspondents, those editing the correspondence of his friends and colleagues also published some previously unknown pieces, as it happened in the case of the critical edition of the Erasmus correspondence as well.<sup>9</sup> We can also occasionally find some letters published in regional publications, but I only indicate the location of these with the individual letters.

Beside the critical editions it is important to mention that many letters have been translated into English, Hungarian, Romanian, and Slovak as well.<sup>10</sup> Many of these translations contain thorough notes, which greatly contribute to getting to know Oláh's oeuvre, thus I was happy to quote these translations while composing the notes to this edition.

A critical edition of the complete correspondence of Miklós Oláh has been long overdue on the part of international research on humanism, and this is now redressed by the long-established BSMRAe series. The present critical edition has two main goals. On the one hand, it aims to place an edition in the reader's hand that presents a more realistic picture of Oláh's writing technique, and which helps in understanding the wider connections of the letters by providing context in the notes. On the other hand, it aims to publish Oláh's complete correspondence, i.e. it also includes the pieces that have been left out of *Leveleskönyv (Epistolae familiares)*, but it leaves out all texts that do not qualify as correspondence in a narrow sense: speeches, appendices of poems, and other attachments are not part of a contemporary edition of correspondence. For example, Erasmus' short story *Tragoedia Basiliensis*, which Ipolyi had published in his edition, does not appear in the edition of Erasmus' correspondence prepared by P. S. Allen. In the same way we have left out the missives not written by Oláh and the ones not addressed to him, even though he had

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<sup>4</sup> BUNYITAY–RAPAIKS–KARÁCSONYI 1902; BUNYITAY–RAPAIKS–KARÁCSONYI 1904; BUNYITAY–RAPAIKS–KARÁCSONYI 1906; KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI 1909. | <sup>5</sup> LASZOWSKI 1917. | <sup>6</sup> FODOR 1996, 113–117. | <sup>7</sup> BESSENYEI 2002. | <sup>8</sup> POLET 1936. | <sup>9</sup> ALLEN 1938, 57. | <sup>10</sup> ESTES–DALZELL 2015; ESTES–FANTAZZI 2016; V. KOVÁCS 1971, 597–684; FIRU–ALBU 1963; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974.; ŠKOVIERA 2008.

published them in his own collection. The present volume publishes the material ending with the year 1533, and we are planning to follow it up with two more volumes.

A further novelty is the fact that with this publication the BSMRAe Series Nova series is transferred to the publications of the Reciti Kiadó (Reciti Publishing House), as a result of which these volumes will be available free of charge both in printed and in pdf format. What is more, the printed version will be followed by an online version as well, and so letters that may potentially surface later can be added to the online edition.

## THE LIFE OF MIKLÓS OLÁH

Miklós Oláh, humanist, prelate, and chancellor (10 January, 1493, Sibiu–15 January, 1568, Trnava) began his studies in 1505 at the chapter school of Oradea and later entered the court of King Vladislaus II.<sup>11</sup> Following that, he entered the service of György Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs, and embarked on a ecclesiastical career: after his ordination he became Prebend of Székesfehérvár. In 1522 he was already Archdeacon of Komárom, then from 1526 he acted as the Secretary of King Louis II and his wife, Queen Mary of Habsburg. After the battle of Mohács he left the country, accompanying the widowed Queen, and after the Queen had been appointed Regent of the Netherlands, they settled in Brussels in 1531. Here he kept up an extensive correspondence not only with those who remained at home, but he also gained the friendship of the Dutch humanists as well (e.g. that of Erasmus of Rotterdam). By his own admission he returned home in 1539, but the latest in 1542, and he started a spectacular career in church policy in the service of King Ferdinand I: from 1543 he was Bishop of Zagreb, from 1548 Bishop of Eger, from 1553 till his death Archbishop of Esztergom. From 1560, he was *supremus comes* (lord lieutenant) of Hont county, and from 1562 Royal Locum-tenens. From 1543, he was Vice-chancellor, then from 1553 High Chancellor, and he reformed the operations of the Hungarian Royal Chancellery. His patronage, book collection, and organizational talent made him well-known far and wide. In 1561 he brought in the Jesuit order and founded the Jesuit Academy of Trnava. As a head of church he set out to fight against the expanding reformation, and he tried to reform the operations of the Catholic church through synods.<sup>12</sup>

He wrote his most important works during his voluntary exile to the Netherlands. He wanted to write the history of the Hungarians from the beginnings until his own time, but he only finished the first two volumes: *Hungaria* (1536) and *Athila* (1537).

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<sup>11</sup> Several biographies and articles have been written about Oláh's life, the most important ones are SZEMES 1936; BEZDECHI 1939; NEAGU 2003; SZILÁGYI 2015b. | <sup>12</sup> On his activities as chancellor and his patronage of education, see FAZEKAS 2003; FAZEKAS 2017.

While in the former he commemorates the one-time glory of Hungary, in the latter he presents the prehistory of the Hungarians based on the work of previous historians. Both works display the influence of the propaganda of the Mathias era. He also wrote poetry, the most famous of which is his epitaph on the death of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1536). He won his contemporaries' respect and appreciation through both his historical works and his poems, of which we primarily learn from his correspondence. As a humanist he not only experimented with writing and poetry, but he also selected, had copied, and personally corrected an enormous corpus of his letters (*Epistolae familiares*, 1527–1539). Both in the selection and the correction the main consideration was not only to display his humanist erudition but also to prove his undiminished loyalty to the Habsburgs and his remaining true to the Catholic faith. The book was prepared for representation: it was supposed to lay the ground for the return of the humanist who had become famous in the Netherlands, and to establish his career in church policy. His later works are primarily of a liturgical nature (*Breviarium...*, 1558), and we can occasionally also see traces of his ambitions as a historian (*Chronicon breve*, 1564; *Ephemerides*, 1552). He wrote his works as well as most of his letters in Latin, except for a few Hungarian and German missives.

#### ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MIKLÓS OLÁH

Miklós Oláh's complete extant correspondence has not yet been collected, with the exception of *Leveleskönyv* (*Epistolae familiares*). Several of his missives are latent in Hungarian and foreign archives and manuscript collections, and one of the main goals of the present undertaking is to uncover and publish these. Oláh wrote most of his letters in Latin, but there are some German and Hungarian-language missives as well, which we have also added to the draft of the present correspondence publication due to their small number.

The core of the Oláh correspondence is made up of *Leveleskönyv* (*Epistolae familiares*), which Oláh compiled himself. Although in the preface of his edition Ipolyi also introduced the manuscript to some extent,<sup>13</sup> due to the large volume of the collection and because it has not really been used since the Ipolyi edition, it is useful to introduce it here briefly, including its provenance, as if amending Ipolyi's preface. The composite volume, located in the National Archives of Hungary, not only contains letters: beside the 609 letters there are three rhetorical speeches and 19 appendices of poems in it as well, and based on the inscription on the inner cover page (*Epistolae familiares N. Olahi ad Amicos*) the literature refers to it as *Epistolae familiares*, i.e. *Leveleskönyv*. What is more, the 609 letters are not exclusively letters written by Oláh or ones addressed to him, but we can also find some among them

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<sup>13</sup> IPOLYI 1875, XI–XV.

that, for example, Erasmus wrote to Queen Mary. Naturally such letters cannot form a part of a critical edition of Oláh's correspondence, although we indicate their alternative publication locations.

*Leveleskönyv (Epistolae familiares)* was compiled by three scribes and Oláh himself, adding his corrections in his own hand. No editorial concept can be detected that would relate to ordering the letters in a chronological order, and it is likely that the scribes followed the groups of letters and bound the fasciculi thus created, and Oláh himself wrote or copied letters to the pages that had remained empty. The volume comprises ten fasciculi, its structure is the following: 1. fasc.: 44 leaves, fol. 1–55: scribe 1, fol. 55–80: scribe 2, + 8 unnumbered, blank pages, 2. fasc.: 38 leaves, fol. 81–156: scribe 2. 3. fasc.: 12 leaves, fol. 157–176: scribe 2 + 4 blank pages. 4. fasc.: 31 leaves (originally 32, but the first one was torn out) fol. 177–238: scribe 2, fol. 238: Oláh autograph. 5. fasc.: 46 leaves, fol. 239–330, 239–300: scribe 2, 301–308: scribe 2, 308–330: scribe 1. 6. fasc.: 20 leaves, fol. 331–410: scribe 2, on page 340 Oláh inserts several lines at the end of the letter. 7. fasc.: 10 leaves, fol. 411–430: scribe 2. 8. fasc.: 29 leaves (there were 30 originally, but the last one was cut out), fol. 431–488: scribe 2. 9. fasc.: 44 leaves, fol. 489–562: scribe 2, fol. 562–546: Oláh autograph, fol. 565–576: scribe 2, fol. 576: Oláh autographe. 10. fasc.: 3 leaves, fol. 577–579: scribe 1, fol. 579–582: scribe 3.

In his will Miklós Oláh also left instructions about his books; however, it is still a question today how *Leveleskönyv (Epistolae familiares)* ended up with the Esterházys. One possible route is that according to the will, János Liszthy, Lucretia Oláh's husband received the volume, and the Esterházys received the Kittsee estate of the Liszthys in 1676 as a donation from the king. The other route is that it was not transferred to the Trnava library or János Liszthy in spite of what the will had specified, but through the heirs of his nephew, Miklós Oláh-Császár it was transferred to the collection of the Esterházy family: Orsolya Császár, the granddaughter of Oláh's sister Orsolya, married Ferenc Dersffy. The second husband of their child, Orsolya Dersffy was Miklós Esterházy, and the volume could have been transferred to the ducal family's collection at that time.<sup>14</sup> Awareness and use of the volume in the period after Oláh's death can only be detected once: Miklós Istvánffy certainly must have read the manuscript collection, and he used it in his *Historia regni Hungarici*, but after this there is no trace of the manuscript's influence until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

After Ipolyi discovered it in the Eisenstadt family archives of the Esterházy princes and published his edition of the volume in 1875, the manuscript was forgotten again: to this day all studies, reprints and translations have been prepared based on Ipolyi's edition. The fate of the manuscript was the following: after the publication it remained in Eisenstadt until 1921, when the family decided that the

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<sup>14</sup> For more see MONOK-ZVARA 2015, 203, and IPOLYI 1875, XI–XII.

documents should be transferred to Eszterháza, today's Fertőd.<sup>15</sup> From there it was transferred to Budapest following a 1925 decision, to the Esterházy family's palace in Tárnok street in the Buda castle.<sup>16</sup> Even though the palace was hit by a bomb during World War II, the manuscript still survived intact, and eventually in 1949 it was transferred with the rest of the documents to its current location, to the Bécsi kapu building of what was then Országos Levéltár (National Archives), today Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary).<sup>17</sup>

In the present volume I have used the following manuscripts:

- Besançon, Archives municipales, MS 599, p. 285–286. Contemporary copy, Book of letters by Lieven van den Zande, 1556.
- Budapest, MNL OL P 108 (The archives of the ducal branch of the Esterházy family), Rep. 71, Fasc. 23. The work of three scribes, which Oláh supplemented with a few letters and corrections in his own hand, dated around 1539.
- Braşov, Archiv und Bibliothek der Honterusgemeinde, 1. A. 37, fol. 2. Autograph, original missive, 9 February 1523.
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. MS 0331, XI, 7. This manuscript was destroyed during World War II, we have published it based on the following edition: ALLEN 1938, 57.
- Vienna, ÖStA HHStA, UAAA Fasc. 12. Konv. C, fol. 2rv. Autograph, original missive, 1 September 1529.

## PRINCIPLES OF PUBLICATION

The present edition is based on the methodological recommendations of Sándor Bene and Enikő Békés,<sup>18</sup> with the following refinements and changes: in terms of orthography, I decided to standardize common names and the names of peoples, for example, standardizing Thurcus—Turcus, Rhomanus-Romanus. Otherwise I provide a literal transcription of proper names in the main text, except for the standardization of non-standard characters (ÿ, ę, etc.).

Where it was possible, I resolved abbreviations, e.g. D.V. is *Dominatio Vestra*, but where the resolution was not clear, I left the original form, e.g. *doctor S.*

I do not wish to reproduce *Leveleskönyv (Epistolae familiares)*, but since I do not have the missives that the collection was based on, I was forced to follow the logic of the collection. This is especially obvious in the case of salutations, since these often begin by referring back to *Leveleskönyv (Epistolae familiares)*, for example: *Ad eundem, Idem ad Ioannem*, etc., so I have left these addresses in the edition.

In the paratexts (head, regesta, notes) I followed the following order when transcribing names: I publish proper names in their modern version. For proper

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<sup>15</sup> RESS 2004, 285. | <sup>16</sup> RESS 2004, 296. | <sup>17</sup> BAKÁCS 1956, 4. | <sup>18</sup> BENE–BÉKÉS 2014.



names: I have written the names of rulers and popes in the English version, while if possible, I have written all other persons' names in their contemporary version, e.g. if the person is German, it is Johann Henckel, if he is Hungarian, it is Imre Kálnai, etc. If simply the King or Queen is mentioned, it always refers to King Ferdinand I and Queen Mary. János Szapolyai appears in the paratext of the edition as King John I, even if the author of the letter, and often Oláh himself, does not recognize him as king and refers to him as Count of Szepes or Voivode of Transylvania. In contested cases where several contemporary nations consider the given person to be their own, I followed the previous standard of the series as well as the name versions commonly used in the Hungarian literature, e.g. Miklós Oláh and István Brodaries. (This is also because I also had to adjust to the language of the edition's paratext.). For geographical names I did the following: the majority of the cities can often be found in a different country today than at the time, when the Kingdom of Hungary still existed. It would have been cumbersome to use their former names, and it would have made the notes complicated as well, thus I chose today's forms for the sake of practicality, even if it seems anachronistic at first glance. I have listed all other forms in the index. Therefore, Bratislava stands for Pozsony, Posonium or Pressburg, since that is an easier starting point for today's reader. There are only two exceptions to this: if the given settlement still lies within the same borders today as before, but it was merged with the surrounding cities, e.g. Buda is not the same as Budapest, nor is Kaiserebersdorf the same as Vienna, and in these cases the one-time form is used. The other exception relates to the names of the counties of the one-time Kingdom of Hungary: as administrative units these counties do not exist any more, and so they cannot be matched to today's geographical-administrative units, either; therefore, their one-time names, i.e. Pozsony county and Trencsén county can be found in the paratext. For the sake of simplicity, I wrote Hungary instead of Kingdom of Hungary in the notes.

There are also a lot of uncertainties concerning the identification of persons. Where I could, I identified the person, and they appear with their proper name as it is used today, e.g. not *Thomas episcopus* but Tamás Szalaházy, but where I could not identify them, I left the Latin version, e.g. *Paulus comes*. My attempts to identify persons were occasionally unsuccessful, and the reason for this is not only lack of information, but also the hunch that Oláh also could have had fictitious letters copied into his collection, see e.g. the ones addressed *Ad amicum*. The solutions that are only suspected are followed by (?), e.g. Paolo Giovio (?).

In addition, translating the Hungarian titles has often been quite challenging while writing the notes, since the given title often does not have an English equivalent. I have written the English version of the Hungarian titles according to Géza Pálffy's book,<sup>19</sup> but I occasionally also indicate the Latin version to make

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<sup>19</sup> PÁLFFY 2009b.

orientation easier. It was especially challenging to translate *comes*, which in Hungarian is 'ispán', i.e. 'royal officer in charge of a (noble) county', but in other locations it means count, and therefore I translated it as bailiff in the case of Hungarian persons. If I did not know who it refers to, I left the *comes* form, e.g. *Paulus comes*.

Another novelty in this edition is that, following the critical edition of Erasmus, I tried to signal the order of subsequent letters, i.e. to indicate replies: the number of each letter is preceded by the indexed number of its precursor and followed by the indexed number of the answer to it, e.g. for <sup>87 88</sup> **92** <sup>104 145</sup> letter 92 should be read as a response to letters 87 and 88, while letters 104 and 105 are the responses to letter 92.

Since the printed volume will be followed by an online edition as well, I would like to encourage my readers to contact me at [szilagyi.emoke.rita@btk.mta.hu](mailto:szilagyi.emoke.rita@btk.mta.hu) if they find any mistakes in the volume, or if they manage to identify a person or location that could not be identified for the printed edition, so that the online version contain the corrected and/or extended version.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Authors usually write acknowledgements when a project has been completed. In this case this is only partly true: although one volume has been completed and is now published, the work does not end here, since my plan is to publish two further volumes to complete Oláh's correspondence, and the online publication will also be launched soon. However, ever since I began my research, I have received a lot of help and support, without which this volume could not have been published. Therefore, the publication of the first volume is already a good opportunity for me to thank all of my colleagues who have helped this edition with their selfless and tireless work. My research at home and abroad has been supported first and foremost by my workplace, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, specifically the Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Literary Studies, but I also owe thanks to the Balassi Institute for their Klebelsberg Kunó Scholarship, which also made it possible for me to conduct research abroad. Colleagues at Hungarian and foreign collections have been helpful everywhere, and I do not have the space to mention them all by name here; but I certainly owe the following persons thanks for their support, help, and advice.

Above all, I would like to thank my closest colleagues for supporting my work, especially László Szörényi, who drew my attention to the fact that the correspondence of Miklós Oláh still has not been organized and so has given me this excellent research topic, as well as Gábor Kecskeméti, who has supported my work from the beginning. I cannot thank enough István Fazekas, Péter Kasza, and Bence Péterfi for their professional support, who, beside editing the text, were always ready to guide me in the Oláh literature and in my search for additional sources. Their

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I thank Csaba Szabó, György Rácz, and György Laczlavik for allowing the publication of the photos of *Leveleskönyv (Epistolae familiares)*, which makes up the core of the first volume, as well as the rest of the manuscripts owned by the National Archives of Hungary, including future publication rights.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

add.	addit
corr.	correxit
corr. ex	correxit ex
del.	delevit
del. ex	delevit ex
fasc.	fasciculus
fol.	folio
in marg.	in margine
konv.	konvolutum
ms.	manuscriptum
om.	omittit, omisit
p.	pagina
r	recto
sup. l.	supra liniam
t., tom.	tomus
v	verso
vol.	volumen
<litterae>	litterae emissae, lacuna
[litterae]	litterae a me additae, e. g. in the heading of the letter: [Bratislava]

In this edition *O* indicates corrections in Oláh's hand (e.g. *O add.*, *O corr. ex* etc.). If there is no *O* in front of the abbreviation, the change was made by the editor.

## ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

ÖStA HHStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna)
MNL OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár (Budapest)
UB	Universitätsbibliothek (Leipzig)
AHG	Archiv und Bibliothek der Honterusgemeinde (Braşov)



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# TEXT AND COMMENTARIES



Miklós Oláh to the College of Canons in Chapter of Braşov  
Esztergom, 9 February 1523

*Manuscript used:* AHG, I. A. 37, fol. 2.

*Photo copy:* MNL OL, DF 286675

*1. Since he promised to inform the Dean when his master has decided when the synod is going to take place, he now informs him that it will take place on the Feast of St. Adalbert, as it is also clear from the attached letter. They should send someone to participate in it. 2. As far as he is concerned, he is willing to do anything in their service, the Dean can also attest to that.*

Venerabiles Domini mihi semper Honorandissimi!

[1.] Post mei commendationem, fueram pollicitus domino decano, dum aestate praeterita in rebus Dominorum Vestratium apud hunc dominum meum<sup>1</sup> reverendissimum et gratiosissimum Budae constituebatur, ut si dominus is meus reverendissimus synodum celebrandam indiceret, id Dominis Vestris mox significarem. Sciant igitur 5 Dominationes Vestrae eam celebrari ad festum Beati Adalberti<sup>2</sup> proxime venturum, quemadmodum latius id ex litteris ipsius domini mei, quas ad Dominationes Vestras cum praesentibus misi, intelligent. Quare mittant Dominationes Vestrae aliquem more consueto, qui illi intersit.

[2.] Quod autem ad me attinet: ego nihil aut laboris, curae, sollicitudinis aut diligentiae praetermittam, in quo Dominationibus Vestris inservire potero, et quod ad iura et libertatem earundem curandam pertinere arbitror. Quam meam inserviendi Dominationibus Vestris promptitudinem potuit eisdem dominus decanus declarare. Haec volui Dominationibus Vestris significare, ut scirent, quantum possem valeremque me eisdem libenter cupere velleque inservire. Eisdem cum his bene et feliciter 15 valere cupio. Quibus me iterum commendo.

Ex Strigonio in festo Beatae Apolloniae Virginis et Martyris in anno 1523.

Nicolaus Olah secretarius reverendissimi domini Strigoniensis

*On the back side:* Venerabilibus Dominis Decano et capitulo districtus Brassoviensis, Dominis meis mihi semper Honorandissimis.

1 <sup>1</sup>György Szatmári (1457–1524) was the Archbishop of Esztergom between 1522–1524. Oláh was his secretary since the time Szatmári was Bishop of Pécs (1505–1522). After Szatmári's death, he became Royal Secretary. For more on the secretaries of King Louis II, see KUBINYI 2006. | <sup>2</sup> 23 April.

Imre Kálnai to Miklós Oláh  
Radava, 13 November 1527

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 177–178.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 1–2.

1. Kálnai is asking for Oláh's intervention so that he does not have to seek an audience with King Ferdinand I and salute him. Miklós Gerendi, Tamás Nádasdy, and László Macedóniai will also help him in this. 2. He thanks Oláh for his help in connection with the Esztergom estate. His servant, Literatus Mihály will tell the rest. 3. Furthermore, he asks that he should not have to travel anywhere before he has been to Czestochowa and the Holy Land, he is namely absolutely determined to accomplish that as a good Christian.

Emericus a Calna<sup>1</sup> archidiaconus Transsilvaniensis Nicolao Olaho thesaurario Albensi, secretario et consiliario regio. Post mei commendationem, Carissime Domine Nicolae!<sup>2</sup>

[1.] Quoniam sic fuit fortunae visum, ut nos prosterneret, ac penitus solo illideret, vos autem elevaret, et in summo collocaret, quid dicam, nostrum est manus tendere, et ad alios recurrere si quid est, in quo aliorum opera et auxilio indigeamus. Itaque cum his diebus Albae<sup>3</sup> constitutum sit, ut omnes, qui partes adversas secuti fuerant, coram rege Ferdinando spatio quindecim dierum a festo Sancti Martini<sup>4</sup> sub nota perpetuae infidelitatis comparere debeant, mihi ad te hominem amicissimum est confugiendum, ut me ab hac constitutione seu edicto publico liberet, ne ego nunc ad vos ire tener. Quod tu facile certe poteris efficere, si volueris. Cuius tanta, scio, est auctoritas apud curiae primores, dominum videlicet palatinum<sup>5</sup> et dominum episcopum,<sup>6</sup> vel etiam ipsum principem, ut nihil non sis ab eis impetraturus. Et, ut efficias, etiam summopere peto. Quod ego si vivam, et si qua in re potero, curabo profecto omni studio rependere. Est autem haec res, quam a te peto, levis et minima et impetratu facilis, modo te pro amico verbum facere non pigeat. Ego autem, si quid forte sinistri de me cogitares, quamvis nihil possum, sed si etiam aliquid possem, polliceor me adversum vos nihil moliturum. Nec puto hanc constitutionem ob alios factam esse, quam ob eos, qui adhuc quiescere non possunt, sintque in proposito aliquid moliendi.

2 <sup>1</sup> Imre Kálnai (ca. 1490–1544) humanist, member of Jacob Piso's humanist circle. Kálnai studied together with Oláh between 1505–1510 in Oradea, then he earned a Magister's degree in Bologna. He was Royal Secretary between 1525–1526, and after Mohács remained loyal to King John I. See LAKATOS 2009, LAKATOS 2010 and V. KOVÁCS 1970. | <sup>2</sup> About this letter see V. KOVÁCS 1970, 664. | <sup>3</sup> Székesfehérvár. | <sup>4</sup> The Feast of St. Martin is on 11 November, so they had to take an oath until 25 November. | <sup>5</sup> István Báthori. | <sup>6</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

Poteris autem hanc rem etiam cum aliis dominis et amicis nostris, domino videlicet Gerendy<sup>7</sup> et domino Nadasdy<sup>8</sup> communicare, et eos meo nomine rogare, velint veteris amicitiae nostrae memores esse, et tibi in hoc negotio levi certe, ut dixi et minimo adiumento esse, qua de re scripsi et ad dominum Maczedoniay,<sup>9</sup> qui et ipse credo pro sua humanitate mutuoque amore, quo invicem coniuncti fuimus, non gravabitur id facere, quod ego fecissem pro eo proque omnibus vobis factururus, si forte ita fortuna tulisset, ut mea opera indignissetis. 25

[2.] De beneficio Strigoniensi, de quo frater meus<sup>10</sup> tibi Albae locutus fuerat, habeo tibi summas gratias, quod te obtulisti, nihil te facturum de eo sine scitu meo. Nec ego credidi, te pro amicitia nostra secus facturum. Equum tuum, quem mihi alendum commiseras, remittam tibi, cum volueris, significis modo, quando vis, ut tibi eum remittam. Est autem talis, qualem nunquam sperassem fore, ut talis fieret. Estque pro tali homine militari, qualis iam es ipse factus in Germanos belli studiosus. Alia dicit is servitor meus Michael litteratus,<sup>11</sup> cui in his, quae nomine meo retulerit, velis fidem praestare. 30 35

[3.] Et vale ac me per amicitiam nostram ab onere eundi Budam, vel ubi futuri estis, liberares, hoc te iterum atque iterum peto, habeo autem ex voto, quod paene praetermiseram, et ad Chezthako<sup>12</sup> proficisci, ut certe sive damnetis, sive non, ego nunc istuc ire non possum. Et promisi me non ante alio iturum, quam hoc, quod feci, votum exsolvero, quod Lutheriani quamvis irrideant, ego tamen talia pro vera duco 40

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2,40 quod] *O del.* ex quod vos | irrideant] *O corr.* ex irrideatis

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<sup>7</sup> Miklós Gerendi (†1542) was Custos of the Cathedral Chapter of Székesfehérvár between 1525–1527 and Royal Secretary under King Louis II. After Mohács, he remained loyal to the Habsburgs. King Ferdinand I appointed him to Bishop of Transylvania in 1527. Although the Pope never confirmed it, he used this title until his death and became a key figure in the Habsburg party in Transylvania. Between 1527 and 1529, he was also Royal Treasurer. | <sup>8</sup> Tamás Nadasdy (1498–1562), Hungarian statesman. At the time of the battle of Mohács, he was away on a mission, although in the beginning he had remained loyal to the Habsburgs. Between 1530–1533 we find him in the Szapolyai party, but after his return he remained in the Habsburg party till the end. From 1537 he became King Ferdinand I's secret but most influential counsellor. In 1540 he was appointed Chief Justice of Hungary (*iudex curiae regiae*), and in 1554 he was elected Palatine. For more see SÖPTEI 1999. | <sup>9</sup> László Macedóniai (ca. 1479–1536). From the 1510s he was at the court of György Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs. In 1520 he was appointed Bishop of Szerém, but in 1526 he resigned and became Provost of Pécs. He participated in important legations and held successful orations. For more on his life, see K. OBERMAYER–HORVÁTH 1959. | <sup>10</sup> Probably Ferenc Kálnai because his brothers, István Kálnai and János Kálnai, died at the battle of Mohács, see V. KOVÁCS 1970, 661. | <sup>11</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>12</sup> Częstochowa, known for the famous Pauline monastery of Jasna Góra, which is the home of the Black Madonna painting. Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, thousands of pilgrims have visited this shrine because healing power has been attributed to it.

pietate et religione, brevi etiam in Terram Sanctam iturus, ut totus bonus Christianus evadam.<sup>13</sup> Iterum vale et peto rursum, sis meae petitionis memor.

Ex possessione nostra Rendwe XIII. Novembris 1527.

Servitor Emericus Kalnay

3

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Buda, 25 March 1528

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 367.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 2–3.

1. Szalaházy has written to *Queen Mary*, asking to allow Oláh and his company into the Royal Court. They could be of great use there, *Queen Mary* can also easily see that. 2. Szalaházy will help getting money for their travel expenses from the treasury, but he is also happy to provide a loan and urges his friend that he should respond by return of post.

Thomas episcopus Agriensis<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olaho secretario, et consiliario reginae Mariae.

[1.] Scripsi ad maiestatem reginalem, ut cum eius bona gratia liceat vos sequi regis curiam, nec dubito, quin possim impetrare, sunt enim rationes non leves, pro quibus vel ipsa maiestas reginalis sua sponte vos mittere ad hoc effici deberet. Rogo, ne quid difficultatis aut morae interponatis. Experiemini magno id vobis et commodo et honori futurum, dabo operam, ut thesaurarius aliquid viatici aut mittat aut deputet.

[2.] Ego quoque de meo, ut primum aliquam nactus ero pecuniam, in sumptus vestros summam aliquam suppeditabo. Non pigeat tamen vos interim ab amicis mutuum capere: ego me vobis et sponsorem et fideiussorem facio. Quod debitum, hoc quantumcunque in hos usus contraxeritis, solvetur. Nemo nostratium apud regem est, qui expedire quidquam possit, quod non mihi tantum id est cancellario, sed toti regno maximum detrimentum afferre poterit. Rescribas mihi per primam postam te esse paratum, ut acceptis a me litteris ad maiestatem regiam, et aliqua instructione, sine mora voles celerrime.

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<sup>13</sup> About these pilgrimages, see PETNEKI 1998, II, 551. 3 <sup>1</sup> Tamás Szalaházy (ca. 1480–1535), Bishop of Veszprém; after Mohács, Bishop of Eger, and Chancellor nominated by King Ferdinand I. He was one of the most important counsellors of King Ferdinand I and remained loyal to the Habsburg party till the end. At this time he was acting as Governor on behalf of King Ferdinand I while he was participating in the Imperial Diet, see FAZEKAS 2007.

Salutes meo nomine matronas ac puellas. Negotium dominae Likercæ<sup>2</sup> cum thesaurario confici per me nondum potuit. Nihil est ei nominatim a rege commissum, curabo tamen, quantum in me erit, serius, ocius, ut bonum habeat effectum.

Budae in festo Annuntiationis Mariae anno Domini 1528.

4

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Buda, 27 March 1528

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 366–367.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 3.

*At the moment it is not possible to request money from the treasury, but still they should somehow scrape the travel expenses together, or they should travel with András, the Serbian interpreter, whom the King misses anyway. Oláh should write back as to which day they want to leave, so he can organize the trip.*

Thomas episcopus Agriensis Nicolao Olaho secretario, et consiliario serenissimae Mariae reginae Hungariae.

Carissime Frater! Impetrari nunc a thesaurario et camera nihil potest. Dicunt in tanta regii sumptus magnitudine, et mediocritate proventuum posse vos esse contentos illis trecentis florenis, qui de bonis custodiae sunt deputati. Egi diligentius, quam  
5 si mea res privata ageretur. Rogo Vos, ne detrectetis illam, quam scitis provinciam, undecumque corradite viaticum. Ego interim curabo vel de meo vobis suppeditare aliquid pecuniae, simul atque locari decimae poterunt, ducatis vobiscum Andream  
10 interpretem litterarum Rascianarum,<sup>1</sup> quo item se egere maiestas regia scribit. Non erit vobis hic oneri, habebit enim expensas, vestro tamen curru vehetur, nam nec equum, nec currum habet. Rogo, faciatis me certiozem, quo die vultis proficisci, quod velim, fiat citissime.

Bene valete, commendetis me matronis ac puellis reginae.

Budae feria sexta ante Dominicam Iudica 1528.

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4,13 reginae] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>2</sup> Johanna Likercka or Likercke. Queen Mary of Hungary's maid of honor, later she married Gáspár Horváth of Vingárd, see RÉTHELYI 2007, 1207, and KERKHOFF 2008, 280. 4 <sup>1</sup> According to the account book of King Louis II, we have know two Rascian (Serbian) translators, Andreas and Tade, see TÓTH 1934, 169; FRAKNÓI 1877, 120, 142, and 206.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Buda, 11 January 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 367–368.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 4.

*1. Szalaházy reports about the plague ravaging Buda and Pest and expresses his hope that the queen can nonetheless enjoy her passion for hunting. 2. He informs Oláh that János Habardanecz has returned, while Gáspár Serédy has been marauding around Wiener Neustadt and has captured many people. At the town of Forró Bebek fought Kállay and László Nagy, the outcome of the fight is unknown.*

Thomas episcopus Agriensis Nicolao Olao secretario.

- [1.] Gaudeo, Carissime Frater, serenissimae dominae meae reginae ac vobis omnibus bene esse. Hic praeter molestissimas animi curas ac incredibilem rerum omnium caritatem ac penuriam, etiam a pestis contagione periculum est. Fratres nescio  
5 quot minores ad Sanctum Ioannem<sup>1</sup> et in utraque civitate nonnulli hoc morbi genere perierunt. Cupio, ne maiestati reginali desint istic aves aut ferae, quas animi et voluptatis causa sectetur, donec rex in Hungariam fuerit reversus. At ubi maiestas regia Posonium aut Owar<sup>2</sup> attigerit, nolim in Moravia anas aut lepusculus maneat, qui maiestatem reginalem punctum temporis istic remoretur.
- 10 [2.] Novi nihil, quam quod exercitus reginalis in factionem Ioannis atque adeo in ipsum Ioannem progreditur. Habardanecz<sup>3</sup> rediit. Ferunt Gasparum Seredi<sup>4</sup> nostrum in festo Natalis Domini fecisse ad Wyhel<sup>5</sup> excursionem, cepisse multos, sed praecipuos Michaellem Farnay<sup>6</sup> et Laurentium Barber.<sup>7</sup> Mei equites et Bebeck<sup>8</sup> cum Callay<sup>9</sup>

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5,12 Natalis] *O add. sup. l.*

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5 <sup>1</sup> The Minorite monks of the former St. John monastery of Buda. | <sup>2</sup> Magyaróvár. | <sup>3</sup> János Habardanecz was an agent of King Ferdinand I, from 1527 he worked as an intermediary between King Ferdinand I and Jovan Nenad, the “Black Man”. About this conflict see KASZA 2012, 165, note 5. In 1528 Habardanecz went to the Porta as a member of the legation, trying to offer peace, but Suleiman I rejected it. About his report see BARTA–FODOR–KUN 1996. | <sup>4</sup> Gáspár Serédy (†1550) was Custos of the Cathedral Chapter of Vác in 1522, later Secretary of the Queen between 1525–1526, and one of the most influential counsellors of King Ferdinand I in the early 1530s. He was also Commander in Chief of Upper Hungary between 1527–1550. | <sup>5</sup> Wiener Neustadt. | <sup>6</sup> Mihály Farnay. János Szapolyai summoned him in 1524 because Farnay, László Nagy and Mihály Várdai were abusing their power in the Chapter of Transylvania, see BEKE 1891, 119. | <sup>7</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>8</sup> Ferenc Bebek (†1558) was Bailiff of Gömör county and Captain of Upper Hungary. | <sup>9</sup> János Vitéz of Kiskálló (Kállay) was the Ban of Severin in 1522. After Mohács, he was loyal to King John I, see KASZA 2012, 159.



et Ladislao Magno<sup>10</sup> hoc triduo manus conseruisse dicuntur ad oppidum Forro; qui fuerit eventus pugnae, nondum intelligo. 15

Bene vale et me tui esse amatissimum nihil dubites. Negotia tua, quae ad me referentur perinde, atque mea curabo diligenter.

Bene vale. Budae XI. Ianuarii anno 1529.

6

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Znojmo, 14 May 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 1.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 4–5.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 599.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 193–194.

1. *He complains that his friend has not been in contact, and his silence and pride is hurting his friends at home.* 2. *Even if he does not return home, at least he should let them know where he is, how he is living.*

Nicolaus Olaus amico diu absentī salutem.

[1.] Quibus in terris agas, neminem adhuc audire potui, qui me certe edoceret. Tua absentia multum licet, ut ego arbitror, commodi tibi sit paritura, tamen non parum certe damni his omnibus tuis, qui a te pendent, patrociniū, auxiliū et opem exspect<ant> tuam, potest afferre. Nam tametsi laude sit dignum aliquando a patria 5 procul vitam agere, laudatissimum tamen est suis domi prodesse, et eos, qui inopem agunt vitam, nutrire. Sed sis procul licet, modo aliquid a te certi habeamus. Ubi gentium agas, quae te tamdiu detineant loca vel sua amoenitate, vel aliis suis illecebris, vel quid tibi commodi afferat diuturna haec tua absentia.

[2.] Alii hac de re nihil nobis referre potuerunt. Tu vero tam taciturnus vel (si id 10 concedis) animi elati esse videris, ut de te tuaque conditione ac habitatione ne minimum quidem nobis hactenus significaris. Sunt multi, qui domi magno tui teneantur desiderio, propter iucundissimam illam familiaritatem et sodalitatē, quam ab in-eunte aetate tecum una suavissime peregerunt, sunt item non pauci, qui te perpetuo abesse velint propter simultatem cum eis multos annos habitam. Tamen hos te com- 15 temnere, et eorum in te malevolentiam virtute tua superare, illis te satisfacere si sa-

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6,15 habitam] *O mut. ex ortam* | *contemnere*] *O del. ex contemnere* convenit

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<sup>10</sup> He can be identified as Ladislaus Nagh or Nagy, who occurs in Brodarics' correspondence, see KASZA 2012, 390. Six month later, a document shows that Ferenc Nádasdy, László Nagy, and Gothárd Kun bore arms against Upper Hungarian captains Gáspár Serédy and Ferenc Bebek while besieging Boldogkő. See ÖStA HHStA UA AA Fasc. 15. Konv. B. fol. 23.

20 pias convenit: et scito ubi sis, te reverti oportere, ut veterem illam vitae consuetudinem ac familiaritatem iucundissimam renovare possis, cum maxima omnium tuorum laetitia, oro igitur te et obtestor, ut quibuscumque habites in terris et quaecumque te detineant deliciae, quodcumque te habeat oblectamentum, fac, ut cito redeas, vel si redire nequaquam poteris, litteris saltem nos tuis fac certiores, ubi sis et in quem locum nostrae ad te li<tterae> dari possint.

Znoymae oppido Moraviae 14. Maii anno 1<5>29.

7

Miklós Oláh to Johann Arnold  
Znojmo, 23 May 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 2.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 5–6.

1. Oláh reminds his friend that human matters are precarious, and he should be unmoved even in the face of big misfortunes. He is happy that Arnold has gotten rid of his problems, he has really deserved it through his virtues. 2. He is sorry that the people from Basel who had favored him before have now turned their backs on him; but he is certain that with his wisdom he is above his enemies: he should resist the intrigues, and he will see that everything can be defeated with tolerance and patience.

Ad Ioannem Arnoldum.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Non moveare te tantis affectum esse calamitatibus, quandoquidem ea semper fuit conditio humanae naturae, ut variis subiecti simus, dum vivimus, periculis, et nullum temporis momentum tutum nobis sit relictum a molestiis, turbationibus et  
5 persecutionibus. Recreatus sum mirum in modum novissimis tuis litteris, quibus scribebas te omni iam Deo volente molestia esse liberatum, homines in te factos esse benevolentiores, omnes miris affici erga te studiis, favoribus et beneficiis. Auram  
10 etiam eam, qua nunc frueris, mirifice cepisse, esse iam tuae incolumitati faventem. Cupio haec diuturna tibi fore, gratulorque tibi ac tuis virtutibus, te tua patientia, humanitate, et ingenio omnes adversos malevolorum tuorum animos superasse. Id factum fuisse minime arbitrarer, ni singulari tua prudentia, omnibus rebus obviam ire scivisses.

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17 convenit] *O mut. ex oportet* | ubi] *del. ex ubi ubi* | te] *O add. sup. l.* | oportere] *O add. sup. l. oportere* 7,2 moveare] *O corr. ex movere*

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7 <sup>1</sup> Johann Arnold, probably Arnoldus Bergellanus, who was a German typographer and poet. In 1522 he was a corrector in Wittenberg, then the same in Mainz in Franz Behem's press, where he published his *Poema encomiasticum de chalcographiae inventione*. Afterwards, he went to Basel and supervised the editions of manuscripts, see KÖRNER 2005.

[2.] Basilienses tamen tuos, prius in te studiosos nunc vero alieniores factos doleo, et mirari satis non possum cum alioquin semper rebus in omnibus habiti sint constantissimi, tam subito factos esse sui dissimiles, non deesse inter eos arbitror, qui dolo, technis, et suis artibus aliorum proborum animos a te alienare contenderint. Quos te credo iam plane animadvertisse, futurum tamen esse existimo: ut non secus, quam alios tuos inimicos, hos quoque tua virtute patientiaque superes, tantum tibi inesse scio consilii et prudentiae. Quod ut facias, te vehementer rogo. Vides, quantis nunc ubique locorum homines agitentur tumultibus, quae omnibus bonis tendantur insidiae, et quam quisque agat nunc tragoediam. Si paulum modo his, qui adverso sunt anim<o>, resistere cogitaris, hi mox nihil erit, quod non mo<vean>t. Satis igitur est patientia et tollerantia omnia vinc<ere>, quam te in tumultum coniiicere. Vale.

Znoymae 2<3>. Maii 1529.

25

## 8

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Znojmo, 25 May 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 3–4.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 6–7.

*1. Their homeland is in such danger that he can barely contain his wailing; he only trusts King Ferdinand I. An envoy has arrived with the news that the plans discussed at the assembly in Speyer have gone up in smoke. 2. It is not enough that the Turks have invaded the country, another part of the country has been occupied by King John I's party, looting at their will. 3. He is asking Kálnai that he should come as quickly as he can, and they should mourn for Hungary together. János will say the rest.*

Ad Emericum archidiaconum.

[1.] Non possum me a magnis lamentis, mi Emerice, continere, cum praesentis temporis conditionem considero et patriae nostrae periculum. Magnam habebamus spem, futurum esse, ut ab imperii principibus id habituri essemus et auxilii et subsidi-  
dii, quo nos rex Ferdinandus a periculis, quibus iam multos annos torquemur, facile liberare posset. Venit nunc certissimus nuntius, qui dicat omnes fere imperiales tractatus Spirae<sup>1</sup> factos in fumum transisse, factam quidem alicuius auxilii in posterum ferendi nonnullam promissionem, sed eam quoque incertam, rebus fidei, quam neg-

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13 studiosos] *O corr.* ex studiosus 14 satis] *O add. et del.* ex satis de hoc de hoc | possum] *O del.* ex possum et | alioquin] *O corr.* ex aliquin 17 animadvertisse] *O corr.* ex animadvertissime 8,6 qui dicat] *O add. sup. l.*

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8<sup>1</sup> Speyer.

lecta patrum nostrorum traditione quisque ad arbitrium suum nunc trahit, mirifice  
10 obstantibus. Non desunt multi, qui nihil aliud curent procul agentes a periculis in  
summo otio, quam dissensionem inter principes Christianos serere, atque adeo om-  
nem rem invertere, ut omnia et divina et profana simul misceant.

[2.] Proh dolor, quantis Hungaria nunc premitur calamitatibus! Maior et potior  
illius pars Turcarum irruptione, quam ante triennium magna Christianorum clade  
15 fecerant, exusta est et in nihilum redacta, nunc ea quoque, quae supererat, pars diripi-  
tur, vastatur, et spoliatur a nostris militibus, a quibus defensionem potius, quam  
ruinam exspectare debebat. Ioannis regis factio viscera regni occupat, et omnia agit  
pro sua libidine praedaturque omnes colonos miris cruciatibus ad stipem solvendam  
cogit, neminem a gravissima et crudelissima exactione relinquit immunem. In aliis  
20 locis tanta est animorum varietas, tantus tumultus, ita quisque suam et sequitur, et  
mordicus tuetur factionem, ambitionis et modici lucri gratia, ut minime mirum videri  
debeat, si omnis (quod omen Deus longe avertat) Hungaria in extremam redigatur  
perniciem. Solius Dei optimi maximi clementiae tribuendum est, non humano aliquo  
consilio aut prudentiae, si ea Hungariae pars, quae utcumque superest, hactenus non  
25 fuerit periclitata, dum illam in tot partes distractam quisque pro sua libidine dilacerat,  
et quod sibi videtur, impune agit, ac rex Ferdinandus tamdiu abest ab Hungaria, et hi,  
qui nostras sequuntur partes, sint omnium pauperrimi. Quid mirum, si ad hanc quam  
nunc patimur redacti sumus miseriam?

[3.] Haec tibi amico animo volui significare, ut scias, quo sim in maerore, quo  
30 dolore, dum patriae periculum futurum cogito, quoque in statu sit misera nunc Hun-  
garia, cuius credo te quoque pro eo amore, quem patriae singularem debes, misere-  
scere; quo te animo omnino esse arbitrabor, si ad me, ut saepius iam es pollicitus,  
cito veneris, communem calamitatem hic mecum una deploraturus. Quo vero in statu  
res tua hic versetur et quam difficiles habeas adversarios, potuisti partim ex meis  
35 litteris, partim ex Iohanne<sup>2</sup> tuo, cui his de rebus mandata ad te dederam, iam pridem  
plane intellexisse. Res haec tuae licet non sunt sine magna difficultate et multa illis  
obiecta sint impedimenta, omnia tamen facile vitari poterunt, si quamprimum ve-  
neris, et tua praesentia res tuas stabilieris. Multum enim tui conspectus habet apud  
nostros autoritatis, contra absentia, non minimum affert omnibus audaciae, ut tuis  
40 rebus et conatibus obsistatur. Quod facillime in bonam partem vertere poterimus, si  
veneris. Vale.

Ex Znoyma 25. Maii 1529.

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10 curent] *O corr. ex curant* 18 praedaturque] *O corr. ex praedatur* 27 pauperrimi] *O corr. ex pauperum*  
quam] *O add. sup. l.* 32 animo...esse] *O mut. ex animo esse omnino* 40 poterimus] *O corr. ex*  
potuerimus

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<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to Philippus Moranus  
Znojmo, 28 May 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 4–6.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 8–9.

*He surely knows already what has happened here since he left. Here everyone feels kindness toward him, and it would be to their utmost pleasure if he returned, that is, if their fellow monks and friends let him. It would also be a credit to his order if he was serving the queen, whose confidence he also enjoys.*

Ad Philippum Moranum.<sup>1</sup>

Quid hic factum fuerit post tuam perfectionem, potuisti iam aperte intellexisse. Tum ex multorum litteris, tum ex Nicolao<sup>2</sup> tuo, cui ego ipse omnia, quae ad rem tuam visa sunt pertinere, coram exposui. Qui non secus, quam si praesens tecum essem, meque narrantem audires, tibi referre de rebus omnibus poterit. Nihil est, mi Phi- 5 lippe, quo magnopere commovearis.

Tanta est omnium erga te benevolentia, ut mirum in modum ab omnibus desidereris et non secus, quam aliquis de meis principibus praeclarissime meritis observeris et venereris. Nemo tibi deerit, nisi tu ipse. Neque tu ipse deesse poteris, nisi consulte honorem tuum minuere velis. Consule igitur, rogo, tuae dignitati et, cum primum ex 10 tuo commodo licebit, advola. Mihi crede, adventus tuus erit omnibus gratissimus. Et nihil arbitror esse in rebus tuis tam difficile, quod non praesentia tua facile transigi, ex animi tui sententia possit, fratres tui, qui iampridem hic fuerunt, et tuas res omnes perinde ac suas curarunt: mirifice omnibus sunt carissimi, non tantum ipsorum, quan- 15 tum tua causa, cuius memoria omnibus est gratissima.

Consules igitur non modo tuae, sed fratrum quoque tuorum gloriae, si relictis istic bono ordine tuis rebus cito ad nos veneris. Id te facere volunt et fratres et amici tui omnes, qui tuo nomini favent, de reginae meae in te clementia nihil est, quod dubites. Nemini adhuc suam benevolentiam negavit, multo minus eam abs te retrahet, homine 20 de se, cui multos iam annos constanter servieris, optime merito, saepius ipsius expiscatus sum in te benevolentiam multaque ei de te, dum usus fuit, sum locutus, semper optime de tua in se fide sentit, et adeo clementer respondit, ut si etiam in te adesses, nihil aliud ex ipsius verbis comprehendere posses. Quem eius in te favorem cave amittas, retinere autem poteris, si sollicitus accuratusque eris in his, quae iampridem coepisti, servitiis et rebus in omnibus tibi demandatis, prae te tuleris fidelitatem, plus 25

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9,6 commovearis] *O corr.* ex commoveras 20 se] *O corr.* ex sese 21 multaque] *O add.* que 23 favorem] *O corr.* ex favore 24 his] *O corr.* ex hi

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9<sup>1</sup> Moranus or Moravus, we do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.

a te quam praestare possis, nemo expetere potest. Id si praestiteris, optime rebus tuis consultum erit, nec te moneant nonnullorum invidiae contra te motae, sola virtus invisita est malis; qui nihil in se habet aut virtutis aut ornamenti, nullorum subiectus est invidiae. At qui praestat ceteris, et bonos quosque aemulatur, sequitur virtutes,  
30 nihil sibi alienum arbitratur, quam vitia, is demum non parvam contrahit in se aliorum invidiam, hominem vacuum culpa esse decet. Parum curandum est, si quos habeas aut invidos aut obtrectatores, modo id inique et praeter causam faciant.

Haec ideo volui tibi significare, ut intelligas clementiam reginae tibi non defuturam, qua virtute tua parta, nihil est, quod aliorum malevolentiam vereare. Tuto  
35 igitur si tuae famae honori et commodo vis consulere, ad nos venire poteris. Quod, ut facias, te vehementer rogo. Vale.

Ex Znoymae 28. Maii 1529.

## 10

Miklós Oláh to Johann Ludwig Brassicanus  
Znojmo, 28 May 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 6.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 9.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 600.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-FIRU 1963, 194.

*Brassicanus recommended Polyphemus as the servant of Erasmus: for him the name Erasmus is ample recommendation, whose virtues he cannot but admire and praise, and at Brassicanus' behest he will indeed write him a letter. He hopes that the brothers will write good things about him to Erasmus.*

Ad Iohannem Brassicanum<sup>1</sup> responsio.

Quod tu Erasmi famulum, mi Brassicane, mihi tantopere commendas, facis tu quidem amici officium, qui soles facere amicos apud me commendatos, et tua igitur

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27 nonnullorum] *O corr.* ex nonnullarum 30 sibi] *O corr.* ex a se 31 Parum] *O corr.* ex Parvum  
32 faciant] *O corr.* ex faciunt 36 facias] *O corr.* faciam

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10 <sup>1</sup> Johann Ludwig Brassicanus (1509–1549) was a philologist, jurist, an advisor to the Habsburg Monarchy and the younger brother of Johann Alexander Brassicanus, the famous professor of the University of Tübingen. Both of them were in Vienna at this time.

commendatione, et Erasmi nomine fuit Poliphemus<sup>2</sup> satis apud me commendatus, saneque cognovit nec tuam commendationem, nec domini sui amorem, quo illi iam- 5  
pridem ob eius magnas virtutes, ut tu te scis, mirifice sum devinctus, apud me fuisse  
vulgarem, quibus in rebus indignit meae operae, liberaliter eam est expertus, quod ab  
eo, dum ad te venerit, intelliges. Erasmi virtutes non in hemicyclo, ut tu scribis, so-  
lum, sed in aliis quoque omnibus locis, dum fuit usus, mirifice celebravi. Est enim 10  
dignum, ut ab omnibus rara ipsius virtus, et divinum ingenium praedicetur. At cur  
ego illius virtutes, doctrinam et miram eruditionem non suspicerem? Qui a tot il-  
lustribus viris et celebratus iam olim est, et nunc quoque in ore bonorum omnium  
versatur? Viderer, ni id facerem, omnium esse incivilior, daturus sum ad eum meas,  
ut tu cupis, litteras.

Tu et frater tuus<sup>3</sup> scient, quid de me ad illum scribant. Credo ambos, quae vera 15  
erunt scripturos, non est opus, cur vos scriptionis admoneam, satis superque mei  
nominis observantissimos et mihi amicissimos. Vale.

Znojmae 28. Maii 1529.

## 11

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Znojmo, 31 May 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 7–8.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 10–11.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 601–602.

*1. Oláh cannot but wonder about Kálnai's silence: is everything all right? Or has he forgotten about their friendship that he has not received a word from him? Even though goodwill partly depends on answering in time, and on responding to our friends' letters. 2. He is not the first to act this way, many have procrastinated, that is also what Cicero did, who was silent for a while when he left Pompey's party. Even if*

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10,6 eius magnas] *O mut. ex suas divinas* 9 quoque] *O add. sup. l.* 15 ad illum] *O mut. ex illi*

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<sup>2</sup> Felix Rex (†1549) worked at the Froben printing house in Ghent. Erasmus gave him the nickname Polyphemus and prepared his *Cyclops* at Rex' request. Rex often delivered Erasmus' letters, e.g. he handed over the *Vidua Christiana* to Queen Mary of Habsburg, see ALLEN 1934, 99. Although he had good recommendations, such as from Luther and Melancthon, he did not find a proper patron until 1534. That year he went to Prussia with Dantyszek and attended on Duke Albert of Prussia. He became the first librarian of the University of Kaliningrad, see ALLEN 1934, 99, and ROERSCH 1910, 83–99. Felix Rex arrived to Znojmo around 28 May, 1529, after he had met Brassicanus in Vienna. He spent the whole winter in Bohemia. For more, see Erasmus Ep. 2130. Felix Rex to Erasmus, ALLEN 1934, 99. | <sup>3</sup> Johann Alexander Brassicanus (ca. 1500–1539) German humanist author and a famous professor of the University of Tübingen. For more see GUENTHER 1985c.

*Kálnai has also failed, he should not stay silent but come on out. 3. Oláh knows how much Kálnai values family ties, but he cannot hide at home forever; what is more, he will be of real use to them only if he dedicates himself to good causes. 4. Besides, there are also quite a few Hungarians in Znojmo, and the many Germans here are as cordial as if they were Hungarians. Kálnai should write or come there as soon as possible.*

Ad Emericum Kalnay archidiaconum Strasilvaniensem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Non possum non mirari, mi Kalnay, hanc tuam diuturnam, qua uteris, taciturnitatem, credo te omnino vel malam habere valetudinem, vel veteris nostrae amicitiae et familiaritatis suavissimae esse oblitum; causam, cur ita tamdiu taceas, nec cogitare nec suspicari possum. Provocatus aliquot meis iam litteris, ne iotam quidam  
5 ad me rescripsisti, hanc ne putas amici hominis debere esse, aut naturam, aut consuetudinem, ut perpetuo apud amicos sileat, id si ita esse arbitraris, erras mirum in modum, an ignoras hominem nihil reddere magis commendabilem, quam humanitatem, comitatem et in amicos singularem benevolentiam, benevolentiae autem non minima  
10 pars in eo pendet, si amicis de nobis benemeritis in tempore responderimus, his maxime a quibus crebris litteris ad scribendum provocamur. Fortassis otium te domesticum delectat, eo amicis scribendo suavior esse deberes, quo plus habes otii; sed te movet, quod desciveris a nostra parte, et pudet rursus redire, vel vereris aliquid litteris committere, quod alteri factioni molestum esse possit. Hoc si cogitas et huius rei  
15 dolor te angit, non parum a vero aberras.

[2.] Non novum est, quod fecisti, multi praeclari et sapientissimi viri tempore cesserunt, et eam quisque secutus est partem, quae sibi visa est optima. Nonne legisti Marcum Tullium<sup>2</sup> parentem patriae suae partem Pompei,<sup>3</sup> cui multum ob illius in se beneficia debebat, deseruisse, cessisseque tempore, et in aliqua parte Iulio Caesari<sup>4</sup>  
20 adhaesisse. Itidem multi etiam alii praestantissimi fecere viri, quos tibi nunc ideo non numero, quod sciam te illorum optime meminisse. Si igitur tu quoque lapsus es, secutus animi tui iudicium, et tempore non nihil tribueris, non ideo perpetuo tacere et maerere debes. Resipiscendum est aliquando, et post errorem commissum sanius consilium amplectendum, ne studiorum et rationis nostrae, qua a Deo optimo ornati  
25 sumus, omnino obliti, in inhumanitatem quandam relabamur. Quod tu meo iudicio facere et facilius et commodius poteris, si te ab otio domestico in hanc curiam, laboribus licet non omnino vacuum, otii contuleris, et non tantum commodo tuo, quantum utilitati patriae inservieris.

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11,2 uteris] *O corr. ex veteris* 5 aliquot...iam] *O corr. et mut. ex aliquoniam meis* 10 maxime...11 a] *O mut. ex a maxime* 21 quod] *O corr. ex quia* | sciam] *O corr. ex scio* 27 otii] *O corr. ex ocuis*

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11 <sup>1</sup> Instead of *Transilvaniensem*. | <sup>2</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero (BC 106–43), Roman statesman, philosopher, and author. | <sup>3</sup> Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus (BC 106–48), member of the First Triumvirate. | <sup>4</sup> Caius Julius Caesar (BC 100–44), another member of the First Triumvirate.



[3.] Scio te magnum habere matris fratrumque tuorum desiderium, non parum quoque te hac re movere, ut procul a curia, et tu vitam domi agere cum illis possis, et illi tua se oblectent praesentia. Tamen non tam difficiles eos esse arbitror, quin te ad tempus exiguum tui potius, quam alterius commodi causa, facile careant, haec eos facere, eorum in te amor benevolentiaque, qua ubi afficiuntur, admonent. Nam si perpetuo delitesces domi, vitam acturus otiosam, nullique aliquam utilitatem allaturam, nec eis nec tibi ipsi proderis, sed procul dubio et te et eos facti poenitebunt te, quod non veneris patriaeque, dum opus erat, non inservires, ipsos quod facultatem tam bonam rem faciendi ubi eripuerint.

[4.] Non premaris ea cura, quod hic Hungari sint pauci, quibuscum familiaritatem habere possis, pauci licet sint, sunt tamen omnes, qui hic sunt verae amicitiae amantes. Illi quoque Germani, quorum maior est numerus, usque adeo sunt humanissimi, ut non secus tecum vivant, quam si Hungari essent, et vetusta maximaque tecum iuncti familiaritate; si sapis igitur, scribe ad me deinceps crebrius, vel venias citissime. Vale.

Znoymae ultima Maii anno 1529.

## 12

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Buda, 29 June 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 368.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 11.

*1. He has received Lucretia Virgo's gilded gift, which he hereby wholeheartedly thanks for. 2. For Oláh's question as to what is happening at the moment, he cannot provide a suitable answer. They are expecting the sultan and are terrified of him; noblemen, commoners, and peasants are fleeing in uncountable numbers. Mehmed Bey has scorched Mohács again, and Bába was also partly burned down. They have no sloop or any equipment at all until some arrive from abroad.*

Thomas episcopus Agriensis Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae. Carissime Domine et Frater!

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30 possis] *O corr.* ex posses 31 oblectent] *O corr.* ex oblectarent 32 tui] *O corr.* ex mi 33 ubi] *O del. et mut.* ex in te ad tempus exiguum 34 delitesces] *O corr.* ex delitescis 37 rem] *O mut.* ex opus | ubi] *O add. sup. l., dub.* 42 familiaritate] *corr.* ex familiatate | citissime] *O corr.* ex certissime

[1.] Accepi Lucretiae Virginis<sup>1</sup> munusculum bene auratum. Egi illi gratias et per vos ago, quas possum, quod mei memor fuerit, utinam aliqua inveniri possit digna  
5 conditio virtuti suae, mea defutura non est industria, ut optima Virgo viro item optimo idque in Hungaria locetur.

[2.] Quæris, quid agatur, non facile possum uno aut altero verbo explicare. Caesar expectatur, timetur, fuga est undique et nobilium, et civium, et agrestium tanta, ut maior fieri nequeat. Mohach iterum per Mehmet begum<sup>2</sup> combustum funditus.  
10 Item Bathae<sup>3</sup> dimidia pars. Nasadistam nullum habemus, nullus fit apparatus, neque erit antequam vires aliquae externae compareant. Bene valete.

Budae in festo Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum anno Domini 1529.

### 13

#### Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I Znojmo, 11 July 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 8–11.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 12–14.

*1. Oláh lists King Ferdinand I's merits and virtues which make him suitable for the throne. They could hardly find a more desirable ruler, who had undertaken this difficult task in the interest of the Christian world already at a young age. 2. All of Hungary's hope is in him, as is the Christian world's. Oláh is well aware what a great burden the ruler undertook when he called the leaders of the Christian world to arms against the Turks. 3. He should come to Hungary and drive out the enemy from the border as well, and he should be ensign and ruler of Christ's people.*

Ad regem Ferdinandum Nicolaus Olaus.

[1.] Cum ego tuas eximias, Rex Serenissime, animi dotes mecum ipse considero, non possum non in incredibilem duci admirationem, Deum optimum maximum his postremis Christianarum rerum temporibus te ingenio, sapientia, iustitia et omnibus  
5 excellentis animi virtutibus abunde praeditum, regno Hungariae aliisque provinciis hostibus reipublicae Christianae propinquis, praeesse voluisse. Vix enim cogitari potest, quemnam alium te et sufficientiorem et meliorem Deus populo suo multos iam annos, plurimis attrito malis et calamitatibus praeficere hoc tempore potuisset. Nam qui tot laboribus, curis et sollicitudinibus, quas maximas regni Hungariae nunc

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12 <sup>1</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross) (†1556) was Queen Mary of Habsburg's favourite court-lady. She was the secret lover of Oláh, their (illegitimate) daughter was Lucretia, whom Oláh called his niece (the daughter of his brother Tamás), see FAZEKAS 2002, 228; RÉTHELYI 2007, 1207; and KERKHOFF 2008, 60–61. Lucretia later married Leonhard Nogueroel, see HEISS 1971, 422, and KERKHOFF 2008, 61. | <sup>2</sup> Mehmed Bey, presumably Yahya-Pasha-zade Mehmed Bey, see Ep. 97. | <sup>3</sup> Bátaszék in Tolna county was two separate settlements at this time: Báta and Szék. Báta had a Benedictine monastery.

requirit defensio, sufficere videatur, repertu est difficile, tum quod huius laboribus et 10  
curis pro republica Christiana suscipiendis aetatem floridam, industriam, prudentiam-  
que singularem maxime coniunctam esse oporteat. Tum quod is sit praeclara oriun-  
dus domo, stemmate, opibus, divitiis, fratribus potentissimis abunde communitus.  
Haec vero omnia in nemine magis, quam in te uno, nostro hoc aevo reperire pos-  
sumus. Quem enim nobilitate, vetustate familiae, quam ex antiqua ducis caesarum 15  
origine, aetate, quae in te est nunc florentissima, curis, sollicitudinibus et laboribus,  
quorum omnibus anni temporibus es maxime patientissimus, tecum conferre pos-  
sumus? Nimirum neminem nunc esse in omni fere Christianitate existimo non modo  
principem aut regem, sed ne privatum quidem, qui his omnibus, quae in vero inesse  
debeant principe, animi virtutibus tecum certare audeat. 20

[2.] Macte igitur animo et virtute, Rex Serenissime, te tantis adeo maximo auctum  
esse animi corporisque dotibus, nos vero laetari et sorti nostrae gratulari debemus.  
Eum regem et principem ex gratia Dei nos esse consecutos, qui miserum populum  
Hungaricum tot annis, cum hostibus fidei acerrime pugnantem et concertantem a  
servitute, quae iam iam nobis (nisi Deus te ministro prospexerit) imminere videtur, 25  
turpissima atrocissimaque liberare et in pristinam asserere libertatem, quietem et  
tranquillitatem collocare possit. Quo magis enitendum est tibi, Rex Inclite, ut Dei in  
nos collato benefico, vita, mores et actiones tuae futurae respondeant; nam si a tuis  
pristinis moribus virtutibusque, quibus in minoribus agens praeclarissime, et cum  
maxima tam tua, quam tuorum gloria, subditis tuis praeuisti, nunc illecebris fortunae 30  
tuae maioris aliquo modo degeneraveris et desciveris, atque tuorum subditorum,  
quibus praees defendendorum, modicam habueris curam: frustra te a Deo nobis dona-  
tum existimabimus et non minores tuis laudibus ante actis, offundes tenebras, quam  
prius re bene gesta magnam tibi compararas gloriam, denique non etiam tui te subditi  
ferent, sed dum perspexerint gratis se in te spem suae defensionis fixisse, sub tuoque 35  
nomine periclitari potius, quam pristinum recuperare statum, nihil erit, quod in te non  
sint molituri. Omnes inquirent vias, omnem pertentabunt modum, quibus a te defi-  
cere conentur, et alium a Deo sibi dari flagitent, quo defensore ac principe salus et  
quies eorum pristina ad eos redeat, licet autem non sim nescius, quam diligentem et  
accuratam operam impenderis a multis iam annis, et quantum sollicitaveris principes 40  
Christianos et communitatem omnem imperii, ut aliquid adferrent auxilii ad commu-  
nem hostem Christianitatis propellendum. Tamen non vereor me aliqua notari temeritate,  
si te amore ductus patriae, maxime vero defensionis Christianitatis, sine calcari-

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13,11 floridam] *O del. ex floridam et* 12 sit] *O del. ex sit* necesse est 14 vero omnia] *O add. sup. l.*  
16 origine] *corr. ex origine* 20 debeant] *O corr. ex debent* 22 laetari] *O corr. ex laetare* | nostrae] *O*  
*corr. ex meae* 26 libertatem] *O del. ex libertatem in priorem* 34 compararas] *O corr. ex comparares*

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13,43 sine...44 currentem] Cf. "Non sine calcaribus vult currere sepe caballus." A poem from the 15<sup>th</sup>-  
century, see INGUANEZ 1915, 82.

bus satis, ut dicunt, currentem his paucis meis admonerem, non ut addi possit aliquid  
45 tuae diligentiae et sollicitudini, quae maxima est, sed ne inter quam plures, qui te  
urgent, sollicitant, et ad hoc ipsum orant: solus videar tacere et oblitus esse patriae  
salutis.

[3.] Veni igitur, Rex Serenissime, et tuo regno Hungariae olim florenti nunc vero  
penitus desolato ocius succurrere et quod iam pridem es pollicitus, nunc dum tempus  
50 est, praesta viriliter et strenue: atque hostibus, qui iam in limitibus sunt Hungariae,  
resiste, non deerunt hic tuorum tibi subsidia et praesidia, imprimis autem divinum  
auxilium praesto tibi erit. Quod ipse procul dubio virtute sua ineffabili faciet, ut  
hostes ipsi sponte fugient, sis modo signifer et imperator populi Christi, haec quae-  
cumque sunt, quae scripsi in bonam, Princeps Serenissime, oro, accipe partem, et me  
55 non alium existima, quam tuum fidelem servitorem, scripsissemque propterea, ut iam  
tandem defensionem regni tui capescas. Quod feceris si ex Bohemia, ubi multa iam  
egisti tempora, cito redieris. Vale.

Znoymae 11. Iulii 1529.

## 14

Miklós Oláh to Johann Henckel  
Znojmo, 19 July 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 11–12.

*Published:* FRANKL 1872, 25–26. IPOLYI 1875, 14–15.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 603–604.

*1. Oláh was sorry to hear that Henckel had been captured by robbers near Wroclaw, who took his horse, but he is happy that at least no further harm befell him. 2. It is good that he had not taken all his valuables with him, otherwise they also would have taken the cup they intended to give to Erasmus. 3. As soon as he has finished his affairs, he should hasten back. The Queen has ordered that 100 gold coins should be paid out to him in Wroclaw.*

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52 virtute...ineffabili] *O add. in marg.* 53 ipsi sponte] *O mut. ex soli* 55 tuum fidelem] *O del. ex tuum*  
minimum fidelemque | scripsissemque] *corr. ex scripsisseque* 56 defensionem] *O corr. ex defensione*

Ad Ioannem Henkellum<sup>1</sup> parochum Cassoviensem.<sup>2</sup>

[1.] Dum nihil de te certi audire possemus, venit tandem ad nos triste nuntium, quo accepimus te in manus quorundam praedonum, cum iter non longe a Wratislavia<sup>3</sup> faceres, incidisse, et viatico, quod ferebas, equoque a me tibi donato, esse privatum. Id incredibilem certe tristitiam et mihi et tuis omnibus id concitavit, verum non 5 parum rursus deposita tristitia laetati sumus, tibi nihil in corpore contigisse periculi. Iacturam rerum compensabit corporis incolumitas. Gratulor igitur tibi, mi Henkelle, te evasisse incolumem manus latronum, et agere Wratislaviae, si iactura rerum tuarum ablatarum maeres. Facis tu quidem humanis id affectibus, ut omnes homines 10 damno accepto tristari solent, sed si apostolorum Christi, quorum tu vires geris, disseminando verba domini, acta recordaberis, si calamitates, pericula viarum, quae latissime Paulus<sup>4</sup> noster percenset, cogitaris, nihil erit, quod magno tenearis rerum amissarum maerore.

[2.] Optime tibi provisum fuit, te reclusas illas tuas descendentes apud me reliquisses, fortasse illis quoque tecum habuisses, privatus fuisses. Nunc laetari potes te 15 talem habere rerum tuarum conservatorem, qui eas, dum redieris, salvas tibi reddat, non omnino tamen tuae id fortunae tribuo, sed Erasmi potius nostri, cui poculum apud me relictum iam pridem designasti, privatus eo et ille, et tu fuisses. Si hoc tecum detulisses, dum salvus es corpore, nihil plus de te audire concupiscimus, adeo nihil 20 nos movet rerum temporalium iactura, pro quibus amissis, si in praeceptis Dei perseveraverimus, mutuam amplexi fuerimus caritatem, spem nostram universam sincera fide in Deo collocaverimus, centuplum in vita illa caelesti et saepe etiam in hac praesenti consequemur.

[3.] Nihil tibi aliud est curandum, quam ut confectis istis tuis rebus, cito ad nos revertare. Regina, ut fuit semper in te benigna, nunc quoque non parvum suae erga te 25

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14,2 possemus] *O corr. ex possumus* 5 id] *O add. sup. l.* 7 compensabit] *O corr. ex compensavit*  
18 hoc] *O corr. ex hunc* 22 etiam] *O corr. ex iam* 25 parvum suae] *O corr. ex parva saepe*

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14 <sup>1</sup> Johann Henckel (1481–1539) was an eminent Silesian scholar of this period. He corresponded with Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. As the court chaplain of Queen Mary of Habsburg, he accompanied her to Brussels and recommended Erasmus of Rotterdam to her attention. In 1531 he returned to Silesia and was Canon in the church in Wrocław until his death, see FRANKL 1872; DOMONKOS 1986; ZIMMERMANN 1938, and BAUCH 1884. | <sup>2</sup> Košice. | <sup>3</sup> Wrocław. | <sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely, probably Paulus comes, see Ep. 89.

benevolentiae indicium declaravit, iussit enim, ut Sawormanus<sup>5</sup> centum ducatos Wratislaviae numerari tibi curaret. Quos istic ab ipsius liberis accipies. Vale.

Znoymae 19. Iulii anno 1529.

15

Miklós Oláh to Mihály Fejérvári  
Znojmo, 19 July 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 12–13.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 15.

*Oláh expresses his genuine admiration and appreciation of the provost. As long as he has known him, he has looked up to him as if to his own father; since he sets an example and inspires others to imitate his own proper way of life. That is all he wants to say and that he would be happy to receive a letter from him.*

Ad Michaellem praepositum<sup>1</sup> doctorem utriusque iuris.

Quantum semper tuis virtutibus tribuerim, et quam te amarim ob incredibiles animi tui dotes, clare iam pridem multis argumentis, intelligere potuisti. Nam ab eo tempore, quo te cognovi, miris modis te semper veneratus sum, non aliter, ut meum  
5 alterum parentem. Hi enim, qui virtutibus sunt praediti, et nihil aliud, quam praeclari semper facinoris in alios edunt argumenta, parentis loco haberi debent, hanc nimirum ob causam, ut virtus suum ubique habeat honorem et alii quoque honoris in se confendi, facti cupidores, studeant bonos imitari.

Haec paucis ad te volui scribere, ut intelligeres, quanto in te semper fuerim amore  
10 et qua sim etiam nunc benevolentia. Quo si me esse in te animo existimaveris, merito certe id facies, et dignam rem ostendes mutuae nostrae amicitiae. Quod ita te facere arbitror, si haec mea erga te voluntas grata tibi futura erit, et id ita esse, mihi litteris tuis significaveris. Vale.

Znoymae 19. Iulii 1529.

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15,8 studeant] *O corr.* ex studiant 11 nostrae] *O corr.* ex meae | Quod] *O del.* ex Quod si

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<sup>5</sup> A member of the famous merchant family Saueremann or Saurman of Wrocław, probably Konrad Saueremann. In 1521, he was creditor of Pál Várday, Bishop of Veszprém. In 1525 Queen Mary permitted Konrad Saurman and Heinrich von Witte to use as much silver as they mined in Świdnica, to make coin; as a result as the coins were low-grade. Queen Mary was discontented with his performance and their conflict lasted many years. Even so, he was ennobled by Emperor Charles V in 1530. About the family see ERBE 1987a, for more on Konrad's life see HEISS 1971, 398–400. 15 <sup>1</sup> Mihály Fejérvári was Provost of Kalocsa, see HEGEDŰS 1997, 129–130; WINKLER 1935, 6, 10–13, and UDVARDY 1992, 55–59.

16

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Znojmo, 19 July 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 13.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 15.

*Oláh voices his concern that he has not heard anything about his friend for a while and urges him to write.*

Ad amicum.

Multis modis sum de te, amice carissime, anxius; iamdudum enim nihil certi de tuo statu audivi, et ob eam rem turbor maxime, nec cogitare possum, unde id contigerit, quod a tanto tempore nec ad me quemquam miseris, nec scripseris, fac ergo, si me amas, ut quam saepissime ad me scribas. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Ex Znoyma 19. Iulii 1529.

17

Zsigmond Szeremlényi to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 1 September 1529

*Manuscript used:* Vienna, HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 12. Konv. C fol. 2rv

*1. Szeremlényi met János Czeglédi in Vienna, whom he informed about the latest events. Their scout had gone to Pozsony and returned to say that the Turks are at Kömlőd, that is, six miles from Buda. 2. In the meantime, King John I had gone to Székesfehérvár, and the Turkish Emperor surrounded Buda, if he has not occupied it yet. He provides a status report about the siege of Esztergom. It is rumored that German soldiers have driven out the Hungarians from Bratislava.*

Praemissa servitorum meorum commendatione, Reverendissime Domine Honorandissime!<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Cum per reverendissimum dominum meum cancellarium regium huc Vienne missus fuisset, reperi officialem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae dominum Ioannem Czegledinum<sup>2</sup> affinem meum et ne sine istis ad Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam proficisceretur, volui de quibusdam novitatibus eandem certiore facere.

17 <sup>1</sup> For his letter see HEGEDŰS 1997, 131. | <sup>2</sup> János Czeglédi, Provisor of Oláh. He was Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Győr between 1534–1541, and Canon of Veszprém from 1543, see KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI 1909, 275, 299, and BEDY 1938, 359–360.

Explorator noster sabbato proxime praeterito<sup>3</sup> rediit ad Posonium,<sup>4</sup> qui retulit caesarum Turcarum feria secunda ante Bartholomei<sup>5</sup> in possessionem Kunlewd<sup>6</sup> ab  
10 Buda sex milliaribus<sup>7</sup> reliquisse. Procursores autem Turci eodem die in suburbio civitatis Budensis affuerunt. Feria quinta aut sexta post Bartholomei<sup>8</sup> Ioannes Zapo-  
liensis<sup>9</sup> ingressus est Albam Regalem<sup>10</sup> et iisdem diebus caesar ipse undequaque circumdedit castrum et civitatem Budensem. Refertur, quod iam ceperit Budam.

[2.] Cum haec ita agerentur, Thomas Nadasdi ad explorandum pro se exiverat de  
15 castro utcumque ab Hungaris vel Turcis notus: insecuti sunt eum, ut vix castrum ingressus est. Sabbato tunc sequenti Turcae et Hungari fuerunt Strigonii,<sup>11</sup> qui statim castrum sagittare coeperunt: dummodo Strigoniensis<sup>12</sup> est in castro suo Dregel,<sup>13</sup> nulla spes nobis est, ut Budense castrum, Wyssegrad,<sup>14</sup> Strigonium non capiatur. Hodie Viennam ruit fama, quales laucigeni<sup>15</sup> Hungaros ex castro Posoniensi simul-  
20 cum Ioanne Zalay<sup>16</sup> expulissent, tamen ut hoc revera scribere possum, incertum adhuc habeo. Hodie civitas Viennensis fecit computum, quantum peditum et equitum haec potest: caesar Romanorum est in Italia, habet pacem perpetuam cum sancto pontifice, cum rege Francorum, cum rege Angliae, ne forte Deus ex eorum unione defensionis nostrae attendet, quod ut fiat, Deum deprecemur. Turca habet in exercitu  
25 suo III<sup>CM</sup><sup>17</sup> et in aqua I<sup>CM</sup> ingenia magna pro muro<sup>18</sup> VI<sup>C</sup><sup>19</sup> Hungari ab ipsis non impediuntur, ut eo magis ipsos ad se alliciat, sed videant ipsi in futurum, ut fertur Turca vult totam Austriam hac hieme suae ditioni dare. Maxima res est, quod huzarones tam a domino palatino, quam a domino cancellario ad Turcas eunt, illicque libentius esse voluit, quam nobiscum, cum nuper ex Buda Posonium veniremus, provisor  
30 domini mei Ioannes Redneky<sup>20</sup> cum quarta equitibus ad Ioannem ivit, alii itidem

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17,27 ditioni] *corr. ex ditionae*

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<sup>3</sup> 28 August. | <sup>4</sup> Bratislava. | <sup>5</sup> St. Bartholomew's Day is on 24 August; *feria secunda ante Bartholomei* was on 23 August. | <sup>6</sup> Kömlöd. | <sup>7</sup> The extent of an old Hungarian mile depended on the geography. It was between 1.74–8.35 kilometres, but sometimes it went up to 11.3 kilometres. If we calculate with about 8 kilometres per one old Hungarian mile, we get about 50 kilometres, which distance is in accordance with the distance between Buda and Kömlöd, see BOGDÁN 1987, 58. | <sup>8</sup> On Thursday or Friday after St. Bartolomew's, i.e. 26 or 27 August. | <sup>9</sup> János Szapolyai (1487–1540) or King John I was Voivode of Transylvania before his coronation. He had himself proclaimed king at the Diet of Székesfehérvár on 10 November, 1526 as a result of which civil war broke out. | <sup>10</sup> Székesfehérvár. | <sup>11</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>12</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>13</sup> Drégely. | <sup>14</sup> Visegrád. | <sup>15</sup> Or *lancigeri*, *Landsknechts*, meaning infantrymen of peasant origin. | <sup>16</sup> János Szalay of Kerecsény, Bailiff of Pozsony county from 1527. He remained loyal to King Ferdinand I till the end. One of his best friends was Tamás Nádasdy, with whom he corresponded as well, see BESSENYEI 1994, *passim*. | <sup>17</sup> Unclear reading. *CM* probably means 100,000, so III<sup>CM</sup> would mean 300,000 of infantrymen. | <sup>18</sup> Battering cannons, see SIMON 2008, 318. | <sup>19</sup> VI<sup>C</sup> probably means 600. <sup>20</sup> János Redneki, the accountant of the income of the Bishop of Veszprém, previous hussar at the court of King Louis II, see FÖGEL 1917, 62.



faciunt, quid deinde sequetur, Deus novit. Haec volui Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae scribere, ne me negligentem putare posset, cui me iterum commendo.

Viennae feria tertia in festo Beati Egidii abbatis 1529.

Servitor Sigismundus Zeremlyeny<sup>21</sup>

*On the outer side:* Reverendo Domino Nicolao Olah, custodi Albensi, utrumque maiestatum Secretario, Domino meo Honorandissimo.

## 18

Miklós Oláh to Pál Gerébi  
Znojmo, 4 September 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 13–16.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 15–18.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 195–197.

1. He expresses his worry and anxiety about the present and future of the homeland. 2. It is rumored that King Charles V is arriving to the Italian border, but according to Oláh, he has enough on his plate even without Hungary and the Turks, and he only trusts King Ferdinand I, although they have been preparing to defend Hungary for nine months now. 3. In the meantime the Turks have occupied Pécs and Székesfehérvár, and it is clear as day that they have also reached Buda. 4. The Czechs have not sent troops, and they have not gone to war themselves either as they had promised. But the Moravians have given money to King Ferdinand I for 3,000 infantrymen, and they will also send another 3,000 men, and Johann von Hardegg is bringing 500 horsemen from Silesia. 5. While he is writing these, he receives a note that another 500 men will be joining the army, which is starting to grow in number; the question is if this will be enough. 6. They can only trust in God, he will have mercy on them.

Ad Paulum Gerebium.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Torqueor mirum in modum praesentium temporum perturbatione. Video undequaque nobis mala imminere, quae vitari certe poterant, nisi principes nostri belli, quam pacis, et privati magis, quam publici commodi, sine ullo futurorum malorum respectu cupidi, se sua sponte in haec mala coniicere voluissent. Iam perlubenter rem et consilium suum mutarent: si commode fieri posset, sed frustra res agitur, dum occasio et tempus praeteriere. 5

[2.] Audivimus caesarem Carolum venisse ad Italiae fines. Quid id nobis praesidii afferre poterit? Satis habet negotii res suas privatas curare, magis eum in animo

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18,3 imminere] *O corr. ex minere*

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<sup>21</sup> Zsigmond Szeremlényi was Royal Secretary. 18 <sup>1</sup> He can possibly be identified as Pál Geréb of Gáltó, see JAKÓ 1990, 164.

10 habere credo, quo pacto in Urbe coronetur, quam Hungariae et omnium vicinarum  
regionum defensionem. Regem nostrum, quantum in se est, arbitror totis viribus  
innisurum ad nostram regnique sui tam aviti, quam quaesiticii tutelam, sed prae hoste  
tam potentissimo et multis triumphis victoriisque aucto, quid solus facere potest?  
15 Novem iam abest mensibus, eo nomine, ut aliquid praesidii et auxilii ab imperio et  
aliis suis regnis ad Hungariae defensionem compararet; et tamen nihil video a tanto  
tempore confectum esse, praeter inane auxilii contra Turcos mittendi nomen, verbo-  
rum et pollicitationum et ab imperio et aliis regnis satis habemus, re tamen ipsa nihil  
praestari videmus, ob quam rem nihil aliud undique video, quam pericula (ni Deus ex  
immensa sua bonitate celeriter nobis providerit) toti Christianitati imminere.

20 Spes nulla nobis est, et si quae est, vana est, nullum praesidium, quo possumus  
tuti esse. Unde autem haec malorum nostrorum seges accesserit, et quae sit origo  
periculi Christianitatis, attende brevibus, dum nullius est boni respectus, dum suae  
quisque studet utilitati, et publica negliguntur, iustitia nemini administratur, viduae et  
orphani miris affliguntur malis, postremo dum et divina et humana sine ullo discri-  
25 mine posthabentur.

[3.] Interim hostis potentissimus irrupit in viscera nostra: hortatu nescio cuius  
principis Christiani Quinqueecclesias<sup>2</sup> occupavit et Albam Regalem,<sup>3</sup> eius duces sunt  
hi, de quibus bene erat merita Hungaria, hi nec Deum nec honorem suum timentes,  
omnia promiscue agunt, eorum hortatu miseri coloni in servitutem abducuntur pepe-  
30 tuam, virgines stuprantur, coniugatae opprimuntur, viduae ad omne libidinis genus  
compelluntur. Quod vero crudelius est, non contenti finibus Hungariae, et omnium,  
qui in ea sunt, periculis, aliis quoque Christianitatis regnis exitium et simile pericu-  
lum moliuntur, eoque sunt, ut iam apertissimis iudiciis et documentis cognovimus,  
animo, ut vicinas Hungariae regiones invadant, et per eas alia quoque Christianorum  
35 regna penetrent. Rex noster licet maximis curis, studiis in hoc dies et noctes versatur,  
hoc cogitat, ut coactis omnium suorum regnorum viribus, primo quoque tempore  
Hungariae subveniat, hostesque Dei auxilio propellat. Tamen ubique videntur res  
tardius quam existimabamus sperabamusque procedere.

[4.] Bohemi polliciti fuerant, ultra ea, quae promiserant ante auxilia sese quoque  
40 in propria persona paratos futuros cum rege, dum Turcarum adventum audituri, et  
certo intellecturi essent. Iam sole clarius intelligunt Turcum Budam usque perve-  
nisse, Quinqueecclesiis et Alba Regali captis. Et nihil adhuc de eis audimus, quod

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14 et<sup>1</sup>] *O corr.* ex ex 17 pollicitationum] *O corr.* ex pollitationum 23 negliguntur] *O mut.* ex  
posthabentur 26 potentissimus] *O corr.* ex potentissimos 27 Christiani] *O corr.* ex Christianitati  
30 omne] *corr.* ex omnem 39 ea...auxilia] *O mut. et add. in marg.* ex ea auxilia, quae promiserant  
42 eis] *O mut.* ex Bohemis

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<sup>2</sup> Pécs. | <sup>3</sup> Székesfehérvár.

declaret eos promissa servaturos; heri venit ad me spectatae fidei nobilis Bohemus ex Praga, qui mihi hac de re percontanti nihil apparatus se vidisse dixit.

Moravi instruunt tria peditum milia, ultra datam illam pecuniae summam, quam regi ad alia tria milia peditum conducenda nuper dederunt, hi, videor videre, ultra omnes alios regis negotia curae habent, et sollicitius rem Christianitatis tractant, si quis soli facere possunt. Ex Silesia quingenti afferuntur equites duce comite Ioanne ab Hardeck,<sup>4</sup> qui ad diem dominicum proxime venturum constituturi sunt in finibus Moraviae versus Hungariam. Austria non magnam dare potest cum Stiria, Carniola, Carintheaque hominum copiam; ea, quam rex et ab imperio, et ex aliis principum ad ducum auxiliis secum speratur ducturus hominum copiam, maior futura esse creditur inter alios omnes apparatus, quae si etiam advenerit, utinam par sit tanto hosti repellendo.

[5.] Dum haec scriberem, accepi copias, quae promissae sunt in subsidium Hungariae plures futuras quinquaginta milibus hominum; hic numerus, si adiunctae ei fuerint copiae provinciarum vicinarum, non parvus esse videtur; ad hostis ipsius conatus comprimendos, verum quando convenient? Dum se parant, accingunt, moment, interea Turcus occupata Hungaria Viennam usque appellere potest.

[6.] Deus, qui habenas omnium habet regnorum, scit, quid sit rebus Christianorum concessurus, benignus est, bonus est, pius est permitti ad tempus propter scelera populum suum affligi. Non patietur tamen ad extremum periclitari, dum viderit preces piorum ad se continue advolare, auresque suas continuis piorum observationibus pulsari, solus ipse est spes nostra, qui rem parvam augere, magnam minuere potest, nihil aliud nobis deest, quam quod nos ipsi desumus rebus nostris. Si boni erimus, Deus dexteram suam porriget, si mali, avertet a nobis suam faciem. Haec tibi volui significare, ut scires, quo in periculo versaremur, et quis nos maneret rerum status, et ut te posses consolari, omnem tuam in Deo figens spem, qui bene de se sperantibus nunquam defuit. Vale.

Ex Znoyma 4. Septembris 1529.

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43 declaret] *corr. ex* declaret 47 sollicitius] *O corr. ex* sollicitus 53 repellendo] *O corr. ex* repellendo  
65 quod] *O add sup. l.*

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<sup>4</sup> Johann von Hardegg or Johann, Count of Hardegg and his brother Julius I, Count of Hardegg defended with their own army the Danube bank against the Turks with their own army in 1529.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Boclerus  
Passau, 8 October 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 16.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 18–19.

*1. After they had finally arrived from Znojmo to Linz, they were hoping that what they would find would be better, but it was not: In Linz they learned that the Turks had already surrounded Vienna on 24 September with an army of 300,000. 2. King Ferdinand I went to Prague to gather an army, and Oláh arrived here with Queen Mary, Queen Anne and the royal children on a choppy Danube, awaiting the outcome of the events.*

Ad Ioannem Boclerum.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Qui et per varios casus ex Znoyma ad Lincium pervenimus, utinam melioribus avibus sperabamus omnia nos istic feliciora reperituros. At ea, quae antea fama ipsa audiebamus, oculis intuiti sumus, magnam inter omnes esse trepidationem, nihil  
5 omnino boni praeter quandam spem. Caesaris Turcarum adventum iam dudum audiebamus. In Lincio, dum eo pervenimus, non modo audivimus adventum, sed certo comperimus eum Wiennam obsidione 24. die Septembris<sup>2</sup> cinxisse et tam magna, ut hi, qui ex eo loco venerunt, asserant omnes eius civitatis montes obsessos copiis  
10 Turcarum, caesarem autem tentoria sua fixisse sub Eberstorff arcem<sup>3</sup> regiam veneratoriam. Dum haec res certo ad Lincium perlata esset, et nos quoque ipsi videremus fugientium copias, regique exploratores unus post alium revertentes id confirmarent et Turcarum multitudinem ad trecenta esse millia affirmarent.

[2.] Rex noster, ut est princeps ad omnia pro Christianitate perpetiendi paratus, et animo fortissimo mox se Pragae per equos cursiles celeri itinere contulit, ut Bohemos omnes, ad quos antea quoque pluribus et crebris litteris de hostis adventu et  
15 potentia scripserat, in hac extrema necessitate excitaret et copiis Moravicis ac Slesiacis quoque cum illis coniunctis primo quoque tempore cum exercitu reverteretur, atque nostros, qui Wiennae sunt acerrime obsessi, ab obsidione liberaret. Nos vero

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19,7 24...et] *O mut.* ex obsidione conxisse 24 die Septembris 13 perpetiendi] *O corr.* ex perpetiendi 16 ac] *O corr.* ex et

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19 <sup>1</sup>We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup>The siege lasted from 27 September to 16 October.

<sup>3</sup>Kaiserebersdorf, the former autonomous village today belongs to the 11<sup>th</sup> district of Vienna. The castle became the possession of Emperor Maximilian I in 1499, who had it rebuilt as a hunting castle.

cum regina mea Maria et Anna<sup>4</sup> coniuge ac liberis regiis, illius iussu adverso flumine huc venimus magna certe iactatione Danubii et incommoditate nautica expectaturi, 20 dum aliquid boni a rege et de rerum eventibus simul audituri. Vale.

Ex Patavio 8. die Octobris anno 1529.

20

Miklós Oláh to Pál Gerébi  
Linz, 4 November 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 16–18.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 19–20.

1. The news has arrived that the Turks have left Vienna, and so Queen Anne is planning to go to Innsbruck. 2. Queen Mary and Oláh did not know if they should go to Innsbruck or Bohemia. 3. In the meantime King Ferdinand I arrived unexpectedly to see his family and then proceeded to Krems to gather his captains and to prepare a campaign plan. 4. A significant army was heading toward Hungary, followed by a 500-strong naval fleet.

Ad Paulum Gerebium.

[1.] Scripsi ad te, Paule Carissime, quae hic fuerint acta, cupio, ut ea quoque, quae consecuta sunt, ex meis potius quam aliorum litteris cognoscas. Dum avide expectaremus regis in Bohemia apparatus et exercitum, qui ex eo regno venire debebat, fama advenit Turcam tentata septies cum suorum strage Wiennensi oppu- 5 gnatione ignominiose aufugisse liberatamque Wiennam ab hac quam periculosa obsidione.<sup>1</sup> Sub idem fere tempus regina Anna<sup>2</sup> parabat cum liberis suis abitionem ad Aenipontem,<sup>3</sup> ut iussum ei erat a rege.

[2.] Nos vero cum regina nostra Maria eramus ultra quam dici potest solliciti, utrum ad Aenipontem, an in Bohemiam iter faceremus. Nam profectio illa Thirolen- 10 sis et Germanica terreat nos plurimum, propter victualium, qua ea gens saepe laborat inopiam. Desiderabamus autem iampridem Bohemicam mansionem, ubi facilius victus nobis parari poterat, tum propter civitates reginae illic existentes, tum facultatum etiam nostrarum tenuitatem. Qua de causa miseramus iampridem nuntium ad regem, ut ex eo intelligere possemus, quid nobis proficiscente regina Anna ad 15

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20 magna ... nautica] *O mut.* ex per magnam certe intactationem Danubii et incommoditatem nauticam

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<sup>4</sup> Queen Anne of Bohemia and Hungary, sometimes known as Anna Jagellonica (1503–1547) was Queen of the Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia as the wife of King Ferdinand I, later Holy Roman Emperor. She was the daughter of King Vladislaus II and Queen Anne of Foix-Candale, and the sister of King Louis II.

20 <sup>1</sup> The retreat took place on 16 October. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 19. Note 4. | <sup>3</sup> Innsbruck.

Ispruck faciendum esset, haerebamus inter duos scopulos, sic, cum nuntii reditum et regem exspectaremus, venit mox fama de Turcorum discessione, qua intellecta descendimus sine cunctatione ex Patavio<sup>4</sup> Lincium.

[3.] Triduo post advenit rex Ferdinandus, non eo tamen quo exspectabamus itinere, nam ex via diverterat Patavium amore visendae coniugis et liberorum suorum et etiam sororis suae Mariae. Cum ergo advenisset, iussit hic nos consistere et reginam Annam liberis suis ad Isprwck, uti constitutum erat, missis huc exspectare. Venientibus autem de die in diem multis tum ex imperio tum ex aliis locis, et peditum et equitum copiis ac his Hungaris paucis, qui hic erant, regem ad Hungariam ante hanc  
20  
25  
hiemem recuperandam sollicitantibus, rex descendit ad oppidum Chremesium, eo enim omnes quotquot habuerat exercitus sui duces et capitaneos, tam Bohemos quam Germanos feceret convocari in eum finem, ut deliberaretur, quid esset factu commo-  
dus, et quomodo expeditio Hungarica prosequi deberet.

[4.] Intelligo autem iam istic designatos non paucos milites, qui in Hungariam  
30  
cum exercitu progrediuntur, quorum pars iam aliqua progressa est, reliqua subsequetur classe quinquaginta, si verum est quod huc scribitur, navium et tormentis et hominibus bene instructa. Dicuntur arces, quas nuper amiseramus, absque praesidio a Turcis esse relictas. Id verumne sit, an confingatur, pro maiore nobis danda consolatione, incertum habeo, non est absurdum creditu Turcos parum praesidii in eis reli-  
35  
quisse. Nam cum arbitrati fuerint nos omnibus viribus et copiis adnuros, ut eos nostri insequerentur, et arces illas, quae prae foribus sunt prope nostris recuperare conarentur. Itaque cum Turcarum fines longo a nobis sunt intervallo, nec facile illis conservandis intendere tam procul possunt, verisimile est illos noluisse pati aliquid iacturae et detrimenti in amittendis praesidiis, quae ad arcium ipsarum tutelam relin-  
40  
quere debuissent. Si quae tamen veriora audire poterimus, tam his, tam aliis de rebus, faciemus te certiore. Haec interea volumus tibi nota esse.

Ex Lincio 4. Novembris 1529.

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20,18 cunctatione] *corr.* ex contatione 25 hiemem] *corr.* ex hiemen 33 relictas] *O corr.* ex relictas  
37 Itaque] *O mut.* ex et

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20,16 haerebamus ... scopulos] Cf. Ovid, *Her.* X,135–136: “adspice mente / haerentem scopulo quem vaga pulsat aqua”, and Verg. *Aen.* IV,445–446: “ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras / aetherias”. This allusion frequently occurs, see Ep. 68. and Ep. 418.

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<sup>4</sup> Passau.

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Linz, 30 December 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 18–19.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 20–21.

*Oláh was upset by Gerendi's letters, whom he advises to accept with a steady heart both the good and the bad fate is holding for him.*

Ad Nicolaum Gerendi episcopum Transsilvanensem.

Non possum tuis non moveri querelis, qui iam alioquoties mecum tum de communibus miseriis, tum de his, quae perpeusus sis, malis expostulaveris. Litterae tuae, quibus mecum egisti, et si mirum in modum me delectarint, scribendi tamen argumentum, quo mecum es usus, non parva me contra turbatione affecerunt. Nam intellexi ex pristina nostra consuetudine non parum esse his malis praesentibus acceptis diminutum, quod quam ob rem factum sit, nescio. Mala enim quaelibet et si durissima sunt ad patiendum, tamen non usque adeo hominem commovere fortem praesertim debent, ut veteris amicitiae obliviscantur. Quae si quando obrepunt homini, patienter sunt ferenda, dum meliora successerint tempora. Scis enim rerum humanarum magnam esse vicissitudinem, nunc bona, nunc mala adesse tempora hominibus, quae qualiacumque ventura sunt, aequo ferenda sunt animo, meminisseque nos oportet, ea lege esse natos, ut et prospera et adversa aequo tolleremus.

Quae si cogitatio animum occupavit tuum, profecto non minimum ex tuis doloribus et anxietatibus remiseras, spem habens superventurum rursus boni aliquid, quod animum nostrum exhilaret et mala praeterita bonis praesentibus leniat. Si sapis igitur, et cupis te longam vivere vitam, depone cordis anxietatem, et animum indue omnibus curis liberum. Quod facile facere poteris, si cogitaris hominis vitam temporariam esse et brevissimam, quam satius est tranquille peragere et cum animi laetitia, quam maximis animi perturbationibus. Haec ad te scribere volui, ut cogitares me tibi etiam male affecto in nullis curis defuturum, modo intelligam, quid me facere velis. Vale.

Lincii 30. Decembris 1529.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
[Bratislava], 1529

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 369.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 21.

*He sends his regards to Queen Mary and assures Oláh of his services. According to him, King John I is already lost: the Hungarians hate the Turks so much that for this reason they would never serve Szapolyai.*

Thomas episcopus Agriensis Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae. Carissime Frater, salve!

Feci et faciam, quod hortaris ac petis diligenter, quoties erit opus, ac mea commendatione rebus tuis apud maiestatem regiam prodesse potero. Commenda servitutum meam serenissimae reginae dominae et patronae nostrae.

Ioannes<sup>1</sup> iam pridem fugisset in maximam malam crucem, si nostri aut vellent, aut auderent descendere, post recuperatam Owar<sup>2</sup> nihil prorsus agunt, feriantur, terunt tempus, absumunt regis stipendium. Mirari satis non potero, quoniam haec sit infelicitas. Nostri iam pridem Turcas usque adeo abominantur, ut nihil non aggredierentur in gratiam regis. Serenissima regina nihil rescribit ad meas litteras, quibus illi declaro, qua laborem penuria. Bene vale et me diligas.

1529.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 2 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 369–370.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 22.

*1. Constant troubles are hindering him in writing letters: King John I is attacking Eger and everyone who has gathered from Košice to Eger to defend this castle. 2. The wine has run out, and he is asking that the Queen instruct the appropriate bodies to send good quality wine, and a larger quantity than before. 3. Habardanez has been captured by King John I, while György Báthori and György Sulyok would swear allegiance to King John I, supposedly only as a pretence.*

22 <sup>1</sup> King John I. | <sup>2</sup> Magyaróvár.



Idem Nicolao Olao.

[1.] Noli te rogo in deteriore accipere partem, quod raras ad te litteras dare soleam: faciunt me assiduae curae et occupationes non quidem immemorem officii, sed adeo anxium, ut non semper possim, quod maxime cuperem amicis vel scribendo gratificari. Agria iampridem vehementissime periclitatur. Ioannes, quas potuit vires omnes Hungaricas, Polonicas, infernas et superas in illius loci expugnationem, id est ad fideles regis, qui a Cassovia<sup>1</sup> usque Agriam<sup>2</sup> in illius arcis defensionem conveniunt debellandos. Exercitus regis dici vix potest, quam sit timidus, dicere volebam cautus, omnia circumspicit, omnia etiam, quae fieri non possint, futura existimat. Sic fiet nos etc. Maiestati reginali servitutum meam commendes, rogo. 10

[2.] Tricesimator duo vasa vini dedit tam exigua, ut utrumque quinque, aut sex diebus sit exhaustum, negat se daturum plura, Posonii deputat quibusdam in locis, unde vix iusto vini pretio huc adveherentur. Cura, ut maiestas reginalis mandet, redantur Posonii et bona et non adeo parva.

[3.] Ad maiestatem reginalem nihil est, quod scribere possim aliud, quam quod audio Habardanez<sup>3</sup> in Ioannis captivitate deductum. Georgius de Bathor<sup>4</sup> et episcopus Quinqueelesiensis<sup>5</sup> ad Ioannem miserunt oratores, impetrataque gratia se fideles fore promiserunt, fecte, ut nobis significant. Sed talia figmenta non libenter audio, utinam non deteriora audiamus. Sumus tardi, lenti, timidi. Vale. 15

Posonii secundo Ianuarii 1530.

20

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23,8 timidus... volebam] *O add. in marg.* 14 adeo parva] *O corr. ex ade perma*

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23 <sup>1</sup> Košice. | <sup>2</sup> Eger. | <sup>3</sup> János Habardanez, see Ep. 5. | <sup>4</sup> Probably György I Báthori (†1531), he was Master of Stables (*magister agazonum regalium*) from 1505, and Bailiff of Szatmár, Zaránd, Zala, and Somogy counties, for more see C. TÓTH 2009, 21–32. | <sup>5</sup> György II Sulyok (†1538) was Bishop of Pécs between 1526–1535 and 1537–1538.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Linz, 7 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 19–20.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 22–24.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 604–606.

1. *He is trying to help Nádasdy make a decision, as is customary between friends. 2. Furthermore, he doubts the trustworthiness of the messenger called János and asks Nádasdy to describe what message the boy gave him, to find out if he has transmitted what he was supposed to.*

Ad Thomam Nadasdinum.

[1.] Non potui nec a te, nec ab aliis intelligere, quid tu in rebus tuis, de quibus iam dudum ad me scripseras, agendum constitueris. In eo si permanes proposito, quod mihi significas, minus sapere videris, nam quid tibi commodi illud afferre posset, non  
5 satis potui hactenus tecum cogitare, quid vero rursus incommodi, multas tecum perpendi rationes, de quibus alio tempore tecum copiosius sum acturus. Nunc causa requirit ipsa, ut hac de re ad te scribam. Scis te ab ineunte nostra aetate semper fuisse mihi amicissimum, semper nos duxisse et prospera et adversa pro nostra mutua familiaritate communia, et nihil esse inter nos admissum, quod nostram mutuam diremis-  
10 set coniunctionem. His de causis videor esse obligatus, ut si quod in tuis rebus tibi dare sanum possem consilium, id facerem accurate. Sanius autem nullum dare possum, quam quod te ab pristino proposito avertere, et amicorum tuorum exhortationes, bonorum virorum praesertim admitte. Nihil igitur meo iudicio praeclarior et tuae conditioni conducibilis facere poteris, quam si quam ocissime huc advolaris, principis-  
15 que gratiam et tuapte virtute et amicorum tuorum praesidiis tibi reconciliaris. Quae quamvis bono cuique est prompta et obvia, facilius tamen consequi potest illius praesentia, qui eam habere velit, fitque in eos propemodum proclivior, qui illam videntur efflagitare. Nihil autem tibi defuturum esse video, si veneris. Ea es virtute praeditus, hac morum honestate et modestia, accessione etiam tanta amicorum munitus, ut facile omnia sis impetraturus tum a principe, tum ab his, quibuscum agere  
20 habes, ni tute tibi deesse velis.

[2.] Quae mihi nuper per tuum Ioannem<sup>1</sup> mandaras, memoria teneo, ea mihi non excident, sed curabo exsequi diligenter. Ne sis sollicitus, si quid a me in commodum tuum fieri poterit, perinde curabo ac rem meam utinam amici in me quoque essent  
25 tam officiosi quam ego sum erga eos profecto alter alterius officium non requireret.

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24,9 diremisset] *O corr.* ex diremisset 17 proclivior] *O corr.* ex procliarior 25 alter] *O(?) add. in marg.*

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24<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Tua igitur negotia non secus erunt mihi commendata, quam mea propria. De tabellario quid mihi scribas, non satis intelligo. Scribe ad me de eo certius, si quem tuorum ad me mittere voles, gratanter eum exspectabo, 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 30 cupio, potuit enim talia dixisse, quae a me non habuit in mandatis. Vidi eum esse varium, et in rebus, quae ei demandantur, plerumque negligentem, vereor, ne ea tibi dixerit, quae a me non acceperit. Facies igitur mihi gratum, si ipsius verba mihi significaris, ut si legationem ei commissam fideliter peregerit, possim eum de diligentia et fidelitate commendare, sui secus mentem meam, quam per eum tibi significaram, 35 aperte declarare et errorem ab eo commissum reformare.

Mi Thoma, non possum non gratulari tuis domesticis commodis, quae te habere intelligo. Quae ut diuturna sint, precor Deum optimum, mallet tecum in ista tua felicitate etiam mediocri vivere, si meae servitutis iampridem inita conditio patere- 40 tur, quam hic in altissima plena curis et variis affectibus, si quid certi habes de patria nostra communi, rogo, fac me certiore vale.

Ex Lincio 7. Ianuarii anno 1530.

## 25

Miklós Oláh to Nicolaus Feretanus  
Linz, 13 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 20–21.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 24–25.

1. Since he did not respond to Oláh's envoys, he is writing to tell him that if he does not come back, he can lose his positions. 2. Thus, he should hurry so that he can anticipate many issues. His man called Nicolaus openly defended his position.

Ad Nicolaum Feretantum<sup>1</sup> praepositum.

[1.] Reversis nuper sine responso nuntiis tuis, qui ad me urbem hanc ingredien- tem celeri itinere venerant, coactus sum meum proprium ad te cum his litteris mit- tere, ut intelligeres, quam mihi cordi curaeque sint tua omnia negotia. In quibus quid actum sit, et quid post tuam hinc profectionem reiectum, quid admissum plane ex 5 illis meis litteris cognovisti. Mirum in modum sint animi multorum a te alienati, sunt contra plerique, qui in officio permanentes suo, diligentissime omnia facerent, quae ad rem tuam pertinerent, invererentur animos potentium tibi adversantium offendere.

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38 Deum] *O add. sup. l.*

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25 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Omnis res tua tuta adhuc est, quae iam diu integra stare non poterit, si mature non  
10 veneris, omni cura, studio et diligentia elaboravimus, ut interea, dum ad nos advola-  
veris, negotia tua omnia sint integra; de ceteris rebus clarius ex meis litteris aliis  
intelliges.

[2.] Hoc unum volo tibi esse cordi, et ad hoc te moneo pro iure, quo ab ineunte  
aetate nostra usi sumus, amicitiae, ut si iacturam tuarum rerum non vis videre, pro-  
15 pera ad nos celeriter. Multis rebus, crede mihi, obviabis, si mature veneris. Quid hic  
tecum praesens, tum de tuis primatis, tum de multis aliis rebus publicis fuerim ami-  
cissime locutus. Credo te tenere memoria (admonui enim tunc te, ne nostram illam  
communicationem patereris tibi excidere) huius nostrae colloctionis, si memineris,  
scies profecto, quid sit tibi faciendum, nam ex re consilium capere poteris. Quod ita  
20 tibi erit commodum et utile, si accepta occasione cito ad nos veneris.

Nicolaus<sup>2</sup> tuus quibus rationibus se et tuas omnes res fidei suae creditas palam sit  
tutatus, accepisti iam ex proximis meis litteris. Non est opus me illas nunc replicare,  
ne solito molestior tibi esse videar. Vale.

Ex Lincio 13. Ianuarii 1530.

## 26

Miklós Oláh to András Csézi  
Linz, 13 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 21–22.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 25.

*He was hurt that Csézi scolded him in front of others, they should have settled their differences in private.  
He resents the fact that he behaved like this toward him, who has always done everything to help him.*

Ad Andream Chasinensem<sup>1</sup> praepositum, theologum et utriusque iuris doctorem.

Non possum multis exprobare tuam severitatem, qua in me iam saepissime sine  
ulla causa es usus. Si tibi inofficiosior solito, si inciviliior sum visus, non te ergo  
decebat me coram multis et amicis et inimicis accusare. Amicos facilius ferre potuis-  
5 sem praesentes, at inimicos, qui mea calamitate semper gavisi sunt, nullo modo, qui  
utinam abfuissent, cum tu me obiurgasti, nihil in me ulterioris in te resideret rancoris.

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25,9 iam] *O corr.* ex tam 16 aliis] *O add. sup. l.* 26,3 visus] *O corr.* ex usus

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<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 26 <sup>1</sup> András Csézi († after 1539), Provost of Čazma since 1516, Provost of Esztergom and Royal Councillor from 1520. He was *utrisque iuris doctor*; István Brodaries participated in his doctoral exam in Padua in 1501. In 1531, King Ferdinand I sent him to Košice to help the Franciscans and Dominicans against the Lutherans, see VERESS 1915, 23, and KOLLÁNYI 1900, 130–131.

Quomodocumque tamen negotium contigerit, condono tibi unam hanc obiurgationem.

Vides, in quibus simus temporibus, in quas redacti calamitates et quam perversi sint hominum mores, divinus quispiam sit oportet, et Paulinam superet doctrinam ac mores, qui velit hominum vitare calumniam. Non sum nescius, quibus tu rebus compulsus, hunc mihi inieceris errorem. Et si multas tu tibi confingere potueris rationes, nullae tamen iustae videri possunt, quae te ad hanc rem contra me faciendam impellere debuissent. Si aliquid in me fuit (ut fateor plurima esse) reprehensione dignum, venissem ad te unicis saltem litterulis vocatus. Et coram libenter tuam admissem obiurgationem, tecumque, si quid fuisset, communicassem et meas contra tuas attulissem rationes. Nunc cum omnem vitae familiaris conditionem excesseris, non potest mihi non esse molestum, quam te erga me amicum et certe omnibus officiis, ubicumque opus fuit tibi deditum, tam severum gesseris, nunc plura scribere non possum: nec locus enim, nec tempus est plura scribendi. Cum erit tempus, scribam ad te pluribus. Vale.

Ex Lincio 13. Ianuarii 1530.

27

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Linz, 15 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 22–23.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 26.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 197–198.

*It is only Újlaki among his friends who has not forgotten about their friendship and often blesses him with his letters. He should continue to do so, especially since he is the one from whom he hears about his brothers and his homeland.*

Ad Franciscum Wylaki<sup>1</sup> praepositum Poseniensem, secretarium.

Gratum est mihi, quod crebris me exhilaris tuis litteris. Nam inter maximam amicorum meorum gregem te solum video, qui veteris amicitiae nostrae non sis

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9 in<sup>1</sup>] *O add. sup. l.* | perversi] *O corr. ex pervisi* 10 ac] *O corr. ex et* 16 communicassem] *O mut. ex* expostulassem 27,2 crebris] *corr. ex crebis* | exhilaris] *O mut. ex visitas*

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27 <sup>1</sup> Ferenc Újlaki (1485–1555) was Royal Secretary of King Louis II from 1524; after the battle of Mohács, he fled to Bratislava and remained loyal to the Habsburg party: he became Royal Secretary and Vice-Chancellor of King Ferdinand I. In 1526 Ferdinand nominated him Provost of Bratislava, then from 1539 he was Bishop of Győr, between 1550–1554 Royal Governor (*locumtenens regius*), from 1553 Bishop of Eger. About him see MIKÓ–PÁLFFY 2002, 120–121.

oblitus, et crebris pulses tuis epistolis. Non est mirum me praeteritum esse ab aliis,  
5 optime enim memini quendam praeclare depinxisse, amicos saepe tempori servire  
consuesse, et dum facultas prosperaeque adest flatus fortunae, multos numerari ami-  
cos, sed adversitate adveniente quam paucissimos. Tu ex hoc proverbio te exemisse  
videris, nam unicus es repertus inter alios, quibuscum laetos aliquando rebus prospe-  
ris habuimus dies, qui constanter colas amicitiae iura. Tribuat tibi Deus, quod optave-  
10 ris pro hac tua constantia.

Litterae tuae tam gratissimae mihi sunt semper, et tantum mihi afferunt volupta-  
tis, hoc maxime tempore turbulationum, ut nisi his recrearer, nescio, quam haberem  
in aliena terra vivendi iucunditatem. His tuis acceptis, quamvis sim in maximo mae-  
rore, dum nostrorum nullus hic sit, tamen ita recreor, ut tristitia omni obiecta, tuis  
15 solis litteris me oblecter, praesertim cum non nihil ex eis semper intelligo novi de  
patria nostra communi, de fratrum nostrorum statu et incolumitate, quod me aliqua  
afficiat laetitia. Intelligis, quantum voluptatis tuae mihi adferant litterae. Quare mihi  
gratum facies, si crebras ad me dederis.

Datum Lincii 15. Ianuarii 1530.

## 28

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Linz, 25 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 23–24.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 26–27.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 606–607.

*1. Macedóniai's complaints have always affected him, but what he is doing now is almost arousing hatred in him. 2. The other day his servant János visited him, whom he received with great affection. János wanted to set a trap and said that his master often forgets about the good deeds that he has received. 3. Oláh wants him to know that he sees through his games, and he should stop because he indeed would do anything for his friend.*

Ad Ladislaum Macedonem episcopum Waradiensem.

[1.] Non possum tuis non commoveri querelis, qui usque ab ineunte nostra aetate  
fui tibi amicissimus, ut carior fueris meo fratre. Et nunc me multis agitas querelis,  
nihil certe aliud, quam mutuum odium inter nos pariturus. Arbitraris fortasse me his

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5 servire] *corr.* ex seuire 8 es] *O corr.* ex est 16 fratrum] *O corr.* ex fractum

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27,6 facultas...7 paucissimos] Cf. proverbium: "Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos, / tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris."

rebus futurum meliorem, vel tui observantio-rem, vel te id omnino effecturum, ut et  
pedibus et manibus tua cures negotia. Id si sentis, erras mirum in modum. Nam scis  
amorem benevolentia comparari inter amicos verum et sincerum, simulatus amor, his  
artibus, quibus tu mecum agis, conciliari consuevit. Quare si sapis, desine me his  
laccessere querelis, nullus est apud me querelarum locus, qui meminerim me a pueritia  
non inter querimonias et altercationes, sed inter suavia, blanda et iucunda amicorum  
colloquia esse educatum. 5  
10

[2.] Mirabar, quid nuper sibi vellet Ioannes<sup>1</sup> tuus ad me missus, qui cum vesperi  
tempore suspectissimo ad me venisset, defatigatis ut ipse simulabat equis et servitori-  
bus suis, inter coenandum multa mecum communicare de tuis maioribus coepit,  
referre ea, quae iam a multis annis erga te praestitisset amicitiae officia, teque in eum  
multis modis fuisse ingratum, et palam te declarasse, quod omnium beneficiorum,  
quae amici in te tuamque dignitatem augendam conferre soleant, frequenter sis im-  
memor; his omnibus affatim recensitis, subinde veniebat in mei mentionem comme-  
morans, quantis te semper affecissem ornamentis, quas pro te accepissem inimicitias,  
quae multorum odia, et non odia modo, sed etiam quam difficulter aliquoties, cum  
tuis ornamentis studerem, evitaverim personae meae periculum. Quae cum audivis-  
sem mox animadverti, cum non recta via incedere, sed a te praeparatum, ut mecum  
de te his ageret artibus. Quem, ut potui ex mea facultate, tractavi liberaliter, et refec-  
tum cibarii, introduxi in cubiculum, ut se a lassitudine, quam simulabat, recrearet.  
Dilucescente die eum humaniter eduxi et tua gratia comitatus sum ad satis magnum  
loci spatium. Ubi autem nunc sit, ignoro. Existimo, si nunc non est apud te, prope-  
diem eo venturum. 15  
20  
25

[3.] Haec ipsius facta et verba volui tibi significare, ut intelligeres me bene acce-  
pisse vestras practicas et non esse ignarum earum rerum, quas contra me nunc tendi-  
tis, non possum autem non mirari, quid sit causae. Cur haec moliri cogiteris, an  
nescitis me quoque aequae et vos esse hominem et humanitate potius et bonis artibus  
quam malis, et severitate delectari, humanitate certe sola non eiusmodi practicas  
vinci sum solitus. Quam si mihi praestiteris, nihil erit tam grave, quod non sim factu-  
rus. Contra, si aliter mecum rem tuam tractaris, nihil tam facile, quod faciam etiam  
quantumvis vel rogatus vel admonitus. Vale. 30  
35

Ex Lincio 25. Ianuarii 1530.

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28,13 ut] *O corr. ex et 26 propediam] corr. ex propediam*

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28,5 omnino...6 negotia] Cf. Ter. *And.* 162–162: “quem ego credo manibus pedibusque obnixae omnia / facturum, magis id adeo mihi ut incommodet”.

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28<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to Christoph Rauber  
Linz, 27 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 24–25.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 28.

*Bishop Christoph is an exceptional person, who has not put his own interest before public affairs and is faithfully serving the king. It is nice to be living at home, but it is even nicer to do true royal service, which will bring eternal glory.*

Ad episcopum Labacensem Christophorum.<sup>1</sup>

Nonne dulcissimum est vivere in patria, Praesul Amplissime? Id ego et si iamdu-  
dum et coram et litteris meis frequentibus tibi insinuarim, tu tamen, ut es regis nostri  
amantissimus, nec patriae tuae suavitatem, nec propria tua curas commoda, modo illi  
5 inservire rebusque Christianis proculdubio in extremum iam deductis periculum  
subvenire possis. Licet autem videam esse quam plurimos, qui anguillas, ut est in  
proverbio, captare studeant immemores bonorum publicorum suique privatim com-  
modi curatores. Tu tamen de eorum numero esse minime es existimandus. Qui tuas  
omnes privatas res pro publicis rebus iamdudum praetermiseris, non gustasti tu,  
10 quibus cauda est nigra, ut dicitur. Nam ab initio non pravorum, sed bonorum virorum  
consuetudine es usus, neque arctum gestasti anulum. Quamcumque rem incepisti, ea  
laudabiliter etiam est a te perfecta. Non erant tui mores maritimi, licet una scutica  
omnes incitemur, constans namque fuisti in servitiis tui principis ex eius sententia  
obeundis. Quamobrem licet sit delectabile in patria vivere, ut saepius dixi, tamen  
15 delectabilius est homini praesertim integro et qui cupiat nomen suum immortalitati  
commendare, in curia principum reipublicae servire, et illius praeponere commodum  
suae propriae utilitati. Non est igitur, cur facti tui poeniteat. Vale.

Ex Lincio 27. Ianuarii anno 1530.

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29,2 vivere] *O corr:* ex vincere 10 nigra] *O corr:* ex integra

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29,6 qui...7 studeant] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* III,VI,79: “Anguillas captare”, see GRANT 2005, 165.  
9 non...10 nigra] Proverbium, Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,I,2: “Ne gustaris quibus nigra est cauda.” see  
MYNORS 1982, 32. 11 arctum...anulum] Proverbium, Cf. Erasmus *Adages* I,I,2: “Arctum anulum ne  
gestato! Μη φορεῖν στενὸν δακτύλιον, id est Arctum anulum ne gestato, hoc est interprete divo Hieronymo  
ne vixeris anxie et ne temet in servitum coniciias aut in eiusmodi vitae institutum, unde te non queas  
extricare. Siquidem quisquis anulum angustum gestat, is sibi quodammodo vincula iniicit”, see MYNORS  
1982, 36.

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29 <sup>1</sup> Christoph Rauber or Krištof Ravbar was Bishop of Ljubljana. He visited Hungary as a legate before  
Mohács, see KASZA 2012, 137. Note 4.



Miklós Oláh to Pope Clement VII  
Linz, 28 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 25.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 28–29.

*If he did not know how much the Holy Father cares about the matter of the threat against Christianity, he would write about it in more detail. He has reconciled the European leaders with each other; at least he has heard that they have agreed to a ceasefire; it is right if this has happened for the public good. If there is some kind of private interest behind it, not much good can come from it.*

Ad pontificem Clementem VII.<sup>1</sup>

Si ignorarem, Pater Beatissime, te nescire, quibus procellis regna haec Christiana, quae vicina sunt Turcis, iam olim saevissime sint iactata, uberiores ad te darem litteras, ut paulo altius intelligeres maxima Christianorum pericula. Sed cum sole clarius  
intelligam te eius esse vigilantiae, sollicitudinis et animi ad res Christianas, cuius  
5 cura humeris tuis incumbit, accuratissime administrandas, ut omnem et horum regno-  
rum et aliarum rerum Christianarum statum optime noveris.

Tum etiam cum non ignorem eam esse principum nostrorum diligentiam, ut omnia, quae ad hanc rem pertineant, nota tibi reddant, malui de his, quae tu et suoapte ingenio et ex significatione principum intelligis, tacere, quam pauca scribere, hoc  
10 unum tamen tum pro mea in rem Christianam caritate, tum pro tua, Pater Beatissime, gloria minime reticendum esse existimari, quod nisi compositis inimicis, quibus respublica Christiana, et principes illius in tota fere Ewropa, multos iam annos cum magna Christianorum clade laborant, concordiam inter eos dissidentes tua autoritate  
15 feceris, eosque in amicitiam firmam reduxeris, vereor, ne omnes Christianorum res  
propediem in extremam calamitatem decidant, ex qua vix vel cum magno detrimento postea erigi possint. Accipio nunc quasdam inter te et alios principes initas fuisse inducias.

Has si in bonum factae sunt finem probo, si vero privati cuiusque commodi gratia, non possum non reprehendere. Nam ut hactenus quoque privatae cuiusque res  
20 praepositae sunt publicis, et hoc modo negotia Christiana praecipitata, ita et in posterum nullus bonus sequetur rerum malo animo inceptarum exitus. Vale.

Ex Lincio 28. Ianuarii 1530.

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30,5 ad] *O corr. ex et* 11 tum<sup>1</sup>] *O(?) add. sup. l.* | tua... 12 gloria] *O mut. ex gloria tua, Pater Beatissime*  
14 eos dissidentes] *O mut. ex eosdem principes*

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30 <sup>1</sup> Pope Clement VII, born Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici (1478–1534) was Pope from 19 November, 1523 until his death. To this letter, see SZEMES 23.

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Linz, 30 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 25–26.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 29–30.

*In contrast with his predecessors, King Ferdinand I is paying attention to defending these regions, and so many trust that with the help of God, and his brother, King Charles V, things will take a turn for the better. He should thus hasten to Prague.*

Ad Ferdinandum regem Hungariae.

Tua sollicitudo facit, Rex Serenissime, omnibus anni temporibus accuratissima, ut te omnes gentes, quas hae habent regiones, mirum in modum venerentur et miris extollant laudibus. Nam si te viderent, ut alios, qui ante te fuerunt principes, rebus  
5 Christianis minus intendere, subditorum tuorum defensionem minime adhibere curam, iam penitus desperassent, sed cum nihil a te praetermitti nec laboris, nec diligentiae, nec curae conspiciant: nemo est omnium, qui non maximam spem ceperit, ut regnum tuum ab hostibus propediem, tuo ductu, auspicio et defensione liberetur. Age igitur, Princeps Serenissime, et spem, quam quisque de te concepit optimam, tuis laboribus  
10 et cursationibus omnibus adauge. Non sinas tuum populum, quibus cum summa laude hactenus praefuisti, teterrima spurcissimaque infidelium premi servitute, non deerit tibi auxilium divinum, tam pium et clarissimum facinus amplectenti, non tuae gentes atque subditi, qui ut suam vitam propriam, ita tuam carissimam habent. Non denique etiam vicini principes, tibi et religionis communione et necessitudinis con-  
15 iunctione obstricti caesarque Carolus frater tuus germanus ubi viderit, te hostibus Christianae religionis impune Christianos in servitutem perpetuam abigentibus obviam iturum, auxilio tibi erit, et fraternitas iure, et quod caput sit Christianitatis defendendae, maximeque illi competat, hostes a cervicibus populi Dei submovere.

Non igitur frangaris modico hoc labore, quem iturus Pragam te subire oportebit,  
20 pro labore eo temporario, habebis quietem post hanc vitam apud Deum sempiternam, nullo aevo finiendam.

Ex Lincio 30. Ianuarii 1530.

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31,3 gentes] *O add. sup. l.* 9 Princeps] *corr. ex principes* 10 summa] *O del. ex summa laudibus*  
11 teterrima] *O corr. ex ceterrima* 14 religionis] *O(?) del. ex religionis impugne Christianos in servitutem*  
perpetuam 16 impune] *O corr. ex impugne* 20 temporario] *corr. ex temperario*

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Linz, 30 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 26–27.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 30–31.

*He is surprised that Thurzó has traveled with his family to such a dangerous place as the castle of Šintava; all his friends would have discouraged him from doing so, and he had better leave there as soon as possible.*

Ad Alexium Turzonem iudicem curiae regiae in Hungaria.

Dum ego sollicite expectarem tuas ex Hungaria litteras, ut ex eis quid istic fieret et an aliqua esset spes liberationis nostrae intelligere possem, venit nuntius, qui te affirmaret Posenio relicto una cum uxore ac tota familia ad tuam arcem Sempthe<sup>1</sup> profectum esse. Ea res non parvam induxit mihi admirationem, primum quod eum 5 locum ubi ceteri essent domini et ubi publica et regis nostri negotia tractari deberent, tam cito deserueris, deinde quod te in eam arcem, quae vicina est hostibus, cum uxore et aliis tuis conieceris his dubiis temporibus. Monerunt te fortasse milites exigui illi regii, qui sunt Tiraniae,<sup>2</sup> addideruntque animum, ut illi loco formidoloso tu te committeres. 10

Si me et tuos, quibus es carissimus et qui tuo bono delectantur, consuluisses, certe et meum et aliorum, ut arbitror tui amicissimorum, id fuisset consilium, ne te in locum tam ancipitem conferres. Habes fortasse spem aliquam ab his, qui apud Ioan-nem regem agentes tuae quietis et commodi rationem habent. Non omnibus nunc est credendum hominibus, una scutica omnes movemur. Illi suo capiti parentes, ut ali- 15 quid sibi commodi faciant, facile te in periculum ducere possunt. Et ut nos spe pacis et futurae utilitatis consequendae nostrum observamus principem, ita illi eorum pa-rent principi, et illius causa non nihil aut in te, aut in alios regis nostri subditos mo-liuntur. Quare tutius erit rebus tuis consultum, si cito reverteris, et eam in arce tua adhibueris custodiam, ut tutos habere possis dies et noctes. Vale. 20

Ex Lincio 30. Ianuarii 1530.

32,8 milites...9 qui] *O mut. ex gentes exiguae quae regi quae* 19 et] *O corr. ex vel*

32,15 una...movemur] Cf. Erasmus *Adages* II,X,65. “Una scutica omneis impellit”, see MYNORS 1992, 152.

32 <sup>1</sup>The castle of Šintava formerly belonged to the Rozgonyi family, then to the Báthori family. The Thurzó family got it as plaedge from King Ferdinand I in 1530. | <sup>2</sup> Trnava.

Miklós Oláh to János Dubraviczky  
Linz, 30 January 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 27–28.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 31.

*He urges him that he should visit the ruler as soon as possible because his case can only be settled in person. He knows how faithfully Dubraviczky is serving his master, and for this reason he should face his enemies, who can only complain about him in his absence.*

Ad Ioannem Dobrawiczki<sup>1</sup> vicecomitem Cremniciensem.

Quam sis hic causam habiturus, quae ratio sit, cur vocatus sis, cum adveneris, intelliges. Mea haec erat sententia, ut in hac re non tantum tibi daretur laboris, de qua re domum scribi poterat. Quae si confici istic non potuisset, ita postea te venire oportebat. Maioris tamen partis rationes nostram vicere sententiam, si scire velis causam

5 tuae vocationis, mihi eam tibi multas ob causas significare non licet.  
Scio probitatem, virtutem et constantiam tuam, qua omnes tuos aequales iampridem superasti et quibus cumprimis es abunde ornatus. Nihil a te admissum esse arbitror, quo tibi dedecoris aliquid afferre possit, propterea quandocumque veneris, 10 spero te paratum venire. Nam tua virtus et singularis humanitas satis te iampridem contra omnia adversariorum figmenta munivere. Probe et fideliter principibus tuis (ut semper cognitum fuit) constanterque servivisti. Nihil existimo in te causae reperiri posse, in quo condemneris, sola virtus ubique in tuto est.

Quare, mi Ioannes, oro te per amicitiam nostram communem iam a puero diligentissime et amantissime observatam, ne negligas quam primum venire inimicorumque 15 tuorum ora, qui de te, dum abes, mala spargere sunt soliti, praesentia tua obtundas, non deerunt tuae innocentiae etiam amicorum tuorum, quos non paucos habes, praesidia. Vale.

Ex Lincio ultima Ianuarii 1530.

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33,6 ob] *corr.* ex ab 8 cumprimis] *corr.* ex comprimis 15 quam] *O del. et add. in marg.* 17 innocentiae] *O del. et add. in marg.*

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33 <sup>1</sup> János Dubraviczky or Jan Dobřesnky was *Officialis* of Hostie around 1517, and from 1521 Master of the Mint (*pisetarius*) in Kremnica, see MNL OL DF 250056 and DF 267086. We do not know when he became *Vicecomes* of Kremnica. He was sent as envoy by the Czech lords to Queen Mary of Hungary around the middle of September 1526, see HEISS 1971, 139.

Antal Szegedi to Miklós Oláh  
 Varaždin, 31 January 1530

*Manuscript has been lost: Körmend, Batthyány-levéltár.*

*Published: SZILASI 1990, 3.*

*Antal Szegedi asks that Oláh should send the letter Ferenc Batthyány has written in support of his order to the Bishop of Eger, and he should recommend him [Antal] to King Ferdinand I.*

Orationum devotarum suffragia pro servitio.

Reverende Domine et Benefactor noster Singularissime, rogo obnixè Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem, ut has literas, quas magnificus dominus Franciscus de Bathyan<sup>1</sup> in favorem ordinis nostri conscriptas ad Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam destinatum iri censuit, expediat eadem sub ipsa forma vel meliori, quas 5 et per hominem fidelem reverendissimo domino episcopo Agriensi<sup>2</sup> transmittat, nosque nacta occasione serenissimo principi recommendet, quod, ut faciat eadem Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Optimus Deus conservet Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam ad vota, pro cuius felici 10 statu dies noctesque altissimum una cum meis fratribus interpellare haud desisto.

Datum ex Warasd feria secunda ante festum Purificationis Virginis Mariae anno Domini 1530.

Eisudem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae  
 deditissimus frater Anthonius<sup>3</sup> quondam Ludovici regis concionator

*On the back side: Reverendo Domino Nicolao Secretario Hungaro regiae maiestatis Domino et Fautori Observandissimo dentur.*

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34 <sup>1</sup>Ferenc Batthyány (1497–1566) was Bailiff of Vas county from 1521 and Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia between 1522–1526. He participated in the battle of Mohács and was present at the coronation of King John I, but shortly afterwards he changed sides and remained loyal to the Habsburgs until his death. He and his wife, Katalin Svetkovics had a large correspondence both in Hungarian and in Latin, see HEGEDŰS–PAPP 1991, passim. | <sup>2</sup>Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>3</sup>Antal Szegedi was the confessor priest of King Louis II. He participated in the battle of Mohács and seriously wounded, see FÖGEL 1917, 65.

Miklós Oláh to Ferdinand I  
Linz, 2 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 28.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 31–32.

*All their hope is in King Ferdinand I, who does not spare his own body or soul and is working day and night to protect his kingdom and the Christian world.*

Ad regem Ferdinandum.

Quem rerum nostrarum exitum, Serenissime Rex, putemus futurum, non satis coniectare possum. Omnis quidem nostra spes, omnis salus, defensio, quies in te uno, tua virtute, tuis est posita praesidiis. Cum te intuemur, in te omnes nostras res veluti  
5 in tutissimo aliquo portu locamus. Non parum confidentes, aliquando apparituum diem nobis exoptabilem, qui nos ab exilio, teterrima tyrannorum servitute, a pernicie, clade et calamitate nostra sit liberaturus. Id autem, ut speremus, futurum ea re inducimus, quod videmus, Rex Serenissime, nullis te corporis et animi laboribus parcere, dies et noctes agere, moliri, et curare, ut aliquid subsidii, quo nos et tuum regnum  
10 liberes, contrahere posses. Nullum tempus, immo nulla penitus hora relinquitur abs te vana, in qua omnem tuam curam, industriam et cogitationem ad regni tui commoda non intendas. Tibi, Rex Serenissime, si qua fit negligentia rerum Christianarum, merito adscribere non possum. Cum omnia facias tua sponte, sed illis boni publici hostibus, qui te et tua consilia turbant, quos dii deaeque perdant omnes. Nihilominus  
15 tuum est, Rex Invictissime, officium, ut eos pro tua in omnes tum clementia, tum si ea apud malos locum non habuerint autoritate, ad sanitatem veramque viam traducere debeas. Quod enim bonis non fit verbis, id saepe imperio fieri consuevit. Vale.

Ex Lincio 2. Februarii 1530.

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35,5 confidentes] *O corr. ex confideres* 10 contrahere] *O corr. ex contraheres* 12 non] *O add. sup. l.*  
15 Invictissime] *corr. ex Ivictissime* | eos] *O corr. ex. es*

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Linz, 4 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 28–29.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 32–34.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 608–609.

1. All Hungarians' hope has been in him for a long time: namely wherever King John I goes, he is looting. His men would also rather switch to King Ferdinand I's side than live under Turkish rule. 2. It is also disconcerting that King Ferdinand I is going from assembly to assembly, he is coming and going. He should come and free them, as he promised.

Ad regem Ferdinandum Hungariae et Bohemiae.

[1.] Quorsum res nostrae tendant, et quem habiturae sunt finem, nemo est omnium, qui non modo sciat, sed ne cogitare quidem possit. A multo iam tempore, Rex Serenissime, magna alimur spe, magnam habemus in te uno fiduciam, omnium regum vicinorum maximo, ut ab his quas iamdiu et a Turcis Christiani nominis hostibus et a Ioanne rege severissimas perpessi sumus calamitates et miserias, te protectore, te propugnatore liberemur, et ab exilio tam diuturno in patriam ad amicos, fratres et propinquos nostros reducamur. Ea spes licet hactenus in nobis fuerit firmissima, quam etiam tuae nobis factae promissiones, tua sollicitudo, cura et labor diurnus et nocturnus in nobis mirum in modum auxerunt, tamen omnia videmus nescio in quod praecipitium tendere. Exercitus is tuus exiguus, qui iamdudum sine ullo timore et sine ulla etiam periculi suspicione Budam usque descendere, et trepidantibus Ioanne rege et suis, qui cum eo sunt, omnibus amissas quasque arces libere recuperare poterant, circum Tiraniam<sup>1</sup> sine utilitate agit, colonos miseros praedatur, tempus terit inutiliter, stipendium tuum consumit sine commodo. Imperator illius nihil magis in animo habet, quam cunctationem, qua sola Ioannis vires se posse frangere frustra certe cogitat. Ea cogitatio mirum in modum eum fallit. Nam posteaquam ille semel ex Hungaria fuerat elapsus, Poloniae fines omnes sine ulla sui quiete pertentavit, nullibi sibi reperiens requiem. Non certe cunctatione nostrorum et terriculamentis his inanibus monetur. Inest et magnitudo et vis animi, nihil non, ut eum ego novi, in se ante non exspectabit periculi, quam loco cedat et alienis cursitet regionibus; si eum fatigare velis, praesentibus opus est viribus, qui eum extrudant sedibus.

36,15 inutiliter] *O corr.* ex utiliter | stipendium] *corr.* ex stipedium 19 cunctatione] *corr.* ex contatione  
20 novi] *O add. sup. l.* 21 ante...periculi] *O mut.* ex futurum ante exspectatum 22 praesentibus] *O corr.*  
ex praesentaveris

36<sup>1</sup> Trnava.

Omnes, qui tibi iam ab initio faverunt, qui tuas secuti sunt partes, cum illis una  
quos ad servitia tua trahere potuere, tensis ad sidera palmis te ceu numen aliquod  
25 exspectant, malunt sub te perpetuam servire servitutem, quam sub Turcarum imperio  
vivere. Venerunt frequentes his diebus ad me litterae ab amicis meis ex Hungaria  
missae, quae omnes declarant colonos quoslibet pertaesos iam tam exitiabilis tyranni-  
dis uno omnium consensu ad exercitum tuum advoluturos, si quem modo in Hunga-  
riam properantem videant.

30 [2.] Tu vero, Rex Serenissime, quid agas rerum et quid etiam tuus exercitus mo-  
liatur, incertum habemus. Exercitus, ut dixi, tuus cunctatur, nescio, quibus in locis, tu  
autem conventum ex conventu agis, nihil quod ad salutem nostram pertineat allatu-  
rum. Nunc es in Bohemia, nunc in Moravia, nunc in Sclesia, conveniunt illarum  
omnium provinciarum primores et proceres, et tamen nihil deliberari audimus, in quo  
35 liberationis et defensionis nostrae radicem et spem figere possemus. Age igitur, Rex  
Serenissime, libera nos ab hoc metu et calamitate, memineris tuae promissionis. Non  
aliorum quam tua causa, hoc suscepimus exilium, nostrasque omnes facultates hosti-  
bus diripiendas reliquimus. Ingratus igitur iudicaberis, si nobis primo quoque tem-  
pore, ut promisisti, non succurreris. Vale.

40 Ex Lincio quarta Februarii 1530.

### 37

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 13 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 370–371.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 34.

*1. András Chorón has recaptured Veszprém, but they fear he may lose it again. 2. He thanks for the letter about the wines and urges King Ferdinand I to set up troops both on land and water.*

Idem Nicolao Olao.

[1.] Nostrum exercitum infecto id est perturbato vehementius negotio retroces-  
sisse credo iamdiu intellexisti. Historiam aliunde velim cognoscas. Vesprimium  
Chorón<sup>1</sup> die Iovis<sup>2</sup> recuperavit, cum paucis ante diebus intellexisset movisse regis  
5 exercitum ad Budam recuperandam. Vereor, ne rursus, et quidem subito amittamus.  
Dabo operam, quoad fieri possit, ne id eveniat, retinere tamen huiusmodi arcem  
contra multitudinem oppugnantium non est certe mearum virium. Vale.

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26 vivere] *O corr.* ex venire 36 memineris] *O corr.* ex memiris 37 facultates] *O add. sup. l.* 38 nobis]  
*O(?) corr.* ex nobis quo 39 ut promisisti] *O add. in marg.*

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37<sup>1</sup> András Chorón of Devecser was Szalaházy's Castellan of Sümeg, see VARGA 2001a. | <sup>2</sup> 10 February.



[2.] Litterae de vinis heri sunt allatae,<sup>3</sup> habeo magnam gratiam. Nisi statim comparabit rex exercitum navalem ac terrestrem iusto numero, iacturam maiorem, quam credit, patietur, et nos in fine gememus ac laborabimus. Vale iterum dominae magistrae curiae, Lucretiae<sup>4</sup> etc., camerario Sebastiano Pemflinger commendabis. 10

Posonii 13. Februarii 1530.

38

Miklós Oláh to Pope Clement VII  
Linz, 15 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 30–36.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 34–41.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 609–616.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 198–206.

1. He expresses his joy and hope over the meeting of King Charles V and the Pope. 2. He recounts the Hungarian precedents of the battle of Mohács, that although they had seen that the Turks outnumbered them, they still fought them. 3. He briefly reminds him of the horrors of the battle of Mohács, the troops' demise, the fall of King Louis II. 4. He recounts the disloyalty of King John I, that he did not hasten to aid his king, that he did not attend the assembly at Queen Mary's call, and how he had himself crowned King. 5. Queen Mary gathered the Hungarian lords who had chosen Ferdinand as King Ferdinand I; Ferdinand launched troops against King John I, but he fled to Poland. 6. From here on King Ferdinand I is laboring on persuading the leaders of Europe of a war against the Turks, but they had not even believed him in the West when the Turks were already besieging Vienna. 7. Christian rulers should put their private interests and grievances aside and work together against the common enemy. 8. The Holy Father should have mercy on the Hungarians because if he wants to save Hungary, it will escape, but if not, it will remain a servant forever.

Ad papam Clementem VII.

[1.] Magna affecti sumus laetitia, Pater Beatissime, cum te tuosque omnes sacros cardinei coetus ordines ad extremas usque Italiae oras Germaniae propinquos,<sup>1</sup> salvos atque incolumes advenisse cognovissemus, quippe cum omnibus malorum generibus calamitatum saevissimarum turbinibus, tota laboraret Christianitas, hac una re, his 5 malis provisum iri arbitrabamur, si tu, qui caput es Christiani populi et vicarius Ihesu in terris, propius accessisses, et conventu cum principibus Christianitatis habito, aliquid decerneres, quo tot malis mederi posset. Id nunc nobis, Pater Beatissime, omnibus votis optantibus contigisse ex Dei omnipotentis gratia videmus, nam tu

<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 22. and the previous letter of Szalaházy, in which he asked to get more wine from the Queen.

<sup>4</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 38 <sup>1</sup> King Charles V and the Pope met on 24 February, 1530 in Bologna, see EISENBICHLER 1999, 430.

10 nobis appropinquasti, convenisti cum Carolo caesare cum aliisque Italiae principibus  
in paterno amore, clementia, mansuetudine et benignitate, dissidentem multos iam  
annos populum redegisti in concordiam, et civitates ab oboedientia tua et caesaris  
iamdudum elapsas, ad veram reduxisti oboedientiam, et non reduxisti modo, sed  
15 foedus cum eis pepigisti perpetuum. Quo pie, sancte et religiose observato, commu-  
nis Christianitatis hostibus resistere possetis viribus Christianorum coniunctis et  
firmiter connexis. Destinerant a te Florentini tui municipes, homines factionibus  
pessimis studentes, parere suo nolebant superiori privati commodi causa, quos caesar  
ipse Carolus tuo hortatu, tuis monitis usque eo induxit, tum prece, tum formidine, ut  
20 illis iubet, paratissimo facturi animo. Cum autem hanc animorum concordiam et  
unionem audivimus, Pater Beatissime, in spem ducimur maximam, futurum prope-  
diem ut religio Christiana iam a multis annis internis principum seditionibus labefac-  
tata renovetur, et suum pristinum consequatur pacis statum. Illud quoque non mini-  
mam spem Christianitatis parandae nobis attulit, quod intelleximus te Romam iam  
25 coepisse regredi cum caesare, ut tuis auspiciis et beneficio coronam istic accipiat  
caesaream. Haec omnia boni sunt signa futuri et venturae pacis indicia, verum enim-  
vero, Pater Beatissime, res moram nullam patitur Christiana, ad extremum iam usque  
eo contrita, ut et unicus dies sit illi periculosus. Nam etsi sciam, te statum et conditio-  
nem rerum nostrarum iamdiu a multis intellexisse, et non intellexisse modo, verum  
30 etiam experientia ipsa didicisse, tamen ut a me quoque periculi nostri communis  
commemoratio apud te aliqua fiat, et malorum nostrorum initium intelligas, volui de  
nostra immo totius Christianitatis calamitate ad te haec pauca litteris dare. Si altius  
rem incepero, quae tua est, Pater Beatissime, erga omnes clementia et mansuetudo,  
facile id mihi condonabis.

35 [2.] Initio rerum, dum rex adhuc Ludovicus felicitis memoriae dominus meus in  
humanis ageret, et si erat adolescens, bonam indolem in suis omnibus prae se ferens  
actionibus, nihil tamen praeclarius ducebat, quam omnia sua dicta et facta eo diri-  
gere, consilia tendere, vires parare, ut Turcis religionis Sacrosanctae hostibus obviam  
ire, et eos ab impia ad fines Christianos eruptione procul arcere posset; dum autem  
40 dies et noctes hoc versaret animo, et nec animi, nec corporis apud eum quies esset  
ulla, quin omnes suas vires ad salutare hoc propositum laudabiliter perficiendum  
protenderat, multosque milites in finibus Hungariae aleret, qui excursionem hostium  
exciperent, Christianos ab aliorum rapinis immunes conservarent; arcibus quibusdam  
limitaneis praefecerat Paulum Thomorem<sup>2</sup> Colocensem archiepiscopum virum bonae

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38,16 factionibus] *O corr. ex facionibus* 17 nolebant] *corr. ex nolebat quod O corr. ex volebat* 20 illis]  
*O corr. ex illius* 30 me] *O corr. ex mea* 35 meus] *O mut. et del. ex meus clementissimus* 43 exciperent]  
*O corr. ex exiperent*

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<sup>2</sup> Pál Tomori, Archbishop of Kalocsa (ca. 1475–1526) died at the battle of Mohács.

spectataeque probitatis et ob scientiam rei militaris omnibus probatissimum. Is assiduos hostium experiebatur insultus, non parva mercede suos alebat milites, adiutus et redditibus sui archiepiscopatus et munificentia regis, qui menstruos illi suppeditabat sumptus. Is autem post multas acceptas clades, multos etiam conflictus, quos et ipse et sui milites cum Turcis saepenumero commiserant, certiozem fecit Ludovicum regem caesarem Turcarum cum suo omni exercitu et viribus iam a duobus aut tribus annis maximo studio comparatis velle invadere Hungariam eo praeposito, ut eam vel ditioni suae totam subigeret, vel sibi faceret tributariam; proinde rex cogitaret frequenti suo consilio de via et modo, quo tanto hosti, multis iam subactis nationibus praepotenti, plurimis victoriis et triumphis elato, resisti posset, viam autem eam esse, ut rex conscriptis suis, quas haberet, viribus, illi obviaret, se interea illum suscepturum, et quatenus a se fieri posse, prohibitorium, ne tam cito quam ipse cogitavisset, posset ad Hungariae viscera penetrare, providendum tamen esse, ne rex imparatis viribus et minus paribus illi obviaret. Nam si quid infortunii experietur, et mars belli Turcae succederet, proculdubio id futurum esset in periculum non modo regni Hungariae, sed etiam totius Christianitatis. Facile namque occupata Hungaria omne iter suum, in omnem Christianitatis partem pateret. Haec et multa alia regi ille et litteris et certis nuntiis palam fecit, quae cum ad regem et frequens consilium fuissent perlata, multos dies res fuit in disceptatione. Tractabatur in utramque partem, quid esset faciendum, hinc regis et suorum inopia, illinc Turcarum copiae potentes versabantur ob oculos, non videbatur esse modus aliquis, quo rex paribus illi occurrere posset viribus, fiscus et aeraria exhausta erant, praeteritorum annorum bellis, dominorum quisque suas facultates retinebat, et non libenter publicam egestatem privatis opibus sublevabat. Factum itaque nihilominus est, ut coactus sit, ni regnum Hungariae amittere rex mallet, se in campum conferre, omnibus omnium ordinum hominibus ut id faceret, multum vociferantibus.

[3.] Cum itaque ventum esset facili et tardo progressu ad oppidum Mohaach, obvius fit nobis ipse Colociensis archiepiscopus, qui Turcarum tyrannum iam affore nuntiabat cum exercitibus suis, hoc nimirum triste erat omnibus et nostras vires quam exiguas esse cogitantibus, placuit tamen omnibus una sententia, ut fortuna belli Deo optimo maximo, qui plerumque etiam res in periculum et desperationem delapsas sublevare consuevit, omni animi devotione commendaretur. Itum igitur est illi praeferoxi hosti obviam, et cum castra hostis a castris regis non multum abessent, iaculari coeptum est tormentis et machinis bellicis utraque ex parte. Ego, Beatissime Pater, licet non affuerim eo momento temporis, quo haec iaculatio facta fuit, remissus enim eram triduo ante eum diem a rege celeri itinere ad reginam, tamen has utrimque factas iaculationes familiares mei, qui rebus ipsis interfuerant, certo mihi retulerunt,

46 parva] *O corr. ex parita* 57 imparatis] *O corr. ex imperatis* 60 iter] *O corr. ex inter* 62 fecit] *O corr. et mut. ex fert* 65 occurrere] *O corr. ex occurrerent* 71 ventum] *O corr. ex ventem* 77 a] *O add. sup. l.* 78 utraque ex] *O mut. et add. in marg.*

crebras vel maximas fuisse. Secutus deinde est clamor validus, nostrum exercitum voce terribili non parum concutiens, post quem consertum est proelium, in quo nostri excurrerunt usque ad ea loca, ubi tormenta composita erant. Cum maxima illorum  
85 strage verum repulsi nostri sunt et tandem in fugam versi. Quid multa? Maior pars nostri exercitus partim trucidata, partim in Danubio est periclitata. Rex noster, nescio, quo fato, dum fugere hostes vellet, venit in stagnum quoddam citra Mohaach, ex quo evadere non potuit propter equi casum ex freni retractione factum, ibidemque a nemine suorum adiutus miserabiliter interiit.

90 [4.] Rex ipse, dum adhuc incertus esset de Turcarum adventu, tum per litteras crebras, tum per nuntios frequentes admonuerit Ioannem, tunc vaivodam Transilvanensem, nunc regem, ut comparatis in Transilvania viribus cum exercitu in auxilium suum primo quoque tempore veniret. Ille promisit quidem se sine ulla mora in regis sui subsidium cum omnibus Transilvanensis viribus venturum, tamen antequam  
95 Turca cum rege confligeret, non venit. Erat fama non vulgaris eum iam ante nescio, quam mutuam cum Turca inivisse confoederationem, non parvamque diu antea de se affectati regni Hungariae multis ex causis praebuerat suspicionem, quae tandem hac sui tarditate omnium testimonio est confirmata. Ioannes ipse rex, cum caesar Turcarum deletis viribus regis Ludovici, combustaque Buda et multis aliis Hungariae locis  
100 domum revertisset, ut multorum de eo ferebantur sermones, iam non occulte sed palam coepit agere de regno Hungariae consequendo; indictisque primum comitiis ad arcem suam Thokay, procerum primorumque regni Hungariae eo convocatorum consilio deliberatum istic est, ut in Alba Regali,<sup>3</sup> quae civitas locus est coronationis regis, de creando novo rege consultaretur. Quod cum regina Maria regis Ludovici  
105 vidua et Stephanus Bathoreus regni Hungariae palatinus, Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Sirmiensis cancellarius, Thomas<sup>4</sup> Vesprimiensis antistes, Alexius Turzo iudex curiae regiae, ac dominorum Hungariae potior pars quae cum regina tunc Posonii erat, certo intellexissent monere, hortari et rogare Ioannem coeperunt, ne privatum publico commodum anteponeret et ne tam novum pessimumque in regem creando  
110 exemplum in rempublicam Hungaricam induceret, sed veniret cum aliis una ad reginam et palatinum (mortuo rege) principem Hungariae, communibusque istic votis transigerent de eo eligendo, qui esset ad gubernamen Hungariae magis idoneus, utilior et sufficientior. Ipse tum a suo proposito non destitit, sed proficiscens in Albam, ab ea portione Hungarorum, qui partes eius sequebantur, in regem creatur, et  
115 corona, cuius custodiae praefuerat, coronatur.

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82 crebras... fuisse] *O add. in marg.* 85 nostri] *O add. in marg.* 86 periclitata] *corr. ex periclitatae*  
88 casum] *O corr. ex causam* 91 admonuerit] *corr. ex admonuerunt* | Transilvanensem] *O corr. ex*  
Transilvaniensem 92 in<sup>2</sup>] *O corr. ex ad* 94 Transilvanensis] *O corr. ex Transilvaniensis* 112 magis] *O*  
*add. sup. l.* 114 eius] *O corr. ex. eum*

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<sup>3</sup> Székesfehérvár. | <sup>4</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

[5.] Quae res cum reginae, palatino et aliis dominis Posonii tunc constitutis innotuisset, vix dici potest, quantum maestitiae et tristitiae omnibus attulerit, nam veluti e speculo quodam praevidebant futuram tempestatem, regni Hungariae pestem, cladem et perniciem, et cogitabant quantum incendium ex ipsius coronatione omnibus bonis esset futurum. Conclusum itaque est omnium consiliis, ut in comitiis illis, quae iamdiu litteris reginalibus publicata erant et ad quae ipse etiam Ioannes vocatus erat, quisque conveniret, ac tractaretur legitime de rege vero et legitimo creando. Dies comitiorum advenit, convenerunt domini nobiles et civitates, deliberatum est et conclusum communibus votis, ut Ferdinandus archidux Austriae in regem Hungariae nominaretur, eo consilio, quod iam ante per dominos Bohemos rex Bohemiae coronatus, et dux Sclesiae per Sclesitas, per dominos vero Moravos marchio Moraviae electus fuisset; neminem namque alium magis idoneum, aptum, sufficientemque arbitrati sunt, qui Hungariae regnum multis iam calamitatibus, periculis et cladibus obnoxium a direptione miseranda Turcarum fratris sui Caroli imperatoris auxilio defendere posset. Cum itaque res sic acta esset, et Ferdinandus ad imperium Hungaricum vocaretur, venissetque postea, ut rem breviter exsequar, cum octo milibus hominum, aliquot vocationem temporibus, Ioannes rex eius adventum praesentiens non ausus est Budae eum exspectare, sed Tokay versus, ubi initia regni sui fuerat auspiciatus, profugit; in qua arce, dum aliquamdiu cum his, qui eum secuti erant, commoratus est, misit rex Ferdinandus alium rursus contra eum exercitum, qui eum fugavit et coegit Tibiscum<sup>5</sup> traicere, deinde Poloniam migrare. Ipse vero rex Ferdinandus corona regni Hungariae accepta, quae concordibus dominorum Hungarorum animis ei fuerat decreta, reversus est Viennam. Et cum annum et medium a regno Hungariae abfuisset, omnibus interea viis, modis et laboribus apud exterarum nationum, subditis etiam aliarum provinciarum agebat et laborabat, ut regno Hungariae ad quod occupandum caesar Turcarum cum suis omnibus viribus rursus exire statuerat, suppetias ferrent.

[6.] Ab eo tempore in eum usque diem, quo caesar Turcarum hortatu vel potius ductu nonnullorum Christianorum fines Hungariae attigerat, non destitit rex Ferdinandus omnes principes Christianos urgere, monere et sollicitare, ut ei auxilium ferrent contra tam potentissimum hostem, Christianum sanguinem fundere parantem. Illi tamen omnes has illius sollicitationes pro nihilo habuere, adeo ut ne tunc quidem crederent Turcam advenisse, dum ille iam Viennam oppugnaret. Factum itaque est principum Christianorum negligentia, ut parum abfuerit, quin Vienna caperetur. Si

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117 e] *O corr. ex et* 123 conclusum] *corr. ex conclusium* 132 aliquot] *O corr. ex aliquod praesentiens] O add. sup. l.* 133 eum] *O add. sup. l.* 139 laboribus] *O del. et mut. ex laboribus ut regno Hungariae ad quod occupandum* 140 agebat...laborabat] *O mut. ex agens et laborans* 146 potentissimum] *O corr. ex potentissimam*

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<sup>5</sup> Tisza river.

150 octo vel ad summum decem diebus prius hostis ad obsidionem venisset, ea capta  
fuisset; nam nostri milites vix duobus aut tribus diebus ante Turcarum adventum  
fuerunt Wiennam ingressi. Qui nisi adventum Turcarum praeripuissent, actum iam  
omnium iudicio erat de Wienna. Quam cum frustra diu oppugnassent, viginti vel  
155 circiter dierum curriculo,<sup>6</sup> caesar magna ignominia ab illius obsidione discessit,  
praeteritarumque rerum a se praeclare gestarum gloriam hoc suo conatu frustra tenta-  
tato non parum imminuit. Interea autem dum ipse in Wiennensi obsidione magno  
conatu occuparetur, procursores sui aliquot millia Turcarum, maiorem fere partem  
Inferioris et Superioris Austriae partim igne, partim gladio vastarunt, homines senes  
trucidarunt, quidquid virorum, puerorum, puellarum et mulierum aetate florentium  
160 capere potuerunt non solum ex Austriis, sed ex Hungaria reversi domum miserabili-  
ter abduxerunt, latamque omnium rerum fecerunt stragem, ut memoriam eius calami-  
tatis et ruinae acceptae multa secula meminerint.

[7.] Haec mala Christianorum ruinamque, Pater Beatissime, quis unquam arbitra-  
tus fuisset futuram? Quae Christianis nequaquam evenissent, si principes Christiani  
165 sepositis mutuis odiis, inimicis et diuturnis conflictationibus concordi voto rebus  
nostris succurrere, et quod officii eorum erat, exsequi curassent. Nimirum Dei in nos  
admissum esse arbitror flagellum, qui ex sua bonitate, ut nos a peccatis nostris ad  
poenitentiam revocaret, his tribulationibus corrigere voluit. Quos putat Beatitudo  
Vestra esse emissos ad caelum usque eiulatus, quas lacrimas fusas, cum Turcarum  
170 tyrannus et Germanas et Hungaras gentes, viros, matresfamilias, virgines, viduas,  
puellas, vinctis post tergum manibus ad miserabilem servitutem impune abduceret, et  
eos omnes spurcissimae suae dominationi servire per omnia servitorum et etiam  
libidinum genera ad nutum suum sollicitet, urgeat et cogat. Si aliquis inesset principi-  
bus Christianis sensus, caritas erga Deum et proximum, non profecto, Pater Beatis-  
175 sime, se ex maximo maerore ac lacrimis abstinerent; cum talia si non viderint corpo-  
reus oculis, at ex litteris intelligant, et ab his, qui crudelem hanc Turcarum rabiem vix  
evasi, in eorum regnis inopem agunt vitam, saepe audiant.

[8.] Et si autem sciam Tuam Beatitudinem omnibus curis, studiis et laboribus ab  
initio eo fuisse propensam, ut coniunctis principum Christianorum, iamdiu cum  
180 summa peste reipublicae Christianae dissidentium animis, omnes illi vires Christia-  
nas contra tyrannum tam ferocem et crudelem hostem converterent, nescio tamen,  
quo fato nostro hactenus id nullum progressum habere potuit, deditique sint magis  
omnium animi pompis, nescio, quibus et domesticis otiiis, quam huic rei tam salutari  
et Christianae. Non deesse video vires Christianas, modo animus et voluntas non  
185 deesset. Quam ob rem, Pater Beatissime, miserere reipublicae Christianae tam diu

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156 Wiennensi] *corr. ex* Wiennesi 161 fecerunt] *O corr. ex* fuerunt 169 lacrimas] *O corr. ex* lacrimis  
172 spurcissimae suae] *corr. ex* spurcissimo suo 181 tyrannum tam] *O mut. ex* tam Tyrannem

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<sup>6</sup> The siege of Vienna lasted from 27 September to 16 October, 1529.

internis divulsae controversiis, moveat te populi Dei tam crudelis et miserabilis in  
servitutem abductio, excitent lacrimae viduarum et virginum honestarumque ma-  
trumfamilias, quibus Turcae impune abutuntur; tuum id est officium. Tibi Deus eum  
tribuit statum, ex quo tamquam ipsius vicarius, rebus Christianorum multos iam  
annos contrariis, bene et laudabiliter primo quoque tempore compositis, principes 190  
alios, quibuscum nunc conventum agis, inducere possis ad expeditionem generalem  
contra Turcos suscipiendam, ut in nomine Ihesu Christi, qui sanguine suo pretioso  
nos et omnes fidei suae subiectos a servitute illa perpetua liberavit, hostibus obviam  
progediatur, liberentur miseria tanta calamitate duriore quavis morte. Si omni conatu,  
omnibus viribus et votis id complexus fueris, in eaque re elaboraveris, nemini est 195  
dubium, quin iam pro dimidia parte Christianus populus, maxime vero Hungari,  
Turcarum et diuturnis et nocturnis excursionibus obnoxii liberati sint ab his teterrimis  
crudelissimisque cruciatibus. In manu tua est salus omnium, si voles, libertas nobis  
erit, si noles, prompta est servitus perpetua. Utrum malis, tuae est voluntatis. Malle  
autem debes salutem potius et quietem populi Dei, quam servitutem, nam quid tuum 200  
officium expetat, nemo melius quam tu ipse diiudicare potes, nempe id, ut non modo  
curas, cogitationes et labores omnes pro populo tibi commisso subeas libentissime,  
sed etiam mortem, si casus ita ferat.

Haec, Pater Beatissime, volui tibi nota esse, quae ideo longiora sunt, quam decre-  
veram, quod ex maximo meo, cum tanta Christianorum pericula videam et aspiciam, 205  
profecta sunt maerore. Quae in bonam partem accipe, supplico. Vale.

Ex Lincio 15. Februarii 1530.

### 39

Miklós Oláh to István Báthori  
Linz, 17 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 36–37.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 42.

*Contradictory news keeps coming, so it is difficult to decide what is true. So far they had believed that King Charles V would go to Rome for the imperial coronation, but now it turns out that he will stay in Bologna, and the ceremony will be held there on the Feast of Matthias.*

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187 abductio] *O corr.* ex abducio 188 id] *O add. sup. l.*

Ad Stephanum Bathorem<sup>1</sup> comitem palatinum regni Hungariae.

Adeo varii ad nos afferuntur nuntii, ut nescias, quid verum, quidve fictum sit cognoscere. Superioribus omnibus temporibus constantissima erat apud omnes fama caesarem Carolum iam ex Bononia<sup>2</sup> cum pontifice et aliis, qui cum eo sunt, principibus movisse, et Romam progessurum pro corona caesarea accipiendi. Nihilque aliud  
5 iam suspicabamur, venerant enim nuntii et litterae frequentes constantesque tum ad regem Ferdinandum, tum ad reginam Mariam hac de re missae. Ecce autem subito nunc venit nuntius caesarem adhuc Bononiae esse, coronationem ad festum Mathei Apostoli<sup>3</sup> ibi futuram. Id quam insperatum nobis fuerit, et quantam praeter omnium  
10 expectationem omnibus admirationem attulerit, vix potest explicari. Licet ego crebris meis litteris de caesaris in Urbem<sup>4</sup> progressu et te et meos alios certiores fecerim, feci tamen id non temere, sed quod ita res nuntiabatur et per omnium ora circumvolitabat. Ea si mutata est, hominum et temporum inconstantiae ascribendum est, et non ego sum merito a te accusandus, sed qui in horas mutantur, et nihil constantiae in se  
15 habent. Vale.

Ex Lincio 17. Februarii 1530.

#### 40

### Miklós Oláh to a Bishop called Jacobus Linz, 17 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 37–38.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 42–43.

*Johannes, sent in the name of the Bishop and his chapter, has made it clear how highly he thinks of him. He has received his message both in person and in writing, he will not forget it, and if his friends also support him, they can overcome the obstacles.*

Ad Iacobum episcopum.<sup>1</sup>

Et si a multis iam annis tuam erga omnes singularem humanitatem, amorem et benevolentiam plane cognoveram, ea tamen notiora mihi fecit Ioannes<sup>2</sup> tuus, ad regem tuo et capituli tui nomine nuper missus. Qui non de illis modo veteribus nostris consuetudinibus, sed etiam de his, quae post meum a te discessum consecuta  
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39,8 adhuc] *O corr.* ex ad

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39 <sup>1</sup> István Báthori of Ecsed (ca. 1485–1530) was Bailiff of Zala county from 1507, and Bailiff of Temes county from 1511, Royal Councillor from 1518, then Palatine the following year. After Mohács he took the side of King Ferdinand I, who restored him to this title and donated him many possessions. For more on him, see C. TÓTH 2012. | <sup>2</sup> Bologna. | <sup>3</sup> 24 February fell on a Thursday. | <sup>4</sup> Rome. 40 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.



sunt, mecum plura communicavit, declaravit namque multis verbis, quam honorificam de me saepe facere soleas mentionem et quam cordi tibi sit mei, si qua post tot curas, labores et sollicitudines benignitate Dei fieri posset promotio. Habeo cumulatissimas gratias Tuae Reverendae Paternitati, qui tua sponte me ames, nullis aliis praeterquam conversatione quotidiana, meis provocatus officiis. Id est vera dignum gloria, cum quis non modo benemeritum, sed etiam qui benemereri studeat, amore, humanitate et caritate prosequatur. Haec tua laus tanto est excellentior, quo tuapte natura te facis in alios humaniorem. Perge igitur, ut agis, et nomen tuum immortalitati commenda, quae sola virtute comparatur. Non minima autem virtutis pars est, cum quis de aliis benemeritus esse cupiat.

Quae mihi et prius per Ioannem tuum et postea per litteras apud regem meum conficienda demandaveris, satis intellexi, ea mihi non excident, faciam pro mea facultate, ut primo quoque tempore sentias nec regiam tibi clementiam, nec meam operam defuisse. Quae tamen in re tua difficultas obstat, iam pridem cognovisti, eam puto nos dirumpere posse, si alii quoque tui amici in fide et officio permanserint. Vale et me ama.

Ex Lincio 17. Februarii 1530.

#### 41

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Linz, 17 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 38.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 43.

*He knows how humane he usually is with his friends, and therefore he will also do everything to accommodate his request.*

Ad amicum.

Quis fueris et qualem te semper praestiteris, satis mihi constat, et qua etiam humanitate in rebus tuorum amicorum usus fueris, iam pridem multis argumentis notum omnibus fecisti. Ego vicissim quid in rebus tuis facere potuerim mihi demandatis, tute melius scis, quam alii. Non passus sum pro mea facultate meum abs te officium desiderari. Quare quid me deinceps facere oporteat, fac me certiolem, deinceps quoque eandem, quam hactenus praestabo operam et diligentiam. Tu pariter non sis tui dissimilis, sed in ea, quam in hunc diem amplexus es, humanitate permane. Vale et me ama.

Ex Lincio 17. Februarii 1530.

40,7 soleas] O(?) del. ex soleas et 9 qui] O(?) del. ex qui mea 15 benemeritus] O corr. ex benemeritis  
17 demandaveris] O corr. ex mandaveris 41,5 alii] O corr. ex aliis 6 oporteat] O corr. ex opteat  
7 operam] O del. et add. sup. l. idem

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics  
Linz, 18 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 38.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 43–44; BUNYITAY–KARÁCSONYI–RAPAICS 1904, 13; KASZA 2012, 261.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 616–617.

*He cannot find anyone who is not angry with Brodarics or was not blaming him for forsaking King Ferdinand I. Nobody knows where he is now. Oláh is only hoping that wherever he is, he is well, and he will come to his senses.*

Ad Stephanum Brodericum<sup>1</sup> episcopum Sirmiensem.

Multi sunt, qui tibi succenseant, quod a tua constantia, probitate et integritate si non omnino deflexeris, at aberrasse videaris, et illum, quem prius habueris animum, nescio, quo pacto quibusve tuis cogitationibus immutaris. Constantem te omnes antea  
5 virum iudicarunt, et nec minis, nec pretio a virtute integritateque morum deflectentem, sed nunc in tantam omnium venisti criminationem, ita ab omnibus tua improbantur facta, ut reperiri posse arbitror neminem, qui de te cum magno meo dolore non mala dicat et sentiat. Satius tibi erat nomen integritatis retinere, quam nescio, qua spe commodi consequendi a recta via deduci. Ubi nunc sis terrarum, quid agas,  
10 quidve moliaris, vel quid cogites, nemo non modo scire, sed ne audire quidem potest. Cuperem te pro nostra vetere amicitia sanum esse ubicumque ageres, sed ita, ut aliquando respisceres. Vale.

Ex Lincio 18. Februarii 1530.

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42,8 nomen] *O corr.* ex non

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42 <sup>1</sup> István Brodarics (ca. 1471–1539) was one of the most important envoys of this time, a humanist, Bishop of Pécs, then Bishop of Vác, Chancellor of King Louis II. He wrote his chronicle on the battle of Mohács as a witness. After Mohács, he did not want to take part in the civil war and went to Poland to Piotr Tomicki. Later he joined King John I, as a result of which the friendship between Oláh and him broke. See more KASZA 2012, and KASZA 2015.

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Linz, 18 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 38–39.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 44–45.

1. *He knows nothing about Kálnai's whereabouts, how he is, what his political stance is; even though he misses their old conversations between friends very much.* 2. *He has heard that he is following new doctrines, which is making him happy and unhappy at the same time. Any way it is, he should let them know that he is alive.*

Ad Emericum Kalnay archidiaconum Transilvaniensem.

[1.] Maximo teneor tui videndi desiderio! Ubi sis locorum, Ioannemne sequaris regem, an domi deditus otio litterario latites? Iam a multo tempore nequaquam cognoscere potui. Si domi es, gaudeo, tum quod abes a tumultu illo Turcico et calamitate pestifera, tum quod domi honesta voluptate fruaris. Verum cuperem, ut aliquando simul esse possemus, vetus illa nostra familiaritas, qua invicem coniuncti, ut scis, fuimus, non parvum mihi inicit desiderium, ut te quam primum videre possem, cum maxime inter alienas sim nationes, quibuscum mihi etiam mea re salva vix ulla consuetudo intercedere poterat, non desunt amici licet boni, probi et praestantes viri, sed nescio, quae mea natura me rapit ad desiderium illius pristinae nostrae mutuae et etiam aliorum nostrorum amicorum, quos scis, conversationis. 5 10

[2.] Audiveram iam olim te satius initiatum esse et nescio quibus deditum caerimoniis.<sup>1</sup> Id et laudabam et vituperabam: laudabam, quod quemlibet hoc tempore, maxime conveniat statum vitae sibi deligere, et in his quibus nunc sumus occupati vitae periculis calamitatibusque quemvis non ullius principis obligatum esse servitiis, vituperabam autem, quod te in laqueum istud tam cito intruseris, et si res ita est, ut de te fertur, quod tam maxime omnium esses obnoxius rebus illis caerimonialibus, in quibus nunc totius usque adeo sudat orbis, ut nulla requies sit nec pontifici nostro maximo, nec principibus nostris secularibus, nec plebi, nec aliis bonis viris. Quare oro te per nostram amicitiam, fac me certiozem, quis sit tuae vitae status, quis ordo, quid agas et ubi sis, vel si cum tuo commodo fieri potuerit, veni ad me. Vale. 15 20

Ex Lincio 18. Februarii 1530.

43,17 quod] *O add. sup. l.* 18 usque... orbis] *O mut. ex* sudat orbis usque adeo

43 <sup>1</sup> Oláh is presumably implying that Luther's doctrines had a great impact on Kálnai, see V. KOVÁCS 1971, 666.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Linz, 18 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 39–40.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 45.

*He is disappointed because Peregi, despite his promise, has not yet informed him since his departure. A lack of messenger cannot have been an excuse, since envoys are arriving every day on the mail route, and he is reporting to him about everything that is happening here or in the Empire.*

Ad Albertum<sup>1</sup> praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem.

Vide, quam me opinio de te mea fefellerit et quam longe aliter res ceciderit, quam tu hinc discedens mihi promiseras. Pollicitus eras te de rebus omnibus, posteaquam ad regem venires, me certiolem facturum. Id in hunc diem minime est factum, vel  
5 quod fidum tabellarium non habueris, vel quod mei sis et promissionis tuae oblitus, vel omnino, quod res nulla inciderit, quae aliquid mihi voluptatis afferre potuisset.

Quare, mi Alberte, nisi promissum bona fide servaveris, accusabo te inhumanitatis, non video esse causam aliquam, cur tabellariorum inopiam accusare possis, veniunt in dies a rege ad nos nuntii maximis itineribus, quas postas nostri vocant. Nihil  
10 istic rerum contingere potest, de quo me non certiolem facere commode possis, modo velis, velle autem debes, cum semel id receperis te esse facturum. Ego contra ad tuas omnes tibi respondebo et earum rerum, quae hic aguntur, vel quae etiam ex imperio per eos, qui continue illinc ad nos veniunt, deferuntur, faciam te participem, omniaque quae hic habiturus sum, tibi impartiam. Vale et me ama.

15 Ex Lincio 18. Februarii 1530.

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44,11 contra ad] *corr.* ex contra tibi ad

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44 <sup>1</sup> Albert Peregi (†1546) was Provost of Pécs, later Royal Secretary (*secretarius regius*) of the Hungarian Chamber in Buda, see VARGA 2011.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Linz, 21 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 40.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 45.

*How distant they have become and how much this saddens him, others will tell Peregi. If he does not conduct his business more wisely, it will not end well.*

Ad eundem.

Incredibile dictu est, quantum a tuis rebus sim alienatus. Non multo post tuum hinc discessum varia de te tuisque rebus habuimus nova, quae quantam tristitiam mihi attulerint, ex aliorum te litteris malo, quam meis cognoscere. Propter amicitiam nostram communem tua et tristia et laeta sunt mihi communia. Nisi igitur in tempore 5 prudenter rebus tuis consulueris, nihil tibi boni spero futurum. Vale.

Ex Lincio 21. Februarii 1530.

Miklós Oláh to Pál Várday  
Linz, 25 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 40–41.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 46.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 617–618.

*Oláh scolds him because he has offended King Ferdinand I both in words and deed, and Oláh reminds him of his predecessors, who did not hesitate to even sacrifice their life for the homeland. By name: Tamás Bakócz, György Szatmári, and László Szalkai - they are the ones he should follow in their grace.*

Ad Paulum<sup>1</sup> archiepiscopum Strigoniensem.

Offensus sum graviter tuis malis artibus, quibus te conttourra tuum et nostrum principem usum esse, non rumore ipso, sed certa omnium relatione intellexi, utinam

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46 <sup>1</sup> Pál Várday (1483–1549) was Royal Treasurer from 1519, then Bishop of Veszprém from 1521, and Bishop of Eger from 1523. He participated in the battle of Mohács. After Mohács, he joined King John I, who nominated him Archbishop of Esztergom, but in 1527 he changed sides and remained loyal to King Ferdinand I till the end. In 1542 Várday became Royal Governor (*locumtenens regius*), and in 1543 he transferred the archbishop's headquarters to Trnava because the Turks had occupied Esztergom, see LACZLAVIK 2014.

aliquando resipisceres et tuam aliis nocendi naturam in bonam frugem converteres,  
5 melius certe rebus tuis foret consultum. Nonne meministi optimos praecessorum  
tuorum mores, vitam integram, religionem sinceram, hi non modo non adhaeserunt  
Turcis religionis nostrae Sacrosanctae hostibus, sed eos viribus omnibus sunt perse-  
cuti. Qua in re non dubitarunt et facultates suas omnes quascumque habuerunt et  
vitam suam praeclarissime effundere, cuius rei testes sunt, multae praeteritorum  
10 annorum cum Turcis susceptae pugnae, conflictus etiam ad oppidum Mohaacz, cum  
magna nostrorum clade et internecone commissus. Earum rerum si tu memor esses,  
ut deberes, profecto non modo non descisceres a veris principibus Christianis, sed  
etiam omne periculum pro tua fide, penes eos, qui illam defendunt, paratissimo  
animo subires.

15 Propone tibi eos, quos nominavi, tuos praecessores. Thomas<sup>2</sup> cardinalis Strigo-  
niensis vir omnium cordatissimus, quoties omnes fere facultates suas in milites con-  
tra Turcos missos liberaliter elargitus fuit? Hunc secutus est Georgius a Sathmar,<sup>3</sup> vir  
et animi et corporis dotibus, nec minus vitae sanctimonia illustris, qui ut Hungariae  
periculis subveniret, me sciente et vidente, omnes suas opes effudit. Postremo om-  
20 nium Ladislaus Zalkanus,<sup>4</sup> et ingenii et consilii viribus praestans, in campo Mohaacz  
Turcarum manibus necatus est. Horum igitur imitare facta, quae profecto ab omni-  
bus, qui religionem hanc Christianam amplectuntur, sunt imitanda. Id si feceris,  
numquam a vera via aberrabis.

Postremo nonne te monent tuae promissiones interveniente iuramento sanctissimo  
25 fidelitatis observandae in frequenti consilio me et aliis multis viris optimis praesenti-  
bus, regi nostro factae. Ea unica res, si non plures essent aliae, quae tamen sunt innu-  
merabiles, te ab defectione ista abducere deberent. Quare si sapis, et nomini tuo  
perpetuas tenebras offundere non cupis, resipisce et consule honori tuo. Vale.

Ex Lincio 25. Februarii 1530.

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46,15 tibi] *O add. sup. l.* 28 offundere] *O corr. ex offendere*

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<sup>2</sup> Tamás Bakócz (1442–1521) was a cardinal, a statesman, and Archbishop of Esztergom from 1497 until his death. | <sup>3</sup> György Szatmári (1457–1524) was Archbishop of Esztergom from 1522 until his death.

<sup>4</sup> László Szalkai (1475–1526) was Archbishop of Esztergom from 1524 until his death.

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Linz, 25 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 41.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 47.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 206.

*As long as he has known him, Thurzó has always been appreciated both in terms of rank and in respect. If he is avoiding the court nowadays because the deceits at the court abhor him, he understands, but he would still do better to return to them, since here he will be of bigger use than at home.*

Ad Alexium Turzonem<sup>1</sup> iudicem curiae regni Hungariae.

Non potes infitiri, quin maxima semper ab omnibus prosecutus sis humanitate, dum in curia es versatus. Quamdiu te novi, magno habitus es in honore, veneratus, observatus non ab aequalibus modo tuis, sed etiam a maioribus nullumque est hono- 5 ris in te praetermissum exemplum, quod ad te honorandum, ornandum et decorandum visum est pertinere. Quam ob rem igitur tu te tanto temporis spatio a nobis abstraxeris, et omnium bonorum colloquium, amicitiam et familiaritatem vitaveris, non facile cogitare possum. Haec te una res fortasse movebat, quod non poteras tantam, quanta nunc est, curiae indignitatem et malitiam improbitatemque hominum ferre. Ea si res te absterruit, mirum in modum erras, qui plus sensu oculorum, quam 10 aurium movearis; nonne eadem haec, quae in aula videre potuisti, etiam audis, et nonne tam auditione commoveri potes, quam sensu oculorum. Et si maiorem adfert tristitiam, cum aliquid videmus, quod nolumus, tamen certe etiam quod audimus, videturque esse iniquum, non parum affert nobis tristitiae et doloris.

Quare si rebus tuis bene vis consultum esse et cupis tua facta ab omnibus probari, 15 fac ut derelicto tuo domestico otio cito te ad nos conferas et hic potius esse malis, ubi virtutis ornamenta maiora sunt, quam domi, ubi parum ornamentum consequi potes. Vale et me haec amico animo ad te scripsisse existima.

Ex Lincio 25. Februarii 1530.

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47,13 quod<sup>2</sup>] *O del. et add sup .l. idem*

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47 <sup>1</sup> Elek Thurzó of Bethlenfalva (1490–1543) was one of the most important figures of this period in Hungary. He was Master of the treasury (*magister tavernicorum*) before Mohács, then after the battle he fled with the Queen to Bratislava. From 1527 until his death, he was Hungarian Chief Justice (*iudex curiae*). In 1531, as thanks for his loyalty to the Habsburgs, he got the Spiš Castle, and he became Bailiff of Szepes county. Thurzó is also known for his humanist contacts, e.g. to Erasmus of Rotterdam and Aldus Manutius, and he is noted for his love letter to his wife in 1525, which is the first preserved Hungarian love letter, see SZÓKE 2014.

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Linz, 25 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 41–42.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 47–48.

*Even though Thurzó is aware of the fickle nature of luck, he is still very depressed by the news that King Ferdinand I's army has been driven out of Esztergom. But they should not wallow, instead they should look for a solution to these troubles with the Bratislava council of governor.*

Ad eundem.

Tametsi sciam, quae tua sit natura et quam mirifice rebus quibusque adversis afficiar, tamen virtutis est non infimae adversus tempestates et rerum adversitates forti esse animo, et quaecumque fortuna tulerit, sive prospera, sive adversa patienter  
5 ferre. Conturbatus mirum in modum esse diceris, quod nuper noster exercitus sub Strigonium<sup>1</sup> per summam aliquorum improbitatem sit depulsus et quod hanc postea ob rem non cum parva nominis regii iactura coactus sit regredi. Ea re et si non tu solum, sed omnes, qui regem hunc nostrum Ferdinandum sequimur, in summam proiec-  
10 tum sumus tristitiam, tamen si varietatem fortunae consideraveris et martem esse communem belli, ab hac certe tristitia liberari debemus, et laetio-rem quendam animum induere, semper meliorem sperantes fortunam, ex Dei optimi clementia, in quo ab initio confisi sumus, nobis affuturam.

Desine igitur iam tristari et potius cogites cum aliis regii consiliariis Posonii constitutis, quibus nunc summa rei regiae commissa est, ut hanc acceptam nominis  
15 nostri iacturam insigni quadam victoria compensare possimus. Non deerit huic negotio rex etiam ipse noster. Auxiliabuntur vobis ex regio mandato regentes Austriae, quorum aliquos nunc vobiscum agere intelligo. Vos quoque ipsi vobis et regno non desitis. Id ita fiet, si exercitum cito reparaveritis et regias vires quisque vestrum pro sua facultate augebit. Vale.

20 Ex Lincio 25. Februarii 1530.

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48,3 infimae] *corr.* ex infimae 9 varietatem] *O corr.* ex veritatem

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48<sup>1</sup> Esztergom.



Miklós Oláh to Caspar Ursinus Velius  
Linz, 25 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 42.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 48.

*He is surprised that Ursinus has not written a letter to him for a long time. He does not know the reason why, but if he writes to him at last, all will be cleared, and he will forgive the silence.*

Ad Ursinum Velium<sup>1</sup> historicum et poetam.

Quid multa? Multis a me nominibus, mi Ursine, reprehendi iure potes, quod immemor amicitiae nostrae communis iamdiu cum summa testificatione amoris nostri mutui familiariter inita iam a multo tempore nihil ad me litterarum dederis. Miror de tua hac tam diuturna taciturnitate, quam non aliunde procedere arbitror, 5 quam ex alienato tuo in me animo. Qui cur alienatus sit, causam ignoro, nulla enim a me est unquam data occasio, qua vel impeditus vel commotus, alienior in me esse deberes. Utcumque sit, ignosco tuae praeteriti temporis taciturnitati, ea tamen lege, ut posthac crebrius ad me scribas, ut discedens mihi promisisti. Vale cum uxore et liberis. 10

Ex Lincio 25. Februarii 1530.

Miklós Oláh to Caspar Ursinus Velius  
Linz, 25 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 42.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 48–49.

*He praises the merits of their common friend, Georg von Logau, whom he is happy to help.*

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49,8 tuae] *O corr.* ex tuam | taciturnitati] *O corr.* ex taciturnitatem

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49 <sup>1</sup> Caspar Ursinus Velius (ca. 1493–1539) was a German humanist scholar, poet, and historian, loyal to Ferdinand I. He enrolled at the University of Cracow, where he mastered humanist Latin. He was János Thurzó's secretary, and later he became a court historian and poet laureate in Vienna. From 1524 he held lectures at the University of Vienna on Romanian and Greek authors. His work about the battle of Mohács, written in 1528 (see Ep. 173. Note 4.), was dormant until Spring 2018, and his main work *De bello Pannonico* remained unfinished. He wrote epigrams on Thurzó, Kálnai, and Logau, see LAKATOS 2011; ERBE–BIETENHOLZ 1987a; SZEBELÉDI 2015, and KASZA 2018.

Ad eundem.

Qua mecum Logus<sup>1</sup> noster sit iunctus familiaritate, tu imprimis non ignoras. Is ea est morum suavitate, verborum ubertate,<sup>2</sup> facetiarum lepore praeditus, ut non solum mihi, sed etiam omnibus aliis, qui eius usi sunt familiaritate, merito debeat esse carissimus; et hanc ob causam bene ei esse volo, et si qua possum aut munificentia, aut  
5 humanitate eum prosequi, id certe mea sponte, non alicuius inductus hortatibus libenter faciam, tuum quoque erit, plero vestra mutua coniunctione et studiorum aequalitate, ut ornatum eum esse velis. Quod si volueris, facile poteris, dum enim tuis illum inserveris historiis et ingenii illius suavitatem, virtutem et doctrinam probaveris, non  
10 parum gloriae eius nomini adiciis. Vale et me ama.

Ex Lincio 25. Februarii 1530.

51<sup>57</sup>

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 27 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 370.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 49–50.

*1. King John I almost occupied Eger as well; all the unfaithful lords have gathered to besiege the castle. 2. Choron has recovered the castle of Veszprém, while Tahy and Piskey have fled. Esztergom was looted by the Spanish, while the Turkish sloops robbed the chapter.*

Idem Nicolao Olao.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Credo iam te certius cognovisse, quod nuper ignorabas, ut exercitus regius retrocesserit etc. piget meminisse. Facis mentionem Agriae,<sup>2</sup> quae iam pridem in hostium venit potestatem, cum prius mensem unum et dies aliquot omnibus viribus  
5 equestribus, pedestribus, quas habebat Ioannes,<sup>3</sup> fuisset acerrime oppugnata et per

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50,5 hanc] *corr. ex hac*

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50 <sup>1</sup> Georg von Logau (ca. 1500–1553), humanist, protégé of the Thurzós, and Royal Secretary of Ferdinand I from 1527. First Canon, later Provost of Wrocław, see more ERBE 1986, 338–339; GRIMM 1987, 117; LAKATOS 2007, 78–79, and KASZA 2012, 128. | <sup>2</sup> About his eloquence and poetry see KASZA 2014, 157–165. 51 <sup>1</sup> About his letter, see BÉKEFI 1913, 11. | <sup>2</sup> After 28 October, 1529, the army of Ferdinand I followed the withdrawing Turks and occupied the castles of Western Hungary, even parts of Upper Hungary, as far as the lines between Eger and Košice. | <sup>3</sup> King John I.

meos strenue item et fortiter defensa. Hieronimus Lasko<sup>4</sup> cum Polonis, Cozka<sup>5</sup> cum Bohaemis et tormentis bellicis, Ioannes Tahy,<sup>6</sup> Ioannes Zerechen,<sup>7</sup> Caspar Raskay,<sup>8</sup> Petrus Bodo,<sup>9</sup> Thomas Nadasdi, Pazthay,<sup>10</sup> Puthmoky,<sup>11</sup> denique omnis turba perfidorum ad illius arcis expugnationem concurrerat.

[2.] Vesprimiensis arx recuperata nuper fuit per Andream Choron et alios familiares meos et mox per Ioannem Thahy, Franciscum Somogy,<sup>12</sup> Petrum Emresy,<sup>13</sup> et quosdam pedites Bohemos, et per aliquot millia rusticorum fuit obsessa et oppugnata violentissime, sed Deo et fidelissimis castellanis meis propugnantibus servata. Ioannes Tahy cum suis turpissime depulsus occisis et vulneratis hominibus circiter quadringentis, amisso etiam fratre et plerisque familiaribus; negant de Bohemis super-  
fuisse decem, quin saucii fuerint aut mortui. Erant et autem, ut intelligo, trecenti de meis duo levissime vulnerati. Piskey<sup>14</sup> his diebus ad Ugrot<sup>15</sup> per nostros est profligatus.

Hispani civitatem Strigoniensem<sup>16</sup> nuper diripuerant. Turcarum nasadistae capitulum diripuerunt, e civitate quicquid erat hominum abductum. Hic nulli fiunt apparatus. Vale.

Posonii 27. Februarii 1530.

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51,11 Thahy] *O corr.* ex Thagy 16 trecenti] *O corr.* ex trecentis

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<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus Łaski (1496–1541) was a Polish aristocrat and diplomat. After Mohács, he entered King John I's service and became his legate to Paris, Copenhagen, and Munich. He was King John I's most important diplomat, especially to the Sublime Porta. Between 1528–1531, he was Bailiff of Szepes county and Voivode of Transylvania from 1530. Even though Łaski conspired with Gritti against King John I, their plan was discovered, and Łaski became an ally and a diplomat of King Ferdinand I. | <sup>5</sup> Péter Koczka or his brother Miklós Koczka, both were King John I's loyal captains. | <sup>6</sup> János Tahy, Prior of Vrana, from 1525 Ban of Croatia, see VARGA 2008, 1110. | <sup>7</sup> János Szerecsen (†1532), *familiaris* of the Szapolyai family, see KUBINYI 2008, 229. | <sup>8</sup> Gáspár Ráskay was a Hungarian poet, and Chief Chamberlain of King Louis II. He participated in the battle of Mohács, later he became loyal to King John I. For his merits, King John I appointed him Bailiff of Nógrád county, later Bailiff of Temes county, see [SZILÁDY] 1893. | <sup>9</sup> Péter Bodó. | <sup>10</sup> He is either Zsigmond Pásztói or Ferenc Pásztói, son of György Pásztói, possessors of Pásztó, see KUBINYI 2000, 324–325. | <sup>11</sup> Imre Putnoki, former Master Cupbearer of King Louis II, then King John I's Marshal, and Bailiff of Borsod county. | <sup>12</sup> Probably Ferenc Somogyi of Endréd, Deputy Bailiff of Somogy county. He was Captain of Tata and Komárom until 1526. | <sup>13</sup> Péter Imreffy. In 1534, he occurs in Bálint Török's letter, see BESSENYEI 1994, 85 (Ep.120). | <sup>14</sup> We do not know him more closely. The family possessed Piski in Bihar county and was loyal to King John I, see CSÁNKI 1890, 638, and JAKÓ 1940, 324. | <sup>15</sup> Uhrovec. | <sup>16</sup> Esztergom.

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Thuróczy  
Linz, 27 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 42–43.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 50.

*He does not know if Thuróczy is in Bratislava with the aristocrats or in Prague with the king, but if he wishes to receive letters from him more frequently, he should let him know where he is; that way he cannot be accused of silence any more, and his letters will not fall in the wrong hands, either.*

Ad Nicolaum Thwroczi<sup>1</sup> magistrum aulae regis Ferdinandi.

Quo nunc sis in loco et quibus negotiis occupatus, nequaquam intelligere possum. Alii dicunt te Posonii cum aliis proceribus, qui rem agunt istic regiam, una esse, alii ad regem Pragam profectum. Quid tamen de te credam, ignoro. Scio te in tuis facultatibus non parva suscepisse incommoda, multas fecisse in servitiis regiis impensas, et hac de re non possum induci ad credendum, quin tuis sumptibus sis profectus Pragam ad regia servitia. Cum memor sim tuae querelae, quam hinc discedens apud me facere solebas, ne autem taciturnitatis a te arguerer, dedi has ad te litteras, incertus ubi locorum ad te perventurae essent, Posoniine vel Pragae. Quam ob rem rogo te, ut si crebriores et longiores me ad te vis dare litteras, fac me certiolem, quo in loco sis, ne litterae meae in incertum quempiam locum, quo nollem, veniant. Vale et si apud regem es, mea servitia illi commenda, rogo.

Ex Lincio 27. Februarii 1530.

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52,1 magistrum] *corr.* ex migistrum 3 proceribus] *O mut.* ex dominis 11 nollem] *O corr.* ex mollem

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52 <sup>1</sup> Miklós Thuróczy of Szentmihály (†1531) was Vice-voivode of Transylvania in 1513, from 1524 Protonotary, from 1525 Royal Secretary. In 1527 he became Bailiff of Turóc county and was Master Doorward (*magister ianitorum regalium*) from 1527, see NAGY XI, 1865, 188. About his death see Ep. 222.

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Thuróczy  
Linz, 28 February 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 43–44.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 50–51.

1. *He shares his feeling of homesickness. Their suffering would have ended, had their troops not retreated at Esztergom.* 2. *But he should not worry; instead he should strive to make sure the king aims to get his kingdom back.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Non sum nescius, quibus tu rebus crucieris, iisdem et nos omnes, qui in hoc exilio sumus, torquemur. Mirum est nobis omnibus desiderium patriae nostrae iam tandem revisendae. Quod propediem nobis Deum concessurum spero, iam proculdubio huius desiderii nostri finis esset impositus, ni factum, nescio, quod adversum his 5 diebus proximis obstitisset, et exercitus noster a Strigonio<sup>1</sup> non modo rebus nullis praeclare istic actis, sed etiam cum aliqua nominis, autoritatis et dignitatis regiae diminutione retrocessisset, non cum parva iactura et honoris et comiteatum nostrorum.

[2.] Haec licet ita facta sint, desine tamen cruciari et magnis animi sollicitudinibus teipsum conficere. Communis est haec calamitas, perturbatio et anxietas. An nescis miseris magnum praebere solatium, satietatem adversitatis; ea res si me non fuisset consolata, fortasse plus aliis lugerem, nec lugendi maerendive finem antea facerem, quam ad optatas patriae oras pertingerem. Nunc id solum est agendum, in eo elaborandum, ad id rex noster iustissimus iuxta ut mitissimus omni studio et ingenio admovendus, ut habita ratione suae dignitatis, autoritatis et bonae existimationis, nostrumque omnium calamitati ac diuturnae miseriae curet, cogitet et faciat, ut regnum suum e manibus hostium recuperet, nosque in patriam nostram, ubi ei servire et fidelitatis ac integritatis nostrae argumenta erga eum declarare possimus, primo quoque tempore reducat. Tuum est officium, ut hanc rem apud regem sollicites, et si 20 opera, studium et labor hic in hoc negotio apud hos, apud quos erit agendum, non deerit. Vale.

Ex Lincio 28. Februarii 1530.

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53,17 calamitati] *corr.* ex calamitatis

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53<sup>1</sup> Esztergom.

Miklós Oláh to György Sulyok  
Linz, 1 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 44.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 51.

*He is not surprised that Sulyok attributes everything to his ill fortune, he has had to suffer through so much misfortune to serve King Ferdinand I. He should preserve his loyalty.*

Ad Georgium Swlyok<sup>1</sup> episcopum Quinqueelesiensem.

Nemini mirum esse debere iudico, si te tuasque omnes actiones fortunae committendas esse putaveris: fuisti satis longo tempore patiens calamitatum adversitatumque, multas miserias fortiter pertulisti, arcem et bona tua omnia, ut regi nostro servire  
5 posses, hostibus relinquere coactus es, et quod maius est, tu quoque ipse compulsus es hostium imperium ad tempus subire. Quod non vehementer improbo, dum modo te ita geras, ut fidelitatis regi nostro servandae semper memineris. Vale.

Ex Lincio prima Martii 1530.

Miklós Oláh to György Sulyok  
Linz, 1 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 44–45.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 51–52.

*1. They are happy to hear from Bernát Sárkány that both he and György Báthori have stayed on King Ferdinand I's side; Sárkány learned this from Sulyok's brother, István. 2. They should persevere a little while longer, King Ferdinand I is namely working on liberating them.*

Ad Georgium Swlyok episcopum Quinqueelesiensem.

[1.] Cum illius omnes essemus de te existimationis, ut iam fractus calamitatibus et multis malis, quae ab inimicis regis Ferdinandi forti animo huc usque pertuleris,

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54,3 adversitatumque] *O corr.* ex adversarionum 4 miserias] *O mut.* ex adversitates 7 servandae] *O(?) del.* ex servandae servire | memineris] *O corr.* ex mineris

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54 <sup>1</sup> György II Sulyok.

coactus paruisses imperio Ioannis regis, ecce advenit Bernardus Sarkan,<sup>1</sup> qui nuntia-  
ret, te et Georgium Bathoreum<sup>2</sup> in fide Ferdinandica, amissis licet omnibus bonis et  
rebus vestris, constanter permansisse, idque eum certo accepisse ex Steffano Swlyok<sup>3</sup>  
fratre tuo, qui nuper ad Wywar<sup>4</sup> venerat. Mirum in modum laetati sumus vos maxima  
constantia, singulari integritate praeditos perseverasse in vestra erga regem fide,  
verum ut is vester animus diuturnus sit, cupio. Quantum ego rem hic intelligo, non  
diu his malis communibus laborabimus. Curae est regi et vestra et aliorum suorum  
liberatio. Nam aliter si maxime etiam vellet, facere non potest honore et dignitate sua  
id exigente.

[2.] Sis igitur tu et Georgius Bathoreus forti, constanti et integro animo, nec ali-  
qua vos brevissimo quoque hoc tempore, si longiore antea non fregit, adversitas  
commoveat et debilitet, futurum erit propediem, ut et vos et omnes boni ab hac perni-  
cie Deo primum autore, deinde curante hoc rege nostro liberentur, et tranquillam  
post haec securamque agant vitam. Non moveamini illis damnis, quae hactenus per-  
pessi estis, pro his multo maiora commoda habituri. Iucundissimum olim erit memi-  
nisse malorum in hac temporum adversitate constanter perpessorum non denique  
vobis et clementia et munificentia regia, si vos in vestra constantia penes eum per-  
mansisse prospexerit, erit defutura. Vale.

Ex Lincio prima Martii 1530.

## 56

Miklós Oláh to Bernhard von Cles  
Linz, 3 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 45–46.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 52–53.

*Many are wishing for his presence, since he has been generous and helpful towards all. There is nobody more suitable than him among the councilors either, so he is asking him to return to the King's service.*

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55,9 sit] *O corr.* ex si 13 Bathoreus] *O corr.* ex Bathorus 16 curante] *O corr.* ex curam 17 haec] *corr.* ex hanc

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55,18 Iucundissimum... meminisse] Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 203: „forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit”.

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55 <sup>1</sup> Bernát Sárkány of Ákosháza, Ensign of Queen Mary of Habsburg. He was *familiaris* of the Batthyáns and known for a codex entry which he recorded in the so-called Keszthelyi codex in 1522. See KUBINYI 1994, and recently BILKEI 2015. | <sup>2</sup> György (II) Báthori. Previously he had been loyal to King Ferdinand I, then he changed sides. | <sup>3</sup> István Sulyok, for more about him and his family see SZABÓ 2008, 170–171. | <sup>4</sup> Güssing, domain of the Batthyány family.

Ad Bernardum<sup>1</sup> cardinalem Tridentinum.

Quam multi sint, qui tuam hic praesentiam exoptent, Reverendissime Praesul, est dictu difficile; abfuiisti iam longo satis tempore, ob quam rem nihil mirum si omnes teneantur tui desiderio: fuisti enim erga omnes liberalis, nemini tuum studium, curam, laborem, industriam et patrocinium denegatum esse voluisti. Quibus nimirum rebus effectum est, ut omnium amorem et benevolentiam mirum in modum tibi conciliaris. Accedit etiam, quod rebus regiis non parum videtur decessisse post tuam hanc abitionem, nam pauci sunt in tanta consiliariorum multitudine, qui videri possent idonei et sufficientes rebus tam magnis regiis in bonum statum deducendis.

10 Quam ob rem si rebus publicis bene vis, Reverendissime Antistes, esse consultum in tanta omnium negotiorum perversitate, si commodis regiis, quod profecto facis pro tua in regem observantia, studes et faves, ut compositis cito domi tuae rebus ad regem revertare. Ita et regiis negotiis satisfeceris, et desiderium eorum, qui te avidè exspectant, ubertim explebis. Vale.

15 Ex Lincio 3. Martii 1530.

51 57

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Linz, 7 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 46.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 53.

1. The news Szalaházy has shared with him about Esztergom and Eger has aggrieved him. Even their hope is lost, he does not know what they could do. 2. He is happy about Veszprém's defense, he wishes such news was arriving from other places as well.

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium Hungariae.

[1.] Maximo affectus sum, Reverendissime Pater, maerore, cum tuas hodie accepi litteras, ex quibus ea certo intellexi, quae iam antea rumor ad nos detulerat arcem tuam Agriensem<sup>1</sup> a turba infidelium cum magna nostrorum clade raptam, nostros qui in illis fuerunt regionibus, ab hostibus miserrime et pulsos et persecutos, Strigonium<sup>2</sup> direptum, colonos civitatis et incolas captivos per Turcas crudeliter abductos. Haec et

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56,7 quod] O(?) del. ex quod in 8 consiliariorum] O corr: ex consiliorum 57,5 miserrime] corr: ex miserime | persecutos] corr: ex praesequutos

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56 <sup>1</sup> Bernhard von Cles (1485–1539) studied in Verona, then in Bologna, where he earned a doctorate in Canon Law in 1512. Later he became Archbishop of Trident, High Chancellor of King Ferdinand I and Chairman of the Secret Council (1528–1539). For more see STRNAD 2014; LAKATOS 2013, and GUENTHER 1985c. 57 <sup>1</sup> Eger. | <sup>2</sup> Esztergom.



alia multa meum quem antea in similibus conceperam malis, mirum in modum auxerunt dolorem. Utinam Deo optimo maximo prospiciente iam tandem aliquis finis his nostris daretur calamitatibus, non modo suspicari, sed ne cogitare possum, quid sit nobis sperandum. Ex omnibus fere partibus, quibus nobis subveniri posset, non aliud 10 quam intestinas seditiones, odia mutua, plurima mala audimus, et quid eiusdem malis nobis imminentibus praesidii sperare possumus? Spes, quae sola miseris temporibus homini solatium praebere solet, ea quoque nunc nobis est erepta. Quare quid sperandum sit, et quid faciendum, non satis possum cogitare.

[2.] Illud, quod cum magna hostium clade Wesprimium arx tua, virtute et fortitudine castellanorum<sup>3</sup> tuorum, optimorum et fidelium virorum conservata sit, gaudeo; 15 utinam ex locis etiam aliis tam iucunda et laeta nobis nuntiarentur. Nostrum est, si quid aliunde bonae rei adferatur, mediocriter laetari, in adversis autem non magno-pere animo esse deiecto. Si quid erit etiam deinceps, Reverendissime Praesul, quod aliquid animi nobis addere posse videatur, rogo fac de eo nos huc certiores. Vale. 20

Ex Lincio 7. Martii 1530.

58

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Linz, 8 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 46–47.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 54.

*Not long after his letters an envoy arrived from Vienna, who stated that King John I wants to occupy Morvamező with 20,000 Turks so that he can cut off supply to Vienna.*

Ad eundem.

Auditum est a quibusdam post tuas nobis heri redditas litteras certum nuntium Wiennam pervenisse, qui retulisset Ioannem regem accersitis viginti millibus Turcarum velle ea loca Austriae, quae Marckfeltus<sup>1</sup> appellatur, invadere et frumentum omne ac commeatus, quorum magna in locis illis copia, intercipere, ne Wiennam 5

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7 meum quem] *O corr.* ex meam quam | in<sup>1</sup>] *O corr.* ex de 8 dolorem] *O mut.* ex tristitiam  
10 subveniri] *O mut.* ex opitulari 11 quam] *O mut.* ex praeterquam 13 nobis] *O corr.* ex non 15 quod] *O*  
*add. sup. l.* 17 nuntiarentur] *O corr.* ex nuntiaretur 18 bonae] *O add. sup. l.* 19 animo...deiecto] *O mut.*  
*ex esse deiecto animo*

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<sup>3</sup> András Chorón of Devecser (before 1500–1552), landlord and one of the most important captains of the Habsburgs in Hungary. He played an important part of the suppression of the Dózsa Revolt in 1514. He became Deputy Bailiff of Veszprém county in 1523, Captain of castle Sümeg in 1524, and he remained loyal to King Ferdinand I, see VARGA 2001a, and VARGA 2001b. 58<sup>1</sup> Marchfeld.

comportari possent. Ea res si vera est, non potest nobis non esse molesta. Fac igitur rogo te, Reverendissime Praesul, ut quid hac de re certum sit, quam primum sciamus, gratum et reginae et nobis id erit. Vale.

Ex Lincio 8. Martii 1530.

59

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Linz, 8 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 47.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 54.

1. *There is no need to describe the horrors that Thurzó himself has also experienced. He is pained to laugh because Thurzó had predicted that this would happen much earlier.* 2. *His only solace is if he can be with his comrades, and they can laugh and cry together.*

Ad Turzonem.

[1.] Quid ego tibi multis depingam faciem rerum praesentium et temporum calamitatem, quae magna est et incredibilis. Quam etsi nihil dubito, quin tu quoque ipse iam cum uxore et tuis domesticis expertus fueris, tamen ego et mei similes usque  
5 adeo experti sunt, ut ne cruciatus quidem illius Tantali et Sisiphi<sup>1</sup> quam mala praesentia possint esse acerbiores, haec te ridere videre videor. Risus tamen proculdubio simulatus est, qui non ex gaudio aliquo, sed cogitatione rerum adversarum procedit. Memini optime, quoties tu iam ante faciem temporum eorum, quae nunc nos pre-  
10 munt, futuram mihi praedixeris, videbaris tunc mihi nimium esse timidus non tam ob alias res, quam tuas facultates, quibus ne amitterentur caveres; nunc tamen sentio te longe ante haec mala prudenter praevidisse.

[2.] Ego, quantum ad me pertinent, hac utor consolatione: plures nos habere calamitatum socios, et non solum nos urgeri his adversis rebus, sed multo plures et nobis maiores, quibus et genus, et fortuna, et honor amplior est, quam noster; non parvam  
15 igitur mihi afferret consolationem, si aliquando una esse, et una vel tristari vel laetari possemus, earumque quae praesentes sunt rerum una leniremus molestiam, illarum autem quae iam praeterierunt, ac de quibus aliquando verba fecimus, calamitatum meminisse. Vale.

Ex Lincio 8. Martii 1530.

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59,2 rerum] *O corr.* ex depingam 5 Sisiphi] *O corr.* ex Sisiphinis 9 nimium] *O corr.* ex minimum  
14 parvam] *O(?) del.* ex parvam noster 17 calamitatum] *corr.* ex calamitatem

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59 <sup>1</sup> Tantalus and Sisyphus are Greek mythological figures, famous for their eternal punishment: Tantalus cannot reach the drink and food in front of him, while Sisyphus is punished by eternally rolling a stone up a hill.

Miklós Oláh to Emperor Charles V  
Linz, 11 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 47–49.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 55–57.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 207–209. ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 58–60.

1. *Emperor Charles V is also affected in the Hungarian affairs due to his family ties, but in any case there is nobody more suitable than him to avert the plague on Christianity.* 2. *Now that he has been crowned emperor, he should reconcile the Christian leaders with each other and liberate Hungary, Austria, etc. from the Turkish threat.*

Ad Carolum imperatorem Romanorum.

[1.] Multa licet me, Caesar Invictissime, dehortantur, ne ad te aliquid hac in re dem litterarum, sed plura excitant, ut si non doctas at fidelitate, sinceritate et animi mei in te et tuam domum propensitate refertas mittam litteras. Nam cum tuam virtutem, ingenium et rei militaris disciplinam fortitudinemque singularem, quibus inter alios caesares maxime enituiisti, intra me saepius considero, et contra aliorum periculum, quod Christiana respublica multos iam annos ab hostibus fidei accepit, venit mihi in mentem, indignissimum tuis esse virtutibus iudico, ut te imperante et aliis Christianis praesidente hostes Christiani tantas sibi vires comparent, quibus sint Christianos miseros ad extremum usque periculum deducturi. Quas caedes nuper Turcorum tyrannus, fidei Christianae hostis et propugnator acerrimus profligato Ludovico rege Hungariae tuo sororio non in Hungaria modo, sed etiam Austria ducato tuo avito crudelissime fecerit, non dubito, quin non modo audieris, sed plane etiam senseris, nam frater tuus germanus minor natu rex Ferdinandus omnem tyranni illius crudelitatem et nuntiis et litteris me sciente saepius tibi declaravit. Quae tanta profecto fuit inter omnium aetatum et omnis sexus homines, ut omnem memoriam facile superarint, haeque regiones per quas haec pestis pervasit, huius calamitatis perpetuo meminerint.

Nunc Deus optimus maximus caelitus rebus humanis ex sua singulari benignitate prospexisse videtur, cum te, Caesar Invictissime, omnibus et maris et terrarum periculis facile superatis ad nos salvum et incolumem venire voluerit, cuius adventu tanta est spes omnibus iniecta, ut te imperatore tyrannorum dominia, auxilio Dei, finem sint, si velis, propediem habitura. Quae cum pontifice optimo maximo et aliis princi-

60,3 at] *O corr.* ex aut | sinceritate] *O corr.* ex sincere 7 quod] *corr.* ex quae 20 prospexisse] *O corr.* ex proflexisse 23 sint] *corr.* ex sunt

pibus Italiae cum summa laude nuper Bononiae<sup>1</sup> egeris, tractaveris et concluderis:  
25 iam omnibus sunt nota, non commodo inductus ea fecisti, sed potius neglecta tua  
privata utilitate publicae saluti consuluisti, pacemque publicam peperisti. Quid enim  
ex tam concordibus, humanis et officiosis tractatibus aliud, quam pax perpetua sequi  
potest? Quam etsi multos iam annos rebus omnibus Christianorum in summam pernici-  
30 mitatum diuturnis malis penitus confecti, neminem tamen in hunc diem fortuna nobis  
obtulit, cuius opera aut virtute singulari eam adipisci potuissemus.

[2.] Nunc tu, Caesar Potentissime, es nobis divinitus datus, qui eam pacem nobis  
paraveris et in quo uno perpetuae quietis ac salutis nostrae anchoram figere possi-  
mus. Nam pace cum omnibus fere principibus Christianis confecta, Bononiaeque  
35 vigesima quarta Februarii a summo pontifice corona imperiali, quae iam pridem tuo  
decreta erat capiti, cum summo honore accepta iter ad conventum imperialem insti-  
tuisti, ubi paratis omnium similiter animis, depulsis mutuis principum imperii simul-  
tibus et internis seditionibus eos ad bellum contra Turcos suscipiendum concitares.  
Quod licet negotium multi et regum et imperatorum et pontificum saepe frustra tenta-  
40 verint, est tamen omnium maxima spes, ut tuis virtutibus, ingenio et prudentia, quod  
antea frustra tentatum est, id nunc laudabiliter perficiatur. Quotiescumque de hoc  
negotio agi coeptum antea fuit, oborta sunt semper plurima impedimenta et difficul-  
tates, quae rem Christianam conturbarent, sed tu ex divina tua prudentia iam ante his  
omnibus impedimentis, quae intercedere possent, obviam ivisti. Eo enim ingenio,  
45 integritate et modestia omnes has res es moderatus, curastique, ut nihil a te sit reli-  
quum, quod ad sanctum piumque propositum hoc tuum retardandum impedimento  
esse posset.

Quae cum ita sint, Caesar Invictissime, tota primum Hungaria, quae iam paene  
desolata est, tum Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria, avitae tuae provinciae, tota  
50 deinde Christianitas, cui ob praeteritam Turcarum excursionem et rabiem maxima est  
illata calamitas, omnes postremo boni summis periculis a te contendunt, ut pacatis  
prius rebus imperialibus et mutuis illis dissensionibus primo quoque tempore ad  
concordiam et optatum finem reductis expeditionem Turcicam ne moreris, Christia-  
num populum ab hac teterrima immanique servitute liberares, pacem et quietem bonis  
55 omnibus pares, ut tui memoria, virtus et integritas perpetuis semper temporibus ab  
omni posteritate, ad quam beneficia tua devolventur, miris laudibus celebretur, et tua

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31 obtulit] *O mut. ex concessit* | singulari] *O corr. ex singuari* 32 tu] *O corr. ex te* 33 anchoram] *O corr. ex authorem* 37 paratis] *O corr. ex pacatis* 40 omnium] *O corr. ex summum* 43 conturbarent] *corr. ex conturbarent* 44 ingenio] *O mut. ex prudentia* 52 et] *O del. ex et ad tranquillitatem ac quietem ad...53 finem] O add. sup. l.* 56 posteritate...quam] *O mut. ex saeculo ad quod*

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60 <sup>1</sup> The coronation of Emperor Charles V was performed by Pope Clement VII on 24 February, 1530 in Bologna, see below, and Ep. 38. Note 1.

domus insigni hac tua gloria et virtute perpetuo gloriatur. Vale et meam servitatem licet exilem, fidelem tamen clementer suscipe.

Ex Lincio 11. Martii 1530.

61

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Linz, 14 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 49.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 57.

*He is angry because Gerendi has forgotten about their friendship and is not answering his letters, and he does not know if this has happened due to negligence or because it is difficult to get the letters to the addressee safely.*

Ad Nicolaum Gerendi episcopum Transilvanensem.

Pudet me eorum nomen, quibus te iuste meritoque accusare possim. In pueritia condiscipulus, in adolescentia socius, in aetate hac, quam nunc agimus, singulari semper erga te deditus fui amore. Et tu horum omnium es oblitus immemor, quid 5  
amicitiae et necessitudinis officia postulent, hoc autem idcirco commemoro, quod  
plures iam ad te dedi litteras, ad quas ne unicas quidem rescripsisti. Id si negligentia tua factum est, non possum eam non improbare, sin itinerum difficultate, quod minus tute litterae huc perferri possint, ignosco. Vale et scribe ad me frequenter.

Ex Lincio 14. Martii 1530.

62

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Linz, 15 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 49–50.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 57–58.

*He comforts his friend and encourages him to endure the difficulties with a strong spirit, and in the meantime he should not forget that he can thank the King for what he has achieved and where he has arrived.*

Ad eundem.

Magnis tuis permotus sum anxietatibus, quibus te mirum in modum iam a multo tempore affectum esse intellexi. Quae et si mihi molestae sint, non parum tamen

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57 domus] *O mut. ex posteritas* 61,1 Transilvanensem] *O corr. ex Transilvaniensem*

contra me res ea consolatur, quod neque te, neque nos, qui partes regis nostri fuimus  
5 secuti, diu in his malis spero futuros. Nam ea propediem, ut video, secutura sunt  
tempora, is est rerum omnium et principum nostrorum animus et voluntas, ut ni Deus  
optimus maximus nos pro nostris reatibus diutius castigare velit, propediem salutem,  
pacem et quietem post mala haec diuturna simus consecuturi. Licet autem intelligam  
10 omne temporis momentum esse tibi difficile horam quamlibet brevem gravem tolle-  
ratu, tamen si tamdiu ea, quae contigerunt, forti pertulimus animo, haec quoque  
residua, quae praeteritorum respectu exigua esse videntur, fortiter sunt ferenda. Ea-  
dem et me quae te premit calamitas, is dolor conficit, qui te et alios nostrae sortis  
homines. Tamen dum liberationem nostram non diuturnam fore intelligo, acerbitas  
doloris et calamitatis nostrae mirifice mitigatur.

15 Quare si sapis, fac tu quoque eadem sis patientia et memineris, te cum maxima  
difficultate ad hunc gradum honoris, in quo nunc es collocatus, pervenire potuisse,  
nisi principis nostri clementia tibi affuisset. Dum igitur haec subit in animum tuum  
cogitatio, faciliora tibi omnia, quae nunc his adversis temporibus pateris, esse vide-  
buntur. Nam et privatus non multo laetiora patereris, quam nunc pateris, accessione  
20 autem facultatis ac dignitatis tuae facilius, fortunae adversae insultus ferre potes. Sis  
igitur animo quieto, forti et constanti; omne propediem nostrae calamitatis iugum  
Deo favente excutiemus.

Ex Lincio 15. Martii 1530.

## 63

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Linz, 16 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 50–51.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 58.

*1. He does not understand what Gerendi is still doing in Sibiu, which is under siege: neither the supplies, nor the troops will be enough to resist. King Ferdinand I is surprised at the nonchalance of the people of Sibiu, and at the increased enemy's increased power. 2. Oláh is saying these as a word to the wise, so that he does not lose the King's favor.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Quid causae sit, quod tantum delitueris in civitate illa Cibiniensi<sup>1</sup> cum omni-  
bus tuis collegis et cur hostibus, qui eam civitatem quotidie oppugnare dicuntur,  
minus restiteritis, nemo est omnium, qui cogitare possit. Non desunt vobis, quemad-

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62,7 castigare] *O corr.* ex cogitare 15 te cum] *O corr.* ex tuum

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63 <sup>1</sup> Among the Transylvanian Saxons, only Sibiu remained on the side of King Ferdinand I.

modum huc significatur, pecuniae civitatum, non copiae ex fidelibus regiis conscrip- 5  
tae, non dux exercitus, qui coniunctis omnibus istis viribus regiis hostibus nostris  
resistere possit. Et tamen tamdiu sine ulla utilitate desidem istis agitis vitam, si quis  
fuisset vobis animus hostibus resistendi, proculdubio, favente Deo res regis in Tran-  
sylvania meliorem haberent statum, sed cum tam negligenter omnia istis per vos,  
quorum curae illa iniuncta sunt, agantur, nemo est, qui aliquid boni istinc futurum 10  
confidat, miraturque rex mirum in modum de his vestris factis, de tanta negligentia,  
et de hostium quae in dies crescat potentia.

[2.] Haec ego amore, quo tibi sum deiunctus, ad te scribo, ut cogites, quid tibi sit  
faciendum, et quibus rebus praeteriti temporis negligentiam resartire possis, ne in  
regis malevolentiam incurras. Quae si honori et dignitati tuae faves, in bonam acci- 15  
pies partem, et me laude potius, quod haec ad te scripserim, quam reprehensione  
dignum existimabis. Vale et me ama.

Ex Lincio 16. Martii 1530.

## 64

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Linz, 16 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 51.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 59.

*1. He cannot but be surprised how Macedóniai has secluded himself from his friends. Even if it is in pain, it would be better to share that with friends as well. 2. If he wants to be healthy, he should be cheerful and spend his time with his friends, and write letters more frequently.*

Ad Ladislaum Macedonem episcopum Waradiensem.

[1.] Non possum non mirari, quam tibi conditionem vivendi proposueris, quod  
arci<sup>1</sup> illi inclusus nullis tuis amicis deditus perpetuo taceas et ad tuorum neminem  
dare litteras soleas. An maeres nostris rebus adversae actis. Ea res non te solum, sed  
multos alios quoque attingit. Qui si tuae essent naturae ac animi, tecum una perpetuo 5  
maerent, et nullum lugendi modum facerent. Sed virum quemvis fortem esse oportet,  
et adversas aequae ut prosperas patientem, qui aulam sequi velit. Desine igitur  
tristari, bono sis et forti animo, ne cogitare quidem potes quam felicia propediem  
adventura sint tempora, quae omnem nostram tristitiam animo excutiant nostro, et  
laetitiam incredibilem inducant. In quamcumque partem fortuna sese verterit, virtuti 10  
nusquam locus deerit, non est timendum, quin locum honorificum Deo favente simus

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63,6 coniunctis] *corr.* ex coniunctus

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64 <sup>1</sup> "fortasse Léva", Levice, see HORVÁTH–OBERMAYER 1958, 23.

habitori, modo salvi esse possimus; salus autem multum his rebus et sollicitudine, quam tu nunc agere diceris, exturbatur.

[2.] Si ergo vis sanus esse, laetitiorem habe animum, familiares tuos adhibe tibi in colloquium, cum eis totos transige dies, meliora spera, quam sunt haec praesentia, et crebro ad me et etiam alios tuos, qui olim tecum familiariter vixerunt, da litteras. Quibus et te bene valere significa et eos in amicitia tua conserva. Haec si feceris, non parum validitudini profecto tuae prosperae consules. Vale.

Ex Lincio 16. Martii 1530.

## 65

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Linz, 18 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 51–52.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 59–60.

*At last he has learned that Macedóniai went to the King to deal with his own and László Ország's affairs; before he had not even known where he was and was surprised that he had forgotten about his friends. Now he can repair things if he will write what is happening in Prague.*

Ad eundem.

Dum meas proximas ad te misissem, nuntiatum mihi est te ad regem<sup>1</sup> esse profectum, tum in tuis, tum in Ladislai Orzagh<sup>2</sup> negotiis. Placuit mihi tua profectio, qui iamdudum sine utilitate et tua et amicorum nescio quibus in latebris delitueris. Miror tamen te adeo factum esse taciturnum, ut amicos tuos litteris non modo non invisere, sed ne consolari plenus iam tu in aula rerum novarum digneris. Arbitrabar te veteris tuae naturae esse oblitum, qua saepius in amicos videbaris negligens esse, sed nunc video te non modo illius non esse immemorem, sed eam in te radices fixisse, quam nisi violenter, exstirpare minime possis.

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65,5 taciturnum] *O corr.* ex taciturnum | litteris] *O add. sup. l.* 7 in...negligens] *O mut.* ex amicis videbaris negligenter

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65,8 eam...9 possis] Cf. Iohannes Tröster *Dialogus de remedio amoris*: „an ut accusabile malum ita etiam evitabile eradicabileque sit, si et fixum sedet, vel optabile, honestum, bonum amorem dicam”, see RUPPRICH 1938, 182.

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65 <sup>1</sup> Because King Ferdinand I was in Prague, see below. | <sup>2</sup> László Ország of Gúth (†1544), later Master Seneschal (*magister dapiferorum*) between 1534–1542, and Bailiff of Heves county between 1536–1544.



Sed fac, vim quandam tibi adhibe, invita etiam Minerva tuis amicis cura satisfacere et scribe aliquando, ne te negligentiae omnes quotquot summus arguere possimus. Nunc occasionem habes scribendi, de rebus praesertim his, quae Pragae vel tractantur, vel iam actae sunt. Ex quibus omnis nostra spes pendet, et liberationis nostrae ab exilio constans fiducia. Quare sis amicorum tuorum non immemor, et praebe te talem, qualem amici te existimant. Vale et commenda me et fidelia mea servitia regi. 10 15

Ex Lincio 18. Martii 1530.

66

Miklós Oláh to Bernhard von Cles  
Linz, 24 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 52.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 60.

*It is clear as day that the Turks are already here, but there are still no signs of preparation against them.*

Ad Bernardum cardinalem Tridentinum cancellarium regis Ferdinandi.

Non est mihi integrum multis me rationibus disserere de praesentium temporum acerbitate. Ea enim apertior clariorque est, quam ut multae indigeret declarationis: Turcas adventare, et ob oculos subditorum regionum versari, omnia quaecumque penetrare possint loca, igne et ferro vastare in dies aperte intelligimus. Et tamen nihil fieri videmus apparatus, qui eos ab hac crudelitate arceant. Tu videris et cogitaveris pro tua singulari prudentia, Reverendissime Praesul, quid futurum sit. Vale. 5

Ex Lincio 24. Martii 1530.

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66,2 mihi] *O add. sup. l.* | me rationibus] *O mut. ex rationibus me* 4 ob] *corr. ex ab* 7 futurum] *O corr. ex facturum*

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10 invita...Minerva] Cic. *De officiis* I,31,110; Hor. *Ars poetica* 385. Erasmus *Adages* I,1,42: "invita Miverva", see MYNORS 1982, 91.

Miklós Oláh to Christoph Rauber  
Linz, 28 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 52–53.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 60–61.

1. *He could not say farewell because the Queen went hunting at the same time. Would he please forgive him.* 2. *They should talk about things that he cannot entrust to a letter.*

Ad Christoforum episcopum Labacensem.

[1.] Cum hinc discessisti, non fuit mihi copia te adeundi, licet id maxime voluerim propter summam tuam humanitatem, qua dum usus tulit, tu me es persecutus. Huius rei copiam nescio per quem casum mihi ereptam esse mirifice dolui, et dici vix  
5 potest, quam fuerim perturbatus tua praepropera abitione. Omni fere tempore, dum regina venatum<sup>1</sup> exivit, fui cum ea, neque ab illa discessi, casu ita accidit nescio quali ut tunc, cum hinc discedere velles, reginaque et tu pariter exiveris venatum, ego hic domi manerem, sic tu me nescio, petita a regina abeundi facultate domum es reversus. Errorem hunc vel casum potius, quod tibi valedicere domum revertenti non  
10 potuerim, mihi ignoscas pro tua in me benevolentia.

[2.] Hanc potissimum ob rem tecum agere volebam, ut me tibi commendarem, et tandem aliqua tecum communicarem, quae e re utriusque nostrum erant, quae nunc nec litteris, nec nuntio tuto committere possum. Sum eius animi, ut propediem illuc accedam, tum visendi tui, tum solatii gratia. Id temporis commode de his communi-  
15 care poterimus. Vale et me, ut soles, ama, tuaque prosequere benevolentia.

Ex Lincio 28. Martii 1530.

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67,2 voluerim] *O corr.* ex voluerint 9 casum] *O corr.* ex causam 13 propediem] *corr.* ex prepediem

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67 <sup>1</sup> It was common knowledge that the Queen hunted with pleasure. Oláh also mentions it in a couple of letters, and in *Hungaria* (1536). On Queen Mary as hunter see KERKHOFF 2005, 144–146. After Mohács, when she had to flee, she pretended that she was going hunting, see Ep. 217.

Miklós Oláh to Christoph Rauber  
Linz, 30 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 53–55.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 61–63.

1. *He is surprised how nonchalant the princes are. If they do not defend their own, they will lose all their possessions, the treasury will be empty, and they will not be able to pay the soldiers. It is the princes' great sin that while they are becoming poor, their people are becoming rich. 2. Hungary could also have been defended if they had shown greater care towards it. He should remember the time they were in Bratislava, in constant danger. He attributes these sins not to the king, but to the ill will and injustice of his people. Rauber should help ease these troubles if he can.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Cum ego principum mores et conditionem mecum ipse considero, non possum explicare, Reverendissime Pater, quanta ducat admiratione negligentiae eorum et exiguae, quam in rebus suis habere soliti sunt, curae, sollicitudinis ac diligentiae. Videmus quotidie magnum excelsumque principes nostros habere animum, et omnia 5 acutissimo praevidere ingenio, cognoscere et discutere. Quod magis est necessarium id non provident, nemini dubium est: apparatus bellicos magnis parari sumptibus, nihil sine pecunia, quae nervus est belli, in castris fieri gloria dignum, eam autem si quis parare velit, magna adhibeatur diligentia necesse est. Subditi defendendi ab hostibus, ne depraedentur, spoliuntur, diripiuntur et in servitutem abigantur. Nam si 10 ea principes neglexerint, amissuri proculdubio sunt tributa, vectigalia et omnes alias, quibus regnum et parari et defendi potest, commoditates, deinde fiscus diligenter custodiendus, ne a quaestoribus et illius praefectis mille artibus exhauriatur. Quod nunc nostro tempore saepenumero contingere videmus, nostrosque principes tam 15 negligenter suum fiscum custodire, ut illis directis in extremam nonnumquam deveniant mendicitatem, dicere volebam, necessitatem.

Qui fit, Reverendissime Praesul, ut quaestores, et qui rem tractant principum nostrorum pecuniariam, brevi tempore ditescant? Cum paulo ante nihil penitus habuerint, principes vero pauperescant? Nimirum ex negligentia eorum, qui plus credunt suis receptoribus et financiariis, quam bonorum consiliis. Immo quod maius est, 20 propriis oculis vident sui ipsius rapinam ac desolationem. Et licet nostri quaestores dicant se antea quoque quam ad principum venissent servitia, satis habuisse opum,

68,11 vectigalia] *corr.* ex vectigala 15 suum fiscum] *O mut.* ex suos fiscos 16 dicere] *O corr.* ex dare 21 oculis... 22 dicant] *O add. et mut.* ex oculis dicunt licet nostri quaestores

68,8 quae... in] Proverb, cf. Cic. *Phil.* V,2,5: “nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam”.

facultatum et divitiarum, tamen neminem adhuc ex tanto hominum grege, qui eos  
antea noverint, vidimus, qui fateatur eorum vera esse verba. Quod si etiam verum sit,  
25 quis non credat eos plus fenoribus crevisse quam bonis artibus, videntur nunc princi-  
pes feneratoribus imprudentibus veluti esca esse propositi. Non parva mihi videtur  
esse culpa principes nostros suarum rerum adeo esse negligentes, ut ipsi reddantur in  
dies pauperiores, sui vero ditiores. Quae tu omnia iam olim multis in rebus aperte  
cognovisti, nam dum militibus te praesente stipendium pendere principes nostri de-  
30 buerunt, tunc primum ut vidisti, senserunt fiscum suum exhaustum, suos vero ditatos.  
Quare regnum magno labore, impensis plurimis partum brevi amiserunt, nonne idem  
nunc quoque fieri videmus.

[2.] Nam Hungariam, quam prius defendere et conservare totam non magnis  
copiis poteramus, nunc quoque non magna manu recuperare, et Turcis illis finitimis,  
35 qui illis provinciis, quibus tu es vicinus, nunc sunt infestissimi, facile resistere posse-  
mus, si quae maior rebus principum nostrorum adhiberetur provisio. Attamen nescio,  
quo infortunio nostro res nostras in deteriore in dies partem verti videmus, et non  
videmus modo, sed etiam sentimus. Meminisse potes illorum temporum, quae Poso-  
nii peregrimus, licet multa saepe contra nos intendebantur pericula, multas tempesta-  
40 tes experiebamur. Tamen auxilio imprimis Dei, deinde dominorum, qui ibi fuerant, et  
etiam tuo consilio omnibus nobis ingruentibus malis peropportune fuit obvium,  
nihilque existimo fuisse praetermissum id temporis, quod ad regiam dignitatem et  
nostram fidelitatem honoremque pertinere fuit visum. Hoc unum tunc quoque non  
parvum nobis defuisse videbatur, quod omnium eramus egentiores, et dum res aliqua  
45 ardua modica pecunia expediri poterat, semper haerebamus ut in scopulo indigentiae  
rei pecuniariae. Eadem res nunc quoque nobis obstare videtur. Quoquo nos vertamus,  
undique nobis necessitates imminent quam plurimae, et minima etiam res cum magna  
dilatione et negotio maximo plerumque vix expediri potest. Non possumus hanc  
causam regi nostro, qui in omnibus rebus est omnium diligentissimus, aliquo pacto  
50 ascribere, sed suorum malitiae et iniquitati, qui plus gaudent rebus et commodis suis  
studere, quam regis promovere. Non te fugiunt, quoties cum maxima animi nostri  
perturbatione actum fuerit Posonii, cum tu aderas, de rebus regis commode tractan-  
dis. In his raro diligentiae et sollicitudines nostrorum defuerunt. Cuius rei tu ipse  
potes esse testis locupletissimus, sed deerant nobis nonnunquam facultates. Qua ex re  
55 maxima plerumque affectus fuisti, una cum aliis dominis molestia. Eadem penuria

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27 culpa] *O mut. ex noxa esse* 33 defendere] *O mut. ex tenere* 45 ut] *O del. et add. idem* | indigentiae]  
*O add. sup. l. 54 esse] corr. ex esses*

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45 haerebamus...scopulo] Cf. Ovid, *Her.* X,135–136: “adspice mente / haerentem scopulo quem vaga  
pulsat aqua” et Verg. *Aen.* IV,445–446: “ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras / aetherias”. This  
allusion frequently occurs, see Ep. 20. Cap. 2., and Ep. 418.

facultatum res principum nostrorum, ut olim, ita et nunc urgent, de qua re usque adeo tristamur et dolemus, ut vix explicare possimus.

Quare si tardius quam opinamur res regiae et nostrae procedunt, nemini mirum esse debeat, cum hae inter nos sint negligentiae vel potius inordinationes et malorum plus habeatur apud principes nostros respectus quam bonorum. Si quid igitur remedii, Reverendissime Praesul, adhibere his poteris, adhibe id pro tua in regem fidelitate, observantia et singulari, qua praeditus es, prudentia. Plura ad te scriberem, si scirem te haec latere et non omnia singulari iamdudum proprio ingenio prospexisse, et in dies prospicere aperteque videre, quibus cardinibus res nostrae versentur. Vale.

Ex Lincio 30. Martii 1530.

65

## 69

Miklós Oláh to István Báthori  
Linz, 31 March 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 81.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 63.

*There is so much news and so many messengers that he does not know any more whom to believe and what to believe. They have reported that Emperor Charles V is heading towards Innsbruck, but he has not left Bologna yet, and he does not think he will arrive to Innsbruck before Easter.*

Nicolai Olai thesaurarii Albensis etc. serenissimae Mariae Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. reginae secretarii et consiliarii etc. ad Stephanum Bathorem comitem palatinum Hungariae.

Tanta est famae et nuntiorum varietas, ut iam non modo certo scire, sed ne cogitare quidem, quod verum sit, possimus. Nuntiabatur Carolum caesarem nunc iter coepisse, et venire Oenipontem<sup>1</sup> versus. At nondum ex Bononia<sup>2</sup> movit, nec ante festum Paschae<sup>3</sup> eum venturum Oenipontem arbitror. Quid igitur credere oporteat, ignoro. Iam enim tantum mihi taedii hi perfidi nuntii incusserunt, ut nihil audeam vel tibi vel aliis meis dominis et amicis his de rebus scribere, ne mendacii argui possim. Vale.

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Ex Lincio ultima Martii anno Domini MDXXX.

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62 scriberem] *corr.* ex scribere 69,2 Bathorem] *O corr.* ex Bathori 6 Oenipontem] *O mut.* ex Ispruck  
7 Oenipontem] *O mut.* ex ad Ispruck 8 tantum] *O corr.* ex eum

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69 <sup>1</sup> Innsbruck. | <sup>2</sup> Bologna. | <sup>3</sup> In this year, Easter was on 17 April.

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Linz, 29 April 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 81–82.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 64–65.

1. *What inconveniences he has suffered already for Christianity so far, everyone knows. First he tried to gather the German, then the Czech troops against the Turks: the Czech only gave 100,000 gold coins, the Germans did not listen to him; if anyone is to blame, he surely is not one of them.* 2. *His brother, Emperor Charles V reconciled the Pope and the Italian lords, and he was crowned emperor in Bologna, and now he is trying to call the leaders to arms at the Imperial Diet, drawing their attention to how much Mahomet's followers have already hurt Christianity. All their hope is in them.*

Idem ad regem Ferdinandum.

[1.] Quae tu incommoda, Rex Serenissime, variis anni temporibus diversis in rebus passus fueris et patiaris, multi quotidie vident, et non vident modo, verum etiam experiuntur. Nam ut alia omnia, quae in hunc diem pro Christianitatis emul-  
15 mento perpeusus es incommoda, silentio praeteream, quis est, qui non miretur tam brevi tempore te tantas res praeclaras summo cum labore, maximisque et animi et corporis curis insigniter obivisse.

Germaniam primum, procerum illius ad expeditionem Turcicam adhortandorum gratia, deinde Bohemiam duabus vicibus, ut aliquid auxilii contra immanissimos  
10 religionis nostrae hostes parare posses, mira celeritate pervagasti. In quibus regnis quantum laboris, sollicitudinis et curae, ut saluti reipublicae Christianae in tempore provideretur praestiteris, quis est, qui ignoret? Verum quam surdis fabulam narraris, et quam pertinaciter tuis hortatibus, Rex Serenissime, ubique sit reluctatum, res ipsae  
15 Bohemi centum millia ducatorum pro militibus conscribendis tibi se pensuros promitterent. Germania vero adeo aures oclcluit tuis etiam quam sollicitis et querelis et precibus, ut nihil de eis audire possimus, quod fuissent ad tam salutarem expeditionem Turcicam polliciti.

Si igitur est neglectum vel adhuc negligetur aliquid in rebus fidei strenue et dili-  
20 genter defendendis, id procul dubio non tibi, Rex Optime, sed partim Bohemorum pertinaciae et difficultati, partim Germanorum duritiei vitio verti potest. Tuus fuit

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70,5 non] *O add. sup. l.*

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70,12 surdis...narraris] Proverb, cf. Calvin, *Comm. to 2 Cor 7:2*: "Indignum esset me surdis fabulam canere"; cf. Hor. *Ep.* II,1,199–200: "scriptores autem narrare putaret asello / fabellam surdo", Ter. *Heaut.* 222: "quam mihi nunc surdo narret fabulam", and Verg. *Ecl.* X,8: "non canimus surdis".

semper animus, voluntas et studium, ut rebus Christianis pro tuis viribus provideres. Si quid non propter tuam negligentiam, sed illorum temeritatem impetrare non potueris, id proculdubio nequaquam tibi, sed illis adscribi potest. Totius Christianitatis fere principes tuae cursitationis, curae, sollicitudinis et diligentiae, testes sunt locupletissimi. 25

[2.] Non est igitur, Rex Serenissime, cur te maxima excruciet animi anxietas te hactenus parum efficere potuisse, et tuam sanctam voluntatem non potuisse ad effectum perducere: voluntas tua grata est et Deo et hominibus. Caesar Carolus frater tuus 30 quas brevi tempore res gesserit et quanta odia et simultates, diuturnaue dissidia mitigaverit, nemo est omnium, qui non viderit. Pacem cum summo pontifice, Venetis et aliis Italia potentatibus intra duos menses cum insigni laude pepigit. Coronam caesaream Bononiae<sup>1</sup> accepit.

Nunc expeditionem Turcicam, quam multi imperatores ante eum frustra tentarunt, restaurare cupiens pergit ire ad conventum imperialem,<sup>2</sup> ut istic quoque animis hominum 35 dissidentium et principum ad veram concordiam, pacem et mutuum amorem revocatus, hanc ipsam expeditionem Turcicam suscipiat, ad eam omnes, qui vere sunt Christiani, excitet, proponat ob oculos, quam maximam cladem religio Christiana a professoribus impiae sectae Mahometicae oscitantibus hactenus Christianis principibus 40 impune acceperit. Eius igitur virtute fore spero propediem, ut quod hactenus vel socordia, vel nescio quorum obstantibus factionibus ac simultatibus est neglectum, cum summa non modo gloria totius Christianitatis, sed etiam insigni omnium quiete reparetur et resarciatur. Quod igitur tu maxima cura ob perversorum hominum conatus perficere non potuisti, id caesar frater tuus incredibili tum virtute, tum autoritate 45 proculdubio praestabit. In quo nihil deesse audio, quod ad bonum spectet imperatorem, praeterquam quod aliquando in rebus aggrediendis promptior ac celerior esse posset; verum corda regum Deus dirigit, quos ipse et celeres et tardos facit. Ab eo igitur sunt exspectanda omnia, diriget ipse res omnes in bonum finem, si nostras spes in eo collocaverimus. Is primum, deinde caesar Carolus frater tuus, tum tu rebus 50 Christianis tamdiu afflictis providebitis, et non patiemini, ut in summam detrudamur perniciem ac calamitatem. Vale, Rex Serenissime, et me minimum tuum servitorem, fide tamen aequalem omnibus etiam maximis, habe commendatum.

Ex Lincio paenultima Aprilis anno 1530.

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36 mutuum amorem] *O mut ex. mutuam caritatem* 37 revocatus] *corr. ex revocatis* 47 ipse] *O del. ex ipse eos* 50 summam] *corr. ex sumam* 51 Vale Rex] *O del.*

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70 <sup>1</sup> Bologna. | <sup>2</sup> The Imperial Diet of Augsburg was inaugurated by the Emperor on June 20.

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Innsbruck, 18 May 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 82–84.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 65–67.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 209–210.

*1. He is fully aware how much he did not want to come here, and his fears have been justified: people's behavior seems especially rude, and the situation of those working in the court is tough. There are no friendships, or they are rare, and everything is fabricated and pretended. 2. His only joy is that as far as he can tell, Emperor Charles V is laboring on liberating Christians.*

Ad amicum.

[1.] Quam turbato animo ex Lincio huc venerim et quam non libenter, multi sciunt, sed tu praecipue, Amice Carissime, ex plerisque meis litteris intelligere potuisti. Iam antequam hoc iter aggredere[mur], versabatur mihi in animo, quantam difficultatem, laborem et rerum omnium penuriam nos pati necesse esset, si diutius extra patriam agere contingeret. Ea me cogitatio hactenus non fefellit. Nam et hic Lincii plane sum expertus, quantum inter has et nostram intersit regionem rebus in omnibus, maxime vero in commeatibus usui hominum necessariis, et quam dura sit peregrinatio non assuetis. Nimirum miseram hanc aulicorum conditionem nemo est, qui reprehendere merito non possit. Nam ut alia multa, quae aulici patiuntur incommoda, praetermittam, quid est, quod eos non premat? Nulla est eorum quies, nulla in aula vel rarissima vera societas, omnia ficta ac simulata. Si adblandiri potentioribus, alterius famae, honori et nomini detrahere nescias, frustra rem tuam curas; demum si omnes tuae aetatis annos fideliter istic in servitiis impenderis, parva proditorum mendacia tua omnia anteacta servitia pessumdabunt. Ut nunc principum aures sunt apertae adulationibus audiendis, ita quam maxime oclusae esse deberent. Haec omnia bonum virum aulicum non possunt non movere. Qui cum bonus est, vanus et insipiens esse putatur.

[2.] Haec igitur ob eam rem recensenda esse existimavi, ut scires te honestiorem, utiliorem, commodiorem et quietiorem domi, quam nos hic agimus, agere vitam. Si ulterius progrediemur, quod proculdubio fiet et infertilia Germaniae loca pervagati fuerimus, sequente nos ubique aulae miseria, quid tibi postea scribere poterimus de nostris rebus laeti? Laetissima haec una res nobis affore videtur, quod habemus spem certam, opera et consilio et virtutibus Caroli imperatoris pristinam nos dignitatem, auctoritatem et quietem nostram brevi recuperaturos, hoc boni non secus, quam Deum optimum maximum vel eius quaequam pretiosissima munera exspectamus.

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71,11 aula] *O mut. ex curia*



Non deesse video huic rei consequendae naturam caesaris promptissimam ad omnia pro libertate Christianorum subeunda, non virtutes, quae aliorum omnium nostrae aetatis principum Christianorum facile superant, non scientiam rei militaris, inter omnes mortales insignem, non denique fortunam, quae, ut inter omnes alias hominum res, sic in bello primum habet locum. Haec igitur omnia, ut nobis, ita tibi quoque non parvam spem adferre debent, propediem nos consecuturos eam, quam iam diu exoptavimus pacem. Nunc de his satis, plura scribam, cum plus otii sum habiturus.

Datum in Inspruck 18. Maii anno 1530.

35

72

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Innsbruck, 27 May 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 84.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 67.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 619.

*Even though he has sworn not to write to him for two years because he is also silent, now he is breaking that silence due to necessity. Palatine István Báthori has died, whom even King John I and his followers had respected; sadness is everywhere. If he can, he should hasten to King Ferdinand I as soon as possible.*

Ad Ladislaum Macedonem episcopum Waradiensem.

Multis iam admonitus rebus cogor licet invitus ad te litteras dare. Nam etsi decreveram hoc toto biennio futuro silere propter taciturnitatem tuam, vicit tamen necessitas meos cogitatus. Stephanum Bathorium palatinum Hungariae fato concessisse<sup>1</sup> audiavi. Mors eius incredibilem omnibus nobis attulit tristitiam. Nam ex obitu eius nihil aliud nos consecutos arbitramur, quam ad pristinas sollicitudines nostras non parum additum esse calamitatis. Magnus ad eum a Ioanne rege et ipsius sequacibus habebatur respectus. Nostrarum rerum Hungaricarum bene erat conscius, libertatis publicae erat defensor acerrimus. Nunc eius morte non parvam res nostra coepit iacturam.

Hac igitur causa coactus sum has meas ad te dare litteras, ut cum sciam te non parva palatino fuisse necessitudine coniunctum, tuis rebus cogitares, et si saperes, sine mora ulla ad regem, in quo et tua et nostra pendet salus, venires. Vale et me ama.

Ex Inspruck 27. Maii 1530.

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35 anno] *O del. ex Anno XXX | 1530] O add. 72,4 Bathorium] O corr. ex Bathorem*

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72 <sup>1</sup> István Báthori of Ecsed (ca.1485–1530) died on 8 May, 1530.

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Innsbruck, 1 June 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 84.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 67.

*Why he has not seen the King on his own volition, nobody understands. It seems that he considers himself to be above others, but even if that was the case, he can still be mistaken; he cannot but frown upon his decision.*

Ad eundem

Quibus rebus inductus non veneris tua sponte ad regis servitia, nec ego nec alii, qui tibi sunt amicissimi, cogitare satis possunt. Multa licet tibi tribuas, et non pauca de te pollicearis, neminemque prae te satis prudentem arbitreris, tamen etiam si merito id facere posses, saepius hominis de se iudicium in errorem ducitur. Quare quamcunque ob rem istic manseris, non possum non reprehendere tuum consilium. Quod certe aliud fuisset, si amicorum tuorum admonitio alicuius apud te fuisset ponderis. Vale.

Ex Inspruck prima Iunii XXX.

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Thuróczy  
Innsbruck, 8 June 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 84–85.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 68.

*He was very much looking forward to learning if Thuróczy had gone to Augsburg with the King, or they had stayed in Munch for a little while longer. He is happy that Thuróczy has not forgotten about him, and he has informed him about the latest events via letter.*

Ad Nicolaum Thuroczy magistrum curiae regis Ferdinandi.

Post regis et tuum hinc discessum<sup>1</sup> maximo tenebar desiderio, ut de vestro itinere aliquid audire possem, et an recta, uti constitutum erat, proficisceremini Augustam,

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73,4 pollicearis] *O corr.* ex polliceris

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74<sup>1</sup> On 27 May, 1530, King Ferdinand I was still in Innsbruck, see GÉVAY 1838, 5–6 and 17–18.

vel aliquantum temporis remoraremini in urbe Monaco<sup>2</sup> aliisque ducum Bavariae oppidis. Ecce autem litterae tuae subito redditae sunt mihi, ex quibus de toto progressu itineris vestri, quantam a recto itinere declinaveritis, quantumque qualibet in civitate temporis acturi essetis, factus sum certior. 5

Gratissimum est mihi te officii amicitiae familiaritatisque nostrae mutuae non esse oblitum, et de his me fecisse certiore. Id si antea quoque fecisses, et ad eas, quas ad te dedi meas litteras, respondisses, non parvam certe officii laudem esses ab omnibus consecutus. Nos hic bene valemus. Taedet pudetque tanti temporis, quantum hic consumere frustra debemus. Exspectamus sollicito nuntium regis, qui nobis de protectione hinc nostra certi aliquid nuntiet. Vale. 10

Ex Inspruck VIII. Iunii anno XXX.

75

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Innsbruck, 10 June 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 85.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 68.

*Nobody knows where Kálnai is, if he has switched sides to King John I, or if he has gone to Transylvania. It will be best if he remains faithful to King Ferdinand I.*

Ad Emericum Kalnay archidiaconum Transylvanensem.

Ubi sis gentium, non intelligo, varii fuerunt de tua habitatione rumores. Alii dicebant te domi vitam agere otiosam, alii Ioannem sequi, alii contulisse in Transylvaniam. Mirifica laude ab omnibus extollebaris, si constanter in fide regia perseverasses. Tuum a nobis discessum nemo est, qui non reprehendebat, sed cum id rationabili ex causa a te factum esse animadvertissemus, neminem iam audimus, qui hunc tibi vitio vertat. Quamobrem famae tuae optime consules, si forti et constanti animo in fidelitate regia permanseris. Vale. 5

Ex Inspruck X. Iunii XXX.

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74,6 quantam] *O corr.* ex quantumque | in] *O corr.* ex et 75,6 hunc] *O corr.* ex hoc

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<sup>2</sup> Munich.

Miklós Oláh to Bernhard von Cles  
Innsbruck, 13 June 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 85.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 68–69.

*He has been really grateful for his good deeds towards him from the start. What else could make man similar to God than generosity and good deeds? Oláh will forever be indebted to him.*

Ad cardinalem Tridentinum.

Magnas habeo et habiturus sum tibi gratias, qui me ab ineunte mea aetate summis es persecutus honoribus, dignitate et officio, usque adeo, ut dum vivam, meminerim semper tuae in me beneficentiae ac liberalitatis. Quid potest hominem facere immortalem, quaque magis re, quamvis nulla debet mortalis ad immortalem fieri collatio, homo Deo comparari potest, quam liberalitate et beneficio. Is enim, qui confert in alterum beneficium, non secus ei est, qui accipit, quam Deus quispiam. Quamobrem, ut initio dixi, non parum tibi debeo. Et quamcumque in conditionem fortuna me detruserit, tibi me perpetuo debere confitebor, vicissim tuum quoque est, Reverende Pater, officium, ut cum me tam gratum futurum esse sentias, pluribus me, dum potes, ornes cumulesque ornamentis. Id ad perpetuam accedet tuam immortalitatem. Vale et sis mei memor.

Ex Inspruuk XIII. Iunii anno MDXXX.

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Augsburg, 1 July 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 223–224.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 69–70; ALLEN 1934, 468–469.

*In English:* DALZELL–ESTES 2015, 359–363.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 619–620.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 151–152. ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 90–92.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 72–73.

*1. He surely knows this from others by now, but he still wants to share what great pleasure his book Vidua Christiana has been for the Queen. 2. They would really like to see Erasmus already; even though they*

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76,5 mortalis...immortalem] *O add. in marg.* | collatio] *O mut. ex comparatio* 11 ornamentis] *O mut. ex honoribus*

have not yet met in person, his friends can attest that based on his book he already feels familiar, but he would also like to get to know him in person when Erasmus returns.

Nicolaus Olaus thesaurarius Albensis secretarius et consiliaris serenissimae reginae Mariae Erasmo Roterodamo<sup>1</sup> salutem.

[1.] Licet non dubitem, quin et antea ex tuorum amicorum litteris plane cognoveras, quantum voluptatis et delectationis serenissimae reginae meae Mariae et nobis omnibus attulerit tuus *De vidua Christiana*<sup>2</sup> editus et nomini suo dicatus libellus, 5 tamen ex me quoque, licet ignoto amico, velim intelligas opus illud tuum tam gratum illi fuisse, ut gratus accidere nihil potuerit. Nam et animum eius amantissimi sui coniugis desiderio plurimum exacerbatum mirifice recreavit, et quibus artibus viduitas regenda instituendaque sit, doctissime informavit, effecitque, ut ipsius in te amor et benevolentia mirum in modum augetur, quod te nuper ex litteris ipsius ad te 10 propria manu scriptis arbitror plane cognovisse.

[2.] Magno tenemur videndi tui<sup>3</sup> desiderio, qui hoc praesertim tempore, dum multorum cum pernicie in rebus fidei disceptatur, maxime hic esses necessarius, ut tuum quod in rebus esset his dubiis praesens, proferres iudicium.<sup>4</sup> Speramus igitur te huc venturum, si non amicorum tuorum hortatibus, at publicae tranquillitatis causa, 15 ob quam rem plura ad te in praesentia non scripsi. Hoc tamen unum praeterire non sum arbitratus τὸν Πολύφημον τὸν σὸν,<sup>5</sup> satellitem regium, qui tuo nomine libellum a te missum reginae praesentarat, nihil praetermississe, quod ad bonum, fidum et diligentem tuum clientem pertinuerit, omniaque, quae a te ei fuerant demandata tam apud reginam, quam apud alios tibi deditos, accurate fuisse executum. Ego licet ex 20 facie sum tibi ignotus, tamen tam tu es mihi carus et cognitus ex tuorum librorum, quos in horas manibus meis tracto frequenti lectione, ut etiam his, qui tecum cottidie versentur, tuaque fruuntur suavi consuetudine, hac una re nequaquam sim cessurus. Cuius mei in te amoris et studii, Ursinus Velius, Henkellus, idem ὁ Πολύφημος, qui 25 has tibi reddidit, ac quam plures alii tui et mei familiares optimi sunt testes.

Si Deus optimus maximus incolumem te, ut spero, huc advexerit, vel aliqua alia mihi dabitur occasio te videndi, tu ipse id experieris, et meam in te observantiam, qua iam pridem propter divinum tuum ingenium et virtutes excellentes tibi sum deditus,

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77,8 exacerbatum] *corr.* ex exacerbata 10 augetur] *O corr.* ex geretur 14 tuum] *O corr.* ex tum 15 at] *O add. sup. l.*

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77 <sup>1</sup> Erasmus of Rotterdam or Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus (1466–1536) was a Dutch Renaissance humanist, Catholic priest, social critic, teacher, and theologian. More on his correspondence and contacts see ALLEN 1934, ALLEN 1938, and ALLEN 1941. | <sup>2</sup> Erasmus dedicated this book to Queen Mary at Henckel's advice, see O'MALLEY 1988, 179. | <sup>3</sup> "There was a rumour that the Emperor had invited him." ALLEN 1934, 469. | <sup>4</sup> Cf. ALLEN 1934, 512. (Ep. 2328. 62n.) | <sup>5</sup> 'the illustrious', i.e. Felix Rex, see Ep. 10. Note 2.

coram cognosces. Quam ut admittas, meque in tuorum numerum adscribere velis, te  
30 vehementer rogo. Vale, meque tui ex animo amantem habe commendatum.  
Augustae prima Iulii 1530.

77 **78** 87

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 7 July 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 224–225.

*Published:* SCHMITTH 1768, 419–420; IPOLYI 1875, 70; ALLEN 1934, 476.

*In English:* DALZELL–ESTES 2015, 372–373.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 621.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 152; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 92.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 73–74.

*He has grown fond of Oláh. He has heard a lot of good things about the Queen from Henckel, but he has not personally received a letter from her yet. In the meantime, Henckel's and the Queen's letters have also arrived with the gift of a cup.*

Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi, secretario et consiliario Mariae serenissimae.

5 Animum istum tuum, humanissime Nicolae, lubens exosculor, tuum nomen inter praecipuos amicos adscripturus. Optimae reginae pietatem et humanitatem singulari  
rem frequenter mihi suis litteris depraedicavit Henckellus, cuius autoritas apud me plurimum habet ponderis. Ceterum reginae nomine ad me nulla venit littera nec  
illius, nec aliena manu scripta. Si venisset epistola, fuisset mihi in molestissima valetudine magno solatio. Ignosce brevitati. Adhuc tenellus sum et scribo multis. Reginae precor omnia fausta laetaque. Bele vale.

10 Friburgi 7. die Iulii 1530.

Priusquam obsignarem hasce litteras, a coena redditae sunt litterae reginae et Henkelli, una cum ipsius poculo<sup>1</sup>.

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78 <sup>1</sup> Henckel's letter was delivered along with the Queen's letter on 7 July, although it had been written on 13 April. On the letter and the cup see ALLEN 1934, 419–420, especially 28n: "exiguum ex cornu unicornis, cum laminis inauratis. Donum Ioannis Henkelli".

Miklós Oláh to Bernhard von Cles  
Augsburg, 13 July 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 86.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 71.

*He is greatly indebted to Cles for having helped him get to the position he is in right now. He will not forget his good deed as long as he lives.*

Ad eundem.

Multis nominibus tibi gratias debeo cumulas, Reverende Pater, qui eo usque non quievisti, donec me in statum honorificentissimum, quo nunc sum cumulatus, perduceres. Id etsi multi invidabant et omnibus rationibus turbare conabantur, tua tamen virtus et aliis benefaciendi voluntas vicit eorum invidiam; et dum illi conati 5 sunt tibi obstare, tu tam me, quam multos alios maioribus ornasti cumalastique honoribus. Dum igitur vixero, non obliviscar tuorum in me beneficiorum. Vale et pluribus benefacere cura.

Ex Augusta XIII. Iulii anno XXX.

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Augsburg, 14 July 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 86.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 71.

*They have heard that the Hungarian lords are sending him to the Diet of Augsburg, and they were already looking forward to seeing him, but now it is rumored that he is not coming after all. He should have come, at least he should tell those who love him the reason why not.*

Ad Alexium Turzonem iudicem curiae regiae.

Rumor increbuerat te missum esse oratorem a nostris dominis Hungaris ad conventum hunc Augustensem. Incredibili omnes afficiebamur laetitia te venturum, qui omnem rerum nostrarum statum optime nosses, et quem etiam non fugerent principum nostrorum mores. Te adveniente sperabamus aliquid boni rebus nostris futurum, 5 cum et hortando et monendo et supplicando nonnihil boni negotiis nostris adferre posses. Nunc intelligimus te a proposito esse aversum. Id quamobrem feceris, non

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79,3 honorificentissimum] *corr.* ex honorificentissimum

satis mirari possumus. Si non reipublicae et communis boni, quod multo praestabat, at tuae propriae utilitatis causa venisse debueras, ut perspectis rebus, quae hic geruntur, 10  
facilius tuae conditioni consulere potuisses. Non possum igitur non reprehendere hoc tuum varium consilium. Mihi crede, consultius fecisses, si venisses. Quam igitur ob causam non veneris, si non principes, saltem eos, qui te amant, qui bonum tuum cupiunt, honori tuo favent, fac rogo certiores. Vale.

Ex Augusta XIII. Iulii anno XXX.

## 81

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Augsburg, 23 July 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 86.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 71–72.

*According to Oláh, Thurzó does not willingly admit if he has made a mistake on purpose. It may be that he stayed at home for financial reasons, but even so he cannot live only for himself. He should let them know the reason why he stayed away.*

Ad eundem.

Multi multis modis tuam in rebus regiis curandis interpretantur consuetudinem. Eum tamen tuum arbitror esse morem, illud consilium, ut consulto nunquam errare velis, malisque subire omnem calamitatem, quam ab instituto tuae constantiae 5  
recedere. Quae causa fuerit tuae istic mansionis, et quod delectus ab omnibus huc venire recusaveris, nemo est omnium, qui intelligat. Tenuitas fortasse expensarum te remota est, quin veneris. Non secus domi quoque quam si hic esses, tibi est pecuniis vivendum. Non igitur haec sufficiens est causa tuae mansionis, quam cura, ut certo sciamus. Vale.

10 Ex Augusta 23. Iulii 1530.

## 82

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Augsburg, 11 August 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 87.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 72.

*He cannot write anything certain or in safety. All their hope is in the Emperor and the King. If he has any consolation for him, he should help.*



Ad amicum.

Quid scribam, non habeo, haberem quidem multa, sed omnia tam sunt incerta, ut potius silendum sit, quam aliquid scribendum. Malignitas hominum eo pervasit, ut pauci reperiantur amici fideles nihilque fidele sit, in quo sperare certo possis, nec mirum appropinquare tempora illa extrema a prophetis praedicta, exspectandum est 5 quodcumque tempus futurum. Nostra omnis spes ceteris iam omnibus rebus amissis in eo pendet, ut caesar et rex noster propediem reddat nos patriae nostrae. Quae si nos fefellerit, actum de nobis erit. Vale, et si quid est, quod consolationem aliquam adferre nobis possit, fac rogo de eo me certiozem. Vale.

Datum Augustae 11. Augusti anno 1530.

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### 83

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Augsburg, 9 September 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 87.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 72–73.

*He should not be surprised that Oláh has not written to him in a long time, since everything is so confusing that it is better not to reach for a pen. Hate has engulfed everyone so much that it is best to retreat to a safe place lest he sees all this.*

Ad amicum.

Miraris fortasse, cur tam diu nihil ad te scripserim. Mirari desines, si praesentium, quae hic aguntur, rerum varietatem cogitaris. Adeo omnia, de quibus aliquis laeti aliquid sibi posset polliceri, sunt conturbata, ut pigeat hominem calamo manum 5 admovere. Non parum enim augeri existimo animi anxietatem, dum ad res, quae oculis cernuntur turbulentas, etiam cogitatio futurorum malorum accedat. Hoc unum te scivisse sit satis, nihil hic agi, nihilque hactenus actum esse, quod homini certam aliquam spem futurae quietis adferre possit, video animos omnium adeo esse odiis, iniuria et aliis malis affectibus involutos, ut praeclarissimum esse iudicem, si quis in 10 tutum aliquem locum se contulerit, unde non videat, sed fama saltem audiat futurorum calamitatum acerbitatem. Vale.

Ex Augusta VIII. Septembris anno XXX.

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82,4 fideles nihilque] *O del. et corr. ex fideles et nihil* 83,2 desines] *O corr. ex desine*

Miklós Oláh to his Joannes  
Augsburg, 15 September 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 87.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 73.

*The way he handled Philip the other day is a sign of Johannes' love for him, and for that he is really grateful.*

Ad Ioannem suum.<sup>1</sup>

Tuus incredibilis amor, quo me etiam absente prosequi consuevisti, facit, ut te magis ac magis diligam ac amem. Qui etsi antea quoque multis in rebus fuit mihi notus, tamen factus est notior, dum meus Philippus proxime a te reverteretur, et qua  
5 erga eum usus esses humanitate, mihi multis audientibus praedicaret. Habeo tibi pro tuis his factis gratias non vulgares, si quando erit occasio tui iuvandi et honoribus, qui in mea sunt potestate, te augendi, non deerit certe tibi mea opera, eo quidem maior, quam antea, quod tu quoque maiore uti consueveris in meos humanitate. Vale.

Ex Augusta XV. Septembris 1530.

Miklós Oláh to his Joannes  
Augsburg, 16 September 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 88.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 73–74.

*Oláh is very upset about the misfortunes that have befallen his friend. But there is no misfortune great enough that cannot be endured with a strong spirit.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quantum ex tuis molestiis cepi doloris et quantum fuerim turbatus auditis tuis, quas passus es adversitatibus, non est facile dictu. Cui enim plus tribuerem pro tua in me observantia et quem magis ob singulares virtutes diligerem, habeo neminem.  
5 Merito igitur tuis incommodis fui conturbatus, verum cum postea accepissem te calamitatibus illis minime fractum esse et constantem fortemque egisse virum, dici

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84,3 diligam... amem] *O mut. ex amem ac diligam*

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84<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 85<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

vix potest, quantam habuerim rursus laetitiam. Quare, mi Ioannes, fac deinceps quod in hac tua constantia, fortique permanes animo. Nec ullam unquam calamitatem rebus humanis contingere posse existima, quam fortis constantisque viri animus, si velit, facile perferre superareque non possit. Nam si consideraverimus, qua nati simus 10  
conditione, quamque natura nascentibus nobis legem imposuerit, quamcumque casus  
et fortuna tulerit nobis conditionem, sive bonam, sive malam, eam patienter certe  
feremus. Et nihil existimabimus tam grave, quod putemus ad tollerandum difficile.  
Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Ex Augusta XVI. Septembris XXX.

15

86

Miklós Oláh to Lőrinc Kretschmer  
Augsburg, 20 September 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 88.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 74.

*If he knew how much he has to do nowadays, he would understand why he has been silent for so long. However, it is rather Kretschmer who could be accused of silence, since he would have the time to write letters.*

Ad Laurentium<sup>1</sup> praepositum Albensem.

Nihil dubito, quin magna ducaris admiratione, quod a tanto tempore nihil a me litterarum acceperis. Si causam scies huius meae taciturnitatis, mirari desines. Tanta enim negotiorum et meorum et amicorum per hos omnes dies, quibus hic sum, fui obrutus mole, ut non modo ad scribendum, sed ne quidem ad res meas urgentes curandas aliquid otii habere potuerim. Tu me arguis taciturnitatis et negligentiae, verum si liceret, ego te accusare eo crimine possem. Cum enim domi sis, otium habeas quam maximum, nec multae aut privatae aut publicae te urgeant occupationis, tam factus es tardus, ut ne minimam quidem iotam ad me scribere digneris. Fac itaque, ut scriptis me provoces, non me, crede mihi, hoc scribendi officio vinces. Qualescumque ad me litteras dederis, longiores ego rescribam. Vale et me quemadmodum hactenus fecisti, ama.

Ex Augusta XX. Septembris anno XXX.

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85,11 legem] *O mut. ex* conditionem | quamcumque] *O del. ex* quamcumque certe 12 conditionem] *O mut. ex* legem | certe] *O add. sup. l.* 86,5 quidem] *add.* 8 aut! ...te] *O mut. ex* te aut privatae aut publicae

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86 <sup>1</sup> Lőrinc Kretschmer, Provost of Székesfehérvár. His uncle was György Szatmári, the Archbishop of Esztergom (1522–1524), who provided for his education. Kretschmer became *praeceptor* of King Ferdinand I's children in 1537, see FAZEKAS 2008.

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Augsburg, 20 September 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 225.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 74; ALLEN 1938, 57.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 92.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 621.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 92–93.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 74.

*He is joyful that Erasmus has accepted him among his most outstanding friends; he is respected by so many with good reason, Erasmus has deserved it through his merits and virtues.*

Nicolai Olai ad Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum responsio.

Non possum non gratulari tuis praecipuis, ornatissime Erasme, virtutibus et humanitati, qui me, ut scribis, meumque nomen inter praecipuos amicos ascribere cogitaris. Hac humanitate, virtute et singulari animi nobilitate meritus es iamdudum, ut te  
5 omnes colant, observent et venerentur. Quare perge, ut coepisti, meque in tuis habeto, et fac ut me tibi carum esse sentiam. Vale.

Ex Augusta 20. Septembris anno 1530.

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Augsburg, 21 September 1530

*Manuscript has been lost:* Leipzig, UB, Cod. MS 331, XI, p. 7.

*Published:* FÖRSTEMANN–GÜNTHER 1904, 152–153; ALLEN 1938, 57.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 92–93.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 622.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 93–94.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 74–75.

*He was very happy to receive Erasmus' letters and hopes he will be worthy of his friendship. Felix did not have to explain himself in his name. Erasmus has the Queen's favor, and Oláh is making sure that it stays that way. He is sending a gift with Quirinus, so that when Erasmus is having his breakfast or lunch, he should think of Oláh.*

Salutem.

Vix dici potest, Praestantissime Domine Doctor, an plus longoribus tuis quam his brevioribus litteris, quas mihi Felix<sup>1</sup> reddidit, fuissem delectatus. Nam ex eis quoque illud intellexi, quod ex longioribus poteram cognovisse animum scilicet et humanitatem tuam singularem in me futuram. Gratissimum igitur mihi fuit te hac ad me usum 5 brevitate. Et excusationem, qua et tu litteris illis et Felix tuo nomine apud me fuit usus, arbitratus sum non fuisse necessariam. Quare, mi Domine Doctor, praesta, quod polliceris te me inter amicos praecipuos habiturum. Enitar ego quoque, ut meae amicitiae te non poeniteat. Regina est ea nunc quoque in te clementia ac pietate, qua antea propter excellentes tuas virtutes semper fuit. Quae ut fiat cumulator, quantum 10 in me erit, curabo diligenter. Quirinus<sup>2</sup> tuus cum ad te reverteretur et mihi valedixisset, nolui enim vacuis, ut dicunt, reverti manibus, ut dum prandes coenasque mei memineras.<sup>3</sup> Vale et me ama tuumque existima.

Ex Augusta XXI. Septembris anno Domini 1530.

Tuus Nicolaus Olah, custos Albensis secretarius et consiliarius reginae etc. 15

*On the outer side:* Excellentissimo domino domino Erasmo Roterodamo, sacrae theologiae doctori etc., domino et amico observandissimo.

## 89

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Augsburg, 22 September 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 88–89.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 74–75.

*1. Of all his servants he had sent, Johannes is the most trustworthy, Oláh has not found any fault with him; if he wishes to send any message to him, he should send Johannes, he can safely trust him. 2. Oláh is curious what his plans are, how he is, etc., and he is happy that Paulus' mother is well.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Ex omnibus tuis, quos saepe ad me mittere solitus es, servis placuit mihi magis nemo quam Ioannes magna sua in te et observantia et fide et integritate. Multis ego eum rationibus sollicitavi et nonnulla etiam non obscure confinxí, ut eius ani-

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89,2 servis] *O corr.* ex servitoribus

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88 <sup>1</sup> Felix Rex, see Ep. 10. Note 2. | <sup>2</sup> Quirinus Hagius of The Hague matriculated at the University of Leuven, then became one of the most important messengers of Erasmus, see BIERLAIRE–BIETENHOLZ 1987, 127. | <sup>3</sup> The gift was a silver spoon and fork, see Ep. 92. (Erasmus Ep. 2393, lines 23–25) 89 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

5 mum et ingenium percontari possem, mansit tamen semper constantissimus, nihilque  
in eo deprehendere potui reprehensione dignum. Meritus idcirco est, mi Paule, ut tuis  
eum rebus praeficias, et quidquid habeas negotii, quod ad tuam dignitatem, salutem  
et quietem pertineat, ei confidenter demandes. Nisi meum de eo fallat me iudicium,  
certus esto non errabit, sed in sua erga te permansurus est semper fide et constantia.  
10 Hunc si voles quascumque res sive parvas, sive magnas expediturus, ad me mittas.  
Neminem, mihi crede, ex tuis invenies hoc fideliozem.

[2.] Quomodo valeas, quid agas, et cuius sis propositi, permansurusne sis ulterius  
in servitiis, an in otium honestum litterarium te collaturus, quod te a multis iam tem-  
poribus summis votis concupivisse certo scio, fac me cito certiozem, ut meas quoque  
15 actiones tuis sciam accomodare. Matrem tuam optime valere gaudeo. Scio ex lon-  
gaeva ipsius vita tantum gaudii te habere, quantum ex nulla alia re, quod profecto  
merito facis. Nam admonemur etiam natura, ut eorum vitae, qui nobis vitam humani-  
tus dederunt, et ex quibus auram hanc temporalem suscepimus, nobis sint iucundissi-  
mae. Vale et de tuis rebus scribe ad me.

20 Datum Augustae XXII. Septembris anno Domini MDXXX.

90

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Augsburg, 1 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 89–90.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 84–85.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 623.

*Many of them are worried that the Landgrave of Hessen left in the middle of the negotiations, followed by the Elector of Saxony, against the Emperor's will; he is afraid that a revolt will erupt in Germany because even though there are few followers of Luther among the leaders, the majority of the population supports the Lutherans, as do, it seems, the Helvetians as well. Thankfully in these confusing times he can read and write in peace.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Multis sumus curis anxietatibusque solliciti, nam cum a multis iam temporibus  
spem habuissemus non minimam fore, ut caesar<sup>2</sup> cum principibus imperii in negotio  
fidei, in quo etiam satis diu est sudatum, bonum facere posset finem. Consumptis hic  
5 frustra multis bonis temporibus nihil est finitum. In medio tractatus<sup>3</sup> primum Lannth-

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6 deprehendere] *O corr.* ex comprehendere 10 expediturus] *O corr.* ex exhabiturus 13 litterarium] *O corr.* ex litterarum | te<sup>1</sup>] *O add. sup. l.* 20 Augustae] *O corr.* ex Augusta

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90<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Emperor Charles V. | <sup>3</sup> Imperial Diet of Augsburg.

gravius Hessiae,<sup>4</sup> demum in exitu Ioannes dux Saxoniae senior<sup>5</sup> caesare nolente hinc discesserunt. Quid aliud finitum sit, praeterquam quod materiam fomitemque belli futuri praebuerint, neminem scire video. Vereor, ne in Germania tale oriatur incendium, quod non facile restringi possit, pauci licet sint principes Lutheranae sectae fautores, magna tamen est multitudo vulgi, quae non modo sequi hanc videtur doctrinam, sed mordicus<sup>6</sup> tenere, ut quicumque eos ab hac eorum doctrina avertere velit, eum mox vice hostis habeant. Nihil ergo aliud exspectare possum, quam in Germania magnos tumultus futuros animis omnium mirum in modum concitatis. Civitates non paucae imperiales et locis et munitionibus fortissimae huic sectae adhaeserunt. Helvetii favere eis multas ob causas videntur, communis vulgus ita novitatibus studet, et ita iam libertatem hanc Lutheranam, quam ipsi Evangelicam appellant, manu tenet libertatis alioqui semper cupidissimus, ut vix credibile sit eum ab hac opinione eorum abduci posse. 10 15

Nostrum est, mi Frater, temporibus his periculosis vitam agere in tranquillo aliquo loco honestam et lectioni et scriptioni continue dare operam proculque abesse ab his tumultibus. Vale. 20

Ex Augusta I. Octobris anno MDXXX.

## 91

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Augsburg, 4 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 90.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 85–86.

*1. While King Ferdinand I went to Hungary with his troops, the Turks invaded Trenčín, and after setting fire to Trnava and other towns close to the Czech border, they devastated everything. 2. This news has also greatly affected the rulers, but he is hoping that they will fight the enemy. Namely while they are negotiating here, the Turks are continuing the devastation.*

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90,6 caesare ... hinc] *O mut.* ex hinc caesare nolente 11 tenere] *O del.* ex tenere et 12 vice hostis] *O mut.* ex pro hoste | aliud] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>4</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse (1504–1567), nicknamed “der Großmütige” (‘the magnanimous’) was one of the most prominent figures of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, and he founded the university in Marburg in 1527 (today: Philipps-Universität Marburg). | <sup>5</sup> Johann Friedrich I. von Sachsen, Elector of Saxony (1530–1554), called “der Großmütige” (‘the magnanimous’), or St. Johann the Steadfast (by the Lutherans) was head of the Protestant Confederation of Germany. | <sup>6</sup> Oláh uses the word *vulgus* in masculine.

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium Hungariae.

[1.] Ubi laetitiam exspectabamus, non parvam accepimus animi turbationem. Nam cum serenissimus rex noster nuper exercitum suum duce Wilhelmo de Rogendorff<sup>1</sup> insigni viro et in arte militari utcumque exercitato nobis omnibus eam expeditionem sollicitantibus in Hungariam expeditisset et in horas famam alicuius praeclari facinoris exspectaremus, subito venit nuntius: Turcas ad viginti millia itineribus et secretis et magnis irruptionem fecisse ad eam Hungariae partem, quae terra Mathiae<sup>2</sup> appellatur, ubi combusta civitate Tirnaviensi<sup>3</sup> et aliis oppidis locisque plerisque in finibus adhuc Moraviae, quae contermina est illi Hungariae parti, agere, igne ferroque omnia vastare, senes trucidare, virgines, puellas, iuenculas, honestas matrefamilias captas praemittere in Turciam, frumenta omnia et alios commeatus in horrea iam congestos incendere, ut nostris in futuram hiemem desint victualia.

[2.] Haec res quam acerbatis et calamitatis plena sit, non facile est explicatu. Principes, qui hic sunt imperii, in primis autem caesar et rex non parum sunt hoc nuntio commoti, cogituros eos spero proculdubio, quo pacto tantae crudelitati hostium primo quoque tempore obviam eatur. Sed hoc unum vereor, ne cogitatio ista non multum nobis adferat commodi. Dum enim nos cogitamus, consulimus, tractamus et deliberamus Turco obviam ire et resistere, interea ille omnes suos conatus perficit et securus domum suam praedaque onustus, multis inter Christianos prius commissis caedibus absque formidine aliqua revertitur. Hae Turcarum condiciones licet tibi ob propinquitatem magis sint quam mihi cognitae, et opus non erat multis eorum mores explicare, tamen volui has ad te dare litteras, tum ut principum animum tuum, ut meum quoque maerorem ex hac Christianorum clade susceptum cognosceres. Vale.

25 Augustae IIII. Octobris anno MDXXX.

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91,3 serenissimus...noster] *O mut. ex Rex dominus noster clementissimus* 5 famam] *O corr. ex iam alicuius] O corr. ex aliquid* 7 Mathiae] *O corr. ex Mathyus* 21 tibi] *O del. ex tibi, Reverende Praesul* 22 mores...24 cognosceres] *O mut. et add. in marg. ex facta explicare, maeror tamen coegit me calamum longius extendere.*

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91 <sup>1</sup> Wilhelm von Roggendorf (1481–1541) was an Austrian military commander and Seneschal. | <sup>2</sup> *Terra Mathiae* means Matúšova zem, ‘land of Máté’, located in north to the Žitný ostrov, named after its former lord, the Hungarian oligarch Máté Csák (ca. 1260–1321). | <sup>3</sup> Trnava.



Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 7 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 225–226.

*Published:* SCHMITTH 1768, 420–422; IPOLYI 1875, 89–90; ALLEN 1938, 60–61.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 97–98.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 153–154; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 94–95.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 78–79.

1. He is greatly consoled by the fact that there still are such brilliant talents as Oláh, and he hopes that a new golden age will come. Many old friends, who he had thought would give their life to protect him, have become his enemies. He himself is simple and honest, like Oláh, as it has become clear for him from his letters, and the words of Quirinus. He thanks for the spoon and fork, now it is a bit as if Oláh was his companion at the table. 2. He is joyful that Oláh has succeeded in finding a place next to the most outstanding Queen, into whose favor he would also like to insinuate himself. He knows how much Mary's word carries with his brothers, without whose favors he does not know what he would do.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi, secretario et consiliario reginae Mariae.

[1.] Non mediocri mihi solatio est, mi Nicolae, quod hoc saeculo, quod nobis undique tot gignit hominum portenta, fides, caritas et humanitas non modo friget, verumetiam prorsus extincta sepultaque videtur, reperiuntur adhuc aliqua ingenia 5 sincera candidaque, unde spes est aliquando fore, ut aureum illud genus mortalium ζωπυρείσθω.<sup>1</sup>

Aliquot amicos habui sic addictos iuratosque, ut vel vitae suae dispendio meis commodis consulturi viderentur, si res ita tulisset, quos nunc patior hostes plusquam capitales, adeoque desierunt esse amici, ut homines etiam esse desierint. Nulla pristinae consuetudinis, nulla meritorum memoria, nulla fidei religio, nullus humanitatis sensus revocat illos a maleficiis. Quae res ut mihi veteres amicos, qui in fide perstiterunt reddit cariores, ita novos si qui obtingunt, maiorem in modum commendat. Ipse simplici natus ingenio delector candidis amicis, qualem te esse tum ex litteris tuis, tum ex Quirini<sup>2</sup> mei narratione mihi videor liquido deprehendisse, ut tuis munusculis, 15 alioqui lepidissimis, mihi que gratissimis nihil fuerit opus. Penitus impressum est animo meo Olahi simulacrum, quam ut inde possit revelli aut aboleri, perquam grata tamen fuit ista tua supervacua sollicitudo, quippe quam intelligo ab amoris abundan-

92,7 ζωπυρείσθω] *corr.* ex ζωπυρείθω 17 animo meo] *O add. in marg.*

92 <sup>1</sup> 'resuscitate': The use of imperative in adverbial clauses of purpose (instead of the use of the conjunctive) is not in accordance with Atticism. | <sup>2</sup> Quirinus Hagius of The Hague.

tia proficisci. Hoc quoque voluptatis adferet mihi cocleare tuum ac fuscinula,<sup>3</sup> quod  
20 hac certe ratione Nicolaum meum habiturus sum convivam, ac subinde licebit amicu-  
lis dicere: “hic est ille meus Olahus”, quando reliquam vitae consuetudinem nobis  
invidere fata.

[2.] Libet autem utriusque felicitati gratulari, tuae cui contigerit apud eam, qua  
inter principes feminas nulla est neque humanior neque moribus sanctoribus honori-  
25 ficum tenere locum, meae qui tam candidum habeam amicum apud praepotentem  
dominam, cui magnopere velim esse commendatus, cuiusque in me favorem optarim  
esse perpetuum. Ad id quantum habeat momenti benevolus convictor iampridem,  
experimentis compertum habeo. Et si non mentitur vetus Graecorum proverbium,  
simile simili amicum esse non dubito, quin illi pro morum sinceritate ingenique  
30 candore sis egregie carus. Nec me fugit, quantum illa valeat apud germanos suos,  
Carolus caesarem et regem Ferdinandum, quorum favor si me destituat, non video,  
quid possim adversus tot portenta subsistere. Hactenus certi praestiterunt, quicquid  
ab amantissimis principibus exspectare debui, superest, ut gratiarum auspiciis pul-  
cherrimum hoc certamen inter nos decertemus, in quo, quo maiore contentione nita-  
35 mur, hoc erit firmior amborum amicitia. Sanctissimae reginae Mariae precor felicitatem  
plurimam. Bene vale.

Datum apud Friburgum Brisgoiae Nonae Octobris 1530.

93

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Augsburg, 7 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 90–91.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 86.

*He has remembered the man who he mentioned the other day: who could list his sins? There is no more monstrous servitude than when one must serve a dirty person; he shudders whenever he thinks of him. Szalaházy should write what he is planning.*

Ad eundem.

Subit mihi in mentem illius viri recordatio, cuius superioribus diebus feceram tibi mentionem. Quis enim illius furta, flagitia, scelera enumerare posset? Quam ille

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23 Libet] *O corr.* ex Licet 93,2 mentem] *O(?) del.* ex mentem, Reverende Praesul 3 tibi] *O add. sup. l.*

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92,29 simile...amicum] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,II,21: “simile gaudet simili”; see MYNORS 1982, 167, and Macr. *Sat.* VII,7,12, and Plat. *Symp.* 186b.

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<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 88. Note 3.

immunitatem, quam praerogativam, quod praemium vendicata sibi regia autoritate vel privatis hominibus, vel communitati, vel nobilitati non vendidit? Licet omnis 5 servitus est misera, tamen intolerabile est, homini illi impuro, impudico, effeminato servire et nunquam ne mane quidem sobrio. Cuius ego viri cum recordor, explicare vix possum, quantum ab illis temporibus, quibus ipse ad nutum suum utebatur, abhorream, vereor, ne eadem nos conditio et sors maneat, et ne quae fugiebamus tempora, eadem rursus nobis occurrant. Quid igitur tibi videtur et quod coeperis consilium, fac rogo me certiore. 10

Augustae 7. Octobris 1530.

94

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Augsburg, 8 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 91–92.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 86–88.

1. He does not know what to write to tell the truth, there are such different news arriving. One day they heard that the Turks did not burn down Trnava after all, but they went towards Uherský Brod and devastated that area, and then they returned to loot the gold and silver mines. 2. He is surprised why Roggen-dorf is not moving from Vienna, he may miss a good opportunity to attack. The army is divided anyway: half is in Nitra, the rest is in Vienna. 3. He does not know what has happened to the promised 40,000 infantrymen and the 8,000 horsemen, how many the King Francis I, the Pope, and King Ferdinand I each will give. While they are making decisions here, the Turks arrive with an even larger army than last year.

Ad eundem.

[1.] Quam vellem, si aliquid tibi certi de rebus nostris scribere possem. Scio te esse cupidissimum earum rerum, quae hic geruntur. Et profecto ego quoque cuperem ad te de his aliquid veri scribere, ut rebus regiis et nostris communibus facilius a te et aliis dominis provideri posset, sed quid scribam, nescio. Tanta varietas est animorum, 5 ea hominum mutatio, ut unius diei tractatus alterius praecedentis inturbet. Adeo erant superiorum dierum de Turcis allato nuntio commoti omnium animi, ut non parum de spe pacis ineundae quibuslibet decesserat. Tertio vel quarto post die advennerunt alia rursus nobis de Turcorum excursionibus nova illos quidem circumequitate Tirnaviam et alia illi vicina loca, non combussisse tamen eam civitatem, sed 10

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4 autoritate] *O del.* ex autoritate non 5 non] *O add. sup. l.* 8 ab... temporibus] *O corr.* ex illi tempore 94,10 Tirnaviam] *O corr.* ex Tiraniam

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93,6 servitus... 7 sobrio] Cf. Cic. *Phil.* III,12: "Cum autem omnis servitus est misera, tum vero intolerabile est servire impuro, impudico, effeminato, numquam ne in metu quidem sobrio."

alio itinere divertisse ad fines Moraviae, in qua oppidum Brod Hungaricale<sup>1</sup> et non-  
nulla etiam alia istic loca igne consumpsisse. Deinde reversos Tirnaviam versus fama  
est, fodinas aureas et argenteas invadere velle, ut eas partes, quae iamdudum, ut scis,  
in oboedientia sunt regis nostri, suae ditionis faciant. Id si fiat proculdubio viribus  
15 nostris non minimum detrahetur, qui ea sola loca reliquis fere omnibus amissis tene-  
bamus, ex quibus aliquid nobis penderetur tributorum.

[2.] Miror, quid Rogendorff dux exercitus nostri Viennae agat et an cogitet ali-  
quam expeditionem, cuius parandae causa hinc fuerat expeditus vel omnino istic  
tempus terendum esse censeat, si huius erat animi, satius fuisset eum hinc non mo-  
20 visse. Nam profectio ipsius hostes quoque etiam si quiescere maluerint, sunt exci-  
tati, et vereor, ne ipsi hanc eorum bonam occasionem prosequantur delitescensibus  
nostris Viennae. Divisus est, ut audimus, noster exercitus: pars illius una nescio, quo  
in loco Nitriam versus se defodisse in terram Turcarum metu dicitur, altera Viennae  
est cum Rogendorff. Si id Turcae persenserint, timendum erit, ne omnes artes, om-  
25 nem operam adhibeant, ut nostri convenire non possint. Quid igitur sperandum sit,  
nescio. Nec constat mihi, quid hinc spei tibi et aliis dominis dare possim. Nullum  
quidem tempus hic praetermittitur tractandis rebus idoneum.

[3.] Sed nescio, quo nostro fato nullam rem video ad exitum deduci. Principes  
imperii polliciti sunt se duros caesari quadraginta millia peditum et octo millia  
30 equitum cataphractorum. Cupiunt tamen et ipsi scire, quantum caesar quantumque  
rex Franciae, quantum imprimis pontifex, et quantum rex noster Ferdinandus ad hanc  
futuram expeditionem generalem sit daturus militum numerum. Id si ab unoquoque  
eorum intelligetur, intereaque nihil imperium daturum sit, dum haec certo resciant,  
actum erit de expeditione illa, quam tot annis summis votis exoptavimus. Nam dum  
35 et hi principes ac reges, quos commemoravi, comitiis prius factis cum suis hac de re  
consultaverint et deliberarunt, fit interea Turcus nobis obviam cum multo maiore,  
quam anno praeterito venerat, exercitu.

Quid ergo sperandum sit, non satis cogitare possum. Utinam Deus omnia pro-  
spera et felicia concedat, sed timendum est maxime proculdubio ne tempora, quae  
40 consecuta fuerint, peiora futura sint praeteritis. Tu pro tua singulari prudentia, animi  
ingeniique tui praestantia, qua polles praestasque ceteros, fac cogites, quid iam non  
modo nobis sit agendum, sed sperandum, ut accepta ingenii tui excellentis opinione

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11 oppidum Brod] *O del.* ex oppidum quod Brod vocatus 12 Tirnaviam versus] *O corr.* ex Tiraniam  
versus. Quos 16 tributorum] *O mut.* ex reddituum 20 excitati] *O mut.* ex exporrecti 22 illius una] *O*  
*mut.* ex una illius 30 cataphractorum] *corr.* ex catophrattorum 36 consultaverint] *O mut.* ex tractaverint

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94 <sup>1</sup> Uherský Brod, which means 'Hungarian Ford' is a town in the Zlín Region of the Czech Republic,  
and it is situated in the southeast of Moravia.

possimus hic nos consolare, et fortiorem aliquem habere scriptis tuis animum, ad futura quaecumque venerint tempora, patienti animo ferenda. Vale feliciter.

Ex Augusta VIII. Octobris anno MDXXX.

45

95

Miklós Oláh to Jehan François (?)  
Augsburg, 8 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 92–93.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 88.

*He got to know from Elek Thurzó's letter what great devastation the Turks have inflicted on Moravia and Hungary. 40,000 people were slaughtered or taken into servitude; on the Thurzós' territory they have found 500 children dead, brutally slaughtered.*

Ad Ioannem Franciscum.<sup>1</sup>

Cum essem sollicitus intelligere, quantum damni aut incendii Turcae in Moravia et Hungaria, ubi iter fecerunt, commisissent, venerunt litterae ab Alexio Turzone,<sup>2</sup> quae significabant Ioannis de Broda<sup>3</sup> Moravi bona omnia esse combusta. Quadraginta vel circiter millia hominum, partim Hungarorum, partim Moravorum a Turcis 5 partim interfecta, partim in servitutem perpetuam abducta. Tres habuisse eosdem in bonis Turzonis consessus, vel potius descensus, in quolibet consessu repertos circiter quingentos infantes partim dissectos, partim in terram collisos. Haec est crudelitas Turcarum. Vale et memineris, quibus malis Deus nos merito pro nostris delictis puniat. 10

Ex Augusta VIII. Octobris MDXXX.

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44 ferenda] *O mut. ex* tolleranda 95,2 quantum...Turcae] *O mut. ex* quantum Turcae damni aut incendii  
5 Moravorum...6 Tres] *O corr. ex* Moraviorum Turcas abduxisse. Tres 7 consessu] *O corr. ex* concessu  
8 est crudelitas] *O corr. ex* est Deus bene humanitas

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95 <sup>1</sup> Probably Jehan François or Hans Franc who was inspector of Ravenstein and Seneschal of Queen Mary, see GORTER VAN ROYEN 2009, 74–75, 94, and KERKHOFF 2008, 294. | <sup>2</sup> Thurzó also wrote on the devastation to the city of Bratislava, see ERDÉLYI 2005, 216–217. | <sup>3</sup> On the looting in Brod see Ep. 94.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Augsburg, 10 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 93.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 90.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 625–626.

*After he sent Szalaházy his previous letter, he spent three hours on correcting László Macedóniai's speech. He is sending him the corrected speech so Szalaházy can share his opinion about it. He must know about all the other things already, he only adds that the King is laboring in the interest of the country.*

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium Hungariae.

Missis prioribus meis ad te litteris tres horas ingenii exercendi causa ab aliis meis occupationibus, quibus in horas distineor, suffuratus sum, et orationem,<sup>1</sup> quam Vardiensis episcopus Ladislaus Macedo<sup>2</sup> ad caesarem et principes imperii nomine status  
5 nostri Hungarici et Sclavorum habuerat, mutavi non sententia sed verbis. Eam orationem misi ad te, ad quem illius quoque antea miseram, ut pro tuo iudicio et prudentia ingeniique felicitate proferres, quid de utraque sentires. Ea enim es sententia praeditus, Reverende Praesul, his ingenii dotibus, ut tuo iudicio, quod protuleris, facile omnes locum sint daturi.

10 De rebus aliis, quas te scire cupere intelligo, non est nunc, quod ad te scribam, cum eas alii tibi abundantissime significarint, hoc unum nolim praeterire regiam maiestatem nihil negligere, quod pertineat ad nostram salutem, quietem et tranquillitatem et ad regni nostri defensionem. Vale.

Ex Augusta X. Octobris MDXXX.

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96,3 quam] *O del. ex* quam D. 4 episcopus...Macedo] *O add. sup. l.* 5 habuerat] *O mut. ex* fuerat  
6 quem...quoque] *O corr. ex* quem et illius 9 sint] *O corr. ex* sunt 11 maiestatem] *O del. ex* maiestatem  
dominum nostrum clementissimum

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96 <sup>1</sup> *Oratio ad invictissimum Romanorum Imperatorem Carolum V.* See both the edition and the contemporary German translation: HORVÁTH–VALACZKAI 1964, and about the speeches HORVÁTH–OBERMAYER 1958, 24–25. | <sup>2</sup> László Macedóniai.

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Augsburg, 13 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 93–94.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 90–91; ALLEN 1938, 66.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 106–107.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 626–627.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 154–155; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 96.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 80.

1. He has no doubt that Erasmus has already heard about Mehmed Bey's devastation, who marched from Belgrade to Trenčín in seven days with this approximately 10,000 men, and there he scorched everything and sent more than 15,000 young men to Turkey as slaves. 2. They say the Thurzós have found 500 children dead there, and 50 were transported half-dead to Šintava, Thurzós's castle. Erasmus should see what a tyrant is oppressing the once so glorious Hungary.

Ad Erasmum Rotterodamum.

[1.] Non sum dubius, quin audieris eam crudelitatem, quam Mechemeth becus<sup>1</sup> Turca, praefectus arcis Taurini,<sup>2</sup> quam superioribus annis cum maxima Christianitatis clade amiseramus, diebus praeteritis in Hungaria commiserit. Is enim cum decem vel circiter millibus Turcarum tam celeri itinere ex Taurino eo, ubi cladem et praedam 5 egit, pervenisse dicitur, ut intra septimum diem hoc itineris, quod est ultra quinquaginta miliaria Hungarica<sup>3</sup> confecerit, illicque omnem eam regni partem, quae est terra Mathiae<sup>4</sup> a nostris appellatur, igne consumpserit, viros et adolescentes, quorum aetas erat robustior et vigentior, ultra quindecim milia captos in Turciam praemisit.

[2.] Dicitur<sup>5</sup> stationes tres habuisse in quibusdam pagis Alexii Turzonis, qui cum 10 post Turcarum abitionem visendae crudelitatis illorum gratia exivisset et ad alteram

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97,8 Mathiae] *O corr.* ex Mathyus 9 quindecim] *O add. sup. l. et del.* triginta 10 stationes tres] *O corr.* ex stationem

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97 <sup>1</sup> Yahya-Pasha-zade Mehmed Bey (†1548). Mehmed's life is not well-documented before 1529. When Suleiman I besieged Vienna in 1529, Mehmed Bey was the Governor of Smederevo. The following year, when the Habsburg force besieged Buda, Mehmed Bey marched into Hungary and dispelled the army of King Ferdinand I. For more about his later life see ISMAIL 1986, and FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 106–107.

<sup>2</sup> Belgrade. | <sup>3</sup> According to Škoviera, here we have to count one Hungarian mile as 11 kilometres so this distance is about 550 km, see ŠKOVIERA 2008, 554. For the early Hungarian distances, see BOGDÁN 1987. | <sup>4</sup> Matúšova zem, see Ep. 90, and FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 107, Note 4. V. KOVÁCS erroneously translated it as 'Mátyásföld' instead of 'Mátýusföld'.

| <sup>5</sup> See Thurzó's letter to King Ferdinand I at the end of October 1530, and also ERDÉLYI 2005, 220–228, especially 224.

stationum illorum venisset, ultra quingentos infantes partim confectos gladio, partim terrae illis istis mortuos reperisse. Ex quibus quinquaginta trahentes adhuc aegre spiritum delegisse et duobus curribus, ut revocari in sanitatem aliqua cura possent, ad  
15 castrum suum Sempthe<sup>6</sup> misisse dicitur pietate erga semivivos infantes et crudelitate permotus Turcarum.

Vide, mi Erasme, quam gravi Christianus populus prematur tyrannide et Hungaria, quae olim magnis florebat triumphis, magna virtute ac illustribus suorum splendebat facinoribus, quam magnam nunc patiatur servitutem, ut nec dies nec noctes tuta  
20 sit ab hostium fidei direptionibus et rapinis. Vale.

Ex Augusta XIII. Octobris MDXXX.

98

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Augsburg, 13 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 94.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 91–92.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 210–211.

*Oláh cannot but be surprised how fickle rulers are. The King promised him in solemn words that as soon as there was a vacancy, he would receive a bishopric; now he still gave it to someone else.*

Ad Emericum Kalnay.

Non possum non conqueri de temporum malignitate principumque inconstantia. Princeps meus temporibus superioribus me hanc certe gratiam nihil petente promiserat, et non vanis sed sollennibus verbis, uti principum est iusiurandum, in verbo suo  
5 regio promiserat, inquam, se mihi sacerdotium illud quaecumque in Hungaria nostra primitus vacaret collaturum. Nunc vacavit unus item alter episcopatus, utrumque non servans promissionem, alteri contulit; vide, quanta sit constantia eorum, qui constantiae exemplum aliis praebere deberent. Haec non mea causa scribo, contentus enim ita vivam, semper fui mea sorte, quae dum pax est, non est inter alias inferior, sed  
10 vicem eorum doleo, qui sunt tam varii, cum constantes esse deberent. Vale.

Ex Augusta XIII. Octobris MDXXX.

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12 infantes] *O del. ex* infantes et puellulas 15 semivivos] *O mut. ex* pueros 98,3 meus] *O del. ex* meus clementissimus 7 contulit] *O mut. ex* conferre cogitat

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<sup>6</sup> Șintava.



Miklós Oláh to Joannes Venceslaus  
Augsburg, 14 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 94–95.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 92.

*He will retreat for a few months to concentrate on the holy letters. He therefore requests that Venceslaus send him the works of St. Ambrose, Augustine, Origen, and Chrysostom that they wrote as commentaries to St. Paul's letters.*

Ad Ioannem Venceslaum<sup>1</sup> amicum.

Aliquot mensibus daturus sum operam sacris litteris et hanc ob rem his temporibus hibernis concessi in villam optimi principis nostri. Utinam me id facere licuisset te comite, mi Ioannes, et duce Paulo<sup>2</sup> utemur tamen ut in aliis, ita in hac re vulgato illo proverbio: quando non possis, quod velis, id facias, quod possis. Tui est in me 5 amoris Petrum Iacobum<sup>3</sup> urgere, ut me libris aliquot illustret. Ambrosium,<sup>4</sup> Augustinum<sup>5</sup> mittat rogo in Paulum, petat a Paulo Originem<sup>6</sup> in Paulum, et pro me fide iubeat, non decipiatur. Si fieri poterit, mittantur Origenis *Homiliae*, una quas habet Andreas Faber.<sup>7</sup> Chrisostomum<sup>8</sup> vel alium, qui in Paulum scripsit, mittite pariter ad me. Triduo post missurus sum vehiculum, quo hi libri vehantur. Interim cures, ut in 10 eum diem libri sint parati, si Andreas Ioannesque vel alii me inviserint, cupidissime eos videbimus. Vale.

Ex Augusta XIII. Octobris XXX.

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99,6 illustret] *O corr. ex illustram*

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99,5 quando ... possis<sup>2</sup>] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* III,VI,4: "Quando id fieri non potest" and after this sequence Erasmus cites Ter. *Andria* 304–305: "quoniam non potest id fieri quod vis, / id velis quod possit." and according to the editors of Erasmus' works, he translates it into Greek, see MYNORS 1992, 126.

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99 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> St. Paul. | <sup>3</sup> Probably *De cognominibus deorum* of Pietro Giacomo (Eritrei) da Montefalco, 1525. | <sup>4</sup> Aurelius Ambrosius, better known as St. Ambrose (ca. 340–397), was one of the most influential ecclesiastical persons of the late antiquity. We do not know which of his works Oláh needed, but it could have been the so-called *Ambrosiaster*, a brief commentary on Paul's Epistles, which had long been attributed to Ambrose. | <sup>5</sup> Augustinus, St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was an early Christian theologian and philosopher. Oláh needed his works *Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* and *Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad Galatas*. | <sup>6</sup> Origenes, or Origen Adamantius (184/185–253/254) was a Greek scholar and early Christian theologian. Oláh needed his *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, probably in the translation of Rufinus. | <sup>7</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>8</sup> Chrysostomus, St. John Chrysostom (c. 349–407) was an early Church Father.

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Augsburg, 16 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 95.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 92–93.

*Today after mass he asked the King what the situation is with the promised remuneration. The King answered that he has not decided yet, but he has not forgotten about it. They will see what will happen, but it is possible that he will not be able to enjoy it even if he gets it, since it would be useless to get an estate in Hungary if the Turks occupy it.*

Ad Emericum Kalnay.

Hodie dum peracta sollemniter missa<sup>1</sup> templo egredere-  
mus, interveniendum allo-  
cutus sum regem, assecurationes ipsius quamplurimas reduxi in eius memoriam,  
firmissimis verbis suis ante omnes alios quicumque sunt nostrae conditionis, et litte-  
5 ris et verbis mihi factas exhortatusque sum eum, ut mei memor esset. Dixit se non-  
dum in beneficiis illis, quae vacant, resolutum esse, fore tamen mei memorem, ita ut  
bene essem contentus. Haec ipsius verba fuere, de quibus, quid sperem, nescio, prae-  
cesserunt etiam antea multa talia verba, nullum tamen effectum sortita sunt, utinam  
haec sortiantur aliquem, et aliquando firma, ut spero, futura sint, quae retulit et non  
10 retulit modo, sed etiam promisit, principes veridici esse debent, quorum verba inte-  
gra, immobilia et constantia esse oportet. Alioquin quid princeps est aliud vacillans,  
quam quivis alius popularis. Videbimus, quid sequatur.

Quicquid futurum erit, faciam te certiore, verum si aliquo honestiore quoque  
ornatus fuero statu, nescio profecto, cur mihi magnopere laetandum sit in tanta pa-  
15 triae nostrae calamitate. Quae tanta est et tam atrox, ut ni Deus optimus maximus ex  
singulari sua bonitate res nostras in meliorem reducat conditionem, in Hungaria  
frustra et bona temporalia et beneficia ecclesiastica simus possessuri, nam Turcarum  
tyrannus omnia simul occupabit, nullumque habituri sumus meo iudicio locum, qui  
securus sit futurus. Vale et mei sis amantissimus.

20 Ex Augusta XVI. Octobris anno MDXXX.

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100,8 talia verba] *O add. sup. l.* | nullum] *O corr. ex nullam* 12 alius popularis] *O mut. ex alter  
communis vir* 13 honestiore] *O mut. ex altiore* 14 patriae] *O corr. ex patria* 17 possessuri] *O mut. ex  
petituri*

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100 <sup>1</sup> It was only a Sunday mass, but no special feast.

Miklós Oláh to Mihály Fejérvári  
Augsburg, 17 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 95–96.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 93–94.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 627–628.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 211–212.

1. *Life at court is so difficult, arrogant, and upsetting that it is difficult to describe. If Fejérvári wants to come here, it is a mistake, at home he can educate himself, do gardening, read, and hunt as much as he wants. 2. However, if he comes to the court, he will not have time for these because he will be worrying about whom he needs to overtake, and how to please others. If he has any sense, he will stay away from the court.*

Ad Michaelem praepositum Colocensem.

[1.] Quanta cura, quam magna sit aulicorum molestia et animi perturbatio, neminem esse puto, qui possit explicare. Nunc una, nunc altera re ita commoventur aulici, maxime hi, qui ambitione distrahuntur, ut nullum temporis momentum videatur eis delectabile. Id expertus tibi scribo: a pueritia ferme sum in aula educatus, multas et 5 prosperas et adversas pertuli fortunas, sed nihil in iis tam grave unquam fuit, quam videre praeferri quempiam talem in honoribus consequendis, qui et tempore et aliis, absit arrogantia, ingenii dotibus videbatur tibi esse inferior. Tu cupis te aulae committere, mihi crede, non mediocriter erras, si curialium status prae tuo fortunatiores et feliciores esse iudicaveris. Nunc contentus parvo domi, illi, cui vis, te dedis studio; si 10 voles, quiescis, si libet, das operam agriculturae laboribusve domesticis, aut studio litterario animum summa afficienti voluptate, vel animi recreandi gratia venationi aucupisque ac aliis rebus similibus.

[2.] Si futurus es in curia, nihil istarum rerum habere poteris, honoraberis hic a multis virtutibus tuis id exigentibus. Es tamen continue sollicitus, ut aliis praeire, 15 praestare et antecellere possis, quemadmodum principis tui gratiam captes, amicos contineas in te ornando et augendo. Quae tam ingentem curarum molem secum trahunt, ut nullam quietem sis habiturus, non die non noctu. Interim si quae bonae sunt in te litterae, magnis antea laboribus et studiis partae exaurescunt, ut curae, sollicitudines et animi cruciatus te bonis dare operam litteris non sinent. Si igitur sapis, fuge 20

101,1 Colocensem] *O corr.* ex Colociensem 2 aulicorum] *O mut.* ex curialium 5 expertus tibi] *O mut.* ex tibi expertus 8 tibi] *O corr.* ex me 10 iudicaveris] *O corr.* ex iudices 11 studio] *O del.* ex studio alio 12 animum... 13 similibus] *O mut.* ex vel venationi aliisque rebus animum tuum recreantibus 19 ut] *O corr.* ex quam | sollicitudines... 20 cruciatus] *O mut.* ex internae et animi moveris cruciatae

aulam et confer te, si domi tuae non est quietus locus, in eum locum, ubi Deo servire et ingenium tuum excolere possis. Vale.

Ex Augusta XVII. Octobris MDXXX.

102

Miklós Oláh to Imre Bebek  
Augsburg, 20 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 96–97.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 94.

*Bebek may be surprised why Oláh has not responded to his letter, him, who used to be so attentive. Now he is so slow, nonchalant, and sloppy that he barely recognizes himself, and indeed he does not know the cause. Maybe God is punishing him; in any case, if he does not respond, he should attribute it to his confused state of mind.*

Ad Emericum Bebek<sup>1</sup> praepositum Albensem minorem.

Miratus es fortasse non modice, quod ad tuas ad me iam pridem datas litteras nihil rescripserim et factus sim tam taciturnus, ut raras immo nullas potius ad amicos dare soleam litteras. Non sine causa id certe miraris. Quis enim fuit scribendo antea  
5 me diligentior, quis maiorem in negotiis amicorum curandis impendit operam? Quem magis sollicitum in dandis responsis vidisti? Nunc factus sum tam tardus, tam negligens, tam indiligens, ut non modo amicorum negotia negligam, sed mei quoque ipsius paene sim oblitus. Quid, quaeris, causae est huius rei? Nescio, nec respondere tibi ad eam rem facile possum. Quicquid ago etiam sano, ut mihi videtur, consilio, id  
10 omne adversissimum est. Credo Deum optimum maximum mihi esse pro meis maximis delictis iratum. Id si est, causa mearum adversarum fateor me multa contra Redemptorem nostrum admisisse et indies admittere crimina. Et gratias ei ago, qui his adversitatibus merito me visitet et errantem tam benigne, clementer, paterne corrigat. Omnia quaecumque igitur contingunt adversa, aequo fero animo sperans Deum ip-  
15 sum optimum maximum indignationem suam a me aversurum, et clementia sua meas res, dum fuerit voluntas, amplexurum, si igitur rarius ad te quam eram solitus, scribo, tribue id, mi Frater, meae perturbationi, quae non in me solum, sed in alios etiam fortes viros cadunt. Vale et me ama.

Ex Augusta XX. Octobris MDXXX.

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21 aulam] *O mut. ex curiam* 102,18 cadunt] *O corr. ex incidunt*

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102 <sup>1</sup> Imre (III) Bebek was Provost of Alba Iulia and Royal Secretary of King Louis II. His brother's and his loyalty to King Ferdinand I and to King John I was quite fluid. After the death of King Louis II, they were originally loyal to the Habsburgs, then they changed sides repeatedly. He led a shady life, for example, in 1534, he married in spite of being a provost, see KASZA 2012, 409, and CSEPREGI 2011.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Augsburg, 20 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 97–99.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 94–96.

1. During breakfast the news arrived that the Emperor's money, which he had delivered from Italy, has been taken by robbers during the transport, at everyone's horror. And the other day news arrived that the Vice-regent of Burgundy has attacked Geneva with the Burgundian troops and the Duke of Savoy, where they now adhere to the Lutheran faith. The Helvetians, allied with the Genevese, counterattacked and drove ours out all the way to Savoy. They are demanding three months' tax from the duke in exchange for leaving, and if he does not pay, they will also occupy his territories, resulting in a great revolt in Germany. 2. It seems that the imperial states are not obeying Emperor Charles V. When the other day he obliged them to stay true to the old faith, they promised everything, but it is clear that beyond fighting the Turks, they are incapable of serving the emperor. Even if with a heavy heart, both the emperor and Ferdinand have accepted this.

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem.

[1.] Volui, ut scias, quae hic circumferantur. Hodie dum essemus in prandio, venit fama, praedones pecuniam caesaris, quae huc vehebatur ex Italia, non sine magna suspiriisque plena curialium expectatione, quibus iam aliquot mensium debetur stipendium, ad duodecimum hinc miliarium intercepisse eamque vertisse omnem in praedam. Quod si ita est, cogita, quae sunt suspiria curialium? Qui exsertis, ut dicunt, linguis eam exspectabant, qui clamores hospitum, qui ex his pecuniis solvi debebant, verum haec quoque nonnulli cogitant caesarem ex Italia pecuniam tam subito, ut sperabat, habere non potuisse, et ut aulicos ulterius sine clamoribus protrahere posset, hanc famam in vulgus sparsam.

Nuper item venit fama certissima vicegerentem Burgundiae<sup>1</sup> coactis copiis et Burgundiacis et ducis Sabaudiae<sup>2</sup> invasisse civitatem Geneffa.<sup>3</sup> Ea civitas confoederata est Helvetiis et aliis civitatibus imperii, quae sectam nunc sequuntur Lutheranam. Cum igitur haec civitas Burgundiacis et ducis Sabaudiae viribus non parum oppugnaretur, ut iam suburbia illius capta essent, Helvetii insurgentes nostros omnes ab illius expugnatione repulisse dicuntur, et illos in fugam vertisse ac in Sabaudiam usque penetrasse, atque aliquot iam arces nobilium illius provinciae vi cepisse. Du-

103,7 his pecuniis] *O mut. ex pecuniis sibi | debebant] O corr. ex debeant 9 aulicos] O mut. ex curiales protrahere] O corr. ex trahere | posset] corr. ex possent 12 Burgundiacis] O corr. ex Burgundianis*

103 <sup>1</sup> Vicegerens Burgundiae, that is Vicomte or Vice-Gerent of Burgundy. | <sup>2</sup> Savoy. Charles III of Savoy (1486–1553) was the Duke of Savoy from 1504 to 1553. | <sup>3</sup> Geneva.

cem vero pro petenda pace ad eos legatum misisse. Illos ante regredi nolle, quam  
trium mensium stipendium eis pendatur. Quod ducem nunc praestare non posse, in  
20 ore est omnium. Qui non magna habere dicatur vectigalia, non uberes regionis suae  
proventus fore, igitur non dubitamus, ut cum dux hoc minime praestare possit, quod  
Helvetii ab eo petant, illi ulterius sint progressuri, et omnes vel saltem potio-  
rem regni sui partem sint occupaturi. Quod si factum fuerit, vide, quantum in Germania incen-  
dium oriatur, quod non facile restringui possit, nisi cum magna sanguinis Christiani  
25 effusione.

[2.] Ad id civitates imperiales hae fere omnes, quae potentia, divitiis et autoritate  
praestant ceteris, videntur caesari Carolo esse inoboedientes. Cum nuper caesar ex  
potiorum principum decreto imperii statuisset, ut omnes, quicumque essent sub ipsius  
imperio, perseverarent in vetere nostra religione, ecclesiastici, qui expulsi essent, suis  
30 restituerentur sedibus, bona vero, quae illis essent adempta, redderentur, nonnullae  
mox civitates insurrexere. Quae facta prius cum aliis mutua conspiratione dixerunt se  
paratos esse omnia facere, quaecumque caesar imperaret, modo ea non essent con-  
scientiae eorum contraria. Gentes et alia omnia pro viribus eorum contra Turcas  
praestare praesidia, sed in rebus his, quae conscientiam eorum attingerent, non posse  
35 caesaris voluntati inservire.

Haec quam gravi animo caesar et rex Ferdinandus acceperit, tu ipse cogita. Credo  
non abfuturum, quin graves in Germania seditiones brevi hanc ob rem cooriantur.  
Miramur omnes nullum nos ex Hungaria habere nuntium de progressu regii exerci-  
tus, quos nescimus, ubi sint et quid rerum agant. Iam tempora rigescunt, dies aderunt  
40 ad aliquid praeclari agendum incommodissimi. Quare ut nos hac de re certiores fa-  
cias, rogamus te plurimum. Vale.

Ex Augusta XX. Octobris MDXXX.

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18 pace] *O corr. ex parte* 19 pendatur] *O corr. ex pendeatur* | Quod] *O del. ex* Quod maximi autem sis  
ponderis id 29 ecclesiastici] *O corr. ex ecclesiasticosque* 36 acceperit] *O corr. ex acceperat* 39 quos] *O*  
*add. sup. l.*

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Augsburg, 25 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 99–100.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 96–97; ALLEN 1938, 68–69.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 110–111.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 629–630.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 155–157; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 97–98.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 80–82.

1. Erasmus should not be sad about the perfidy of friends. He must have already been informed about the latest devastation by the Turks. King Ferdinand I has pushed ahead to Esztergom with an army of 12–14,000, but they do not know anything further. 2. They had hoped that the Imperial Assembly would decide something about driving the Turks out, but they only dealt with religious issues, and the princes have promised that after the emperor has pacified Germany, 40,000 infantrymen and 8,000 horsemen would join the war against the Turks.

Ad Erasmum Roterodamum.

[1.] Legi et diligenter et amanter tuas ad me datas litteras, ex quibus cognovi tuam perturbationem, qua mirum in modum affectus esse videris propter amicorum tuorum, qui grati in te esse debebant perfidiam. Non est, mi Erasme, quod eorum scelera et perfidia te unum excrucient, licet enim multi reperiri possint virtute, probitate, aliisque animi dotibus praediti amici, hi tamen quam pauci sunt prae illis, qui malitia, nequitia, infidelitate sunt pleni. Quamobrem non modo tu, sed etiam omnes alii merito de infidelibus amicis conqueri possunt. Meae, si sapuero, amicitiae te non poenitebit. Contra ex tua familiaritate tantum capio voluptatis, ut eam cum thesauro nullius sim commutaturus.

Credo te cupere intelligere statum Hungariae olim magnis rebus gestis florentissimae, nunc vero ultra quam dici potest oppressae. Quae nuper Turcae in ea fecerint, alias tibi abunde perscripsi.<sup>1</sup> Rex noster nuper expedito eo exercitum, ut opinor, militum duodecim vel quattuordecim milium. Is cum omnibus rebus, quae ad expeditionem ipsius sunt necessariae, bene instructus et viribus etiam navalibus auctus progressus esse dicitur usque Strigonium.<sup>2</sup> Quid istic iam fecerit, est adhuc incertum, unum hoc vereor, ne temporis asperitate debilitetur et frangatur, hostiumque vires utpote, quae in patria possunt esse et contra frigoris vim et contra alia impedimenta mitiores et magis provisae evadant (quod Deus optimus maximus evartet) superiores.

104,5 perfidia] *corr.* ex perfida 18 alia] *corr.* ex alias 19 provisae] *corr.* ex promise

104<sup>1</sup> Ep. 97. | <sup>2</sup> Esztergom capitulated on 27 November.

20 Quod si fiet et aliquid illis periculi contingeret, nullam deinde spem recuperandae  
Hungariae habituri essemus. Nam Turcae, ut scis, praepotentes sunt hostes, eorum  
autem vis in celeritate<sup>3</sup> maxime consistit. Interea dum principes imperii aliquid con-  
tra illos facere velint, ipse<sup>4</sup> totam igne et ferro devastare poterit Germaniam, vereor-  
que multum ne illud commune vaticinium ob principum Christianorum et internam  
25 seditionem et negligentiam nostro hoc aevo verificetur Turcos scilicet ad Coloni-  
am usque Agripinam<sup>5</sup> ituros, et illic esse debellandos.

[2.] Spes erat maxima caesarem, regem et ceteros Germaniae principes in hoc  
imperiali conventu<sup>6</sup> ea deliberaturos, quae ad propellendos ex Hungaria Turcas perti-  
nere viderentur. Secus tamen, quam opinabamur, contigit. Nam omnis fere tractatus  
30 in altercationibus est consumptus, et praetextu fidei religionisque nostrae conserva-  
dae,<sup>7</sup> alia omnia sunt neglecta ita, ut nihil penitus tractatum esse hoc in conventu, aut  
finitum dicere possis, quam promissa quadraginta millia peditum et octo millia equi-  
tum ad futuram contra Turcae generalem expeditionem, hac tamen lege, si caesar  
Germaniam pacaverit ac principes in negotio fidei concordēs reddiderit. Id autem  
35 quando fiat et utrum nunc fieri possit, nemo est, qui sciat. Tanta est animorum diver-  
sitas, principum tam diversi animi. His igitur rebus ita stantibus et rebus omnibus  
potius ad intestinum bellum, quam pacem mutuam spectantibus, quid aliud expec-  
tare possumus, quam reipublicae Christianae periculum et post Hungariam amissam,  
Germaniae totius excidium.

40 Plura me scribere volentem interceptit tabellarii subita profectio. Boni igitur con-  
sule, mi Erasme, si non quas velles elegantes legeris litteras. Vale.

Ex Augusta XXV. Octobris MDXXX.

## 105

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Augsburg, 29 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 97.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 97–98.

*He does not understand why Kálnai is not answering him. He does not even know where Kálnai is, how he lives, if he has had to watch the devastation of his family estates. Anyhow, Oláh feels sorry for him. He should come, hasten to him.*

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28 imperiali] *corr.* ex imperali

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<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 97. and cf. ALLEN 1938, 69. | <sup>4</sup> Singulare tantum, singular instead of plural (*Turcae*).

<sup>5</sup> Cologne. | <sup>6</sup> This imperial assembly was held in Augsburg. | <sup>7</sup> The so-called Augustan Confession (*Confessio Augustana*) was proclaimed at this Imperial Assembly. This document is the primary confession of faith of the Lutheran Church.



Ad Emericum Kalnay.

Non puto te tam esse obliviosum, quin memineris mearum, quas ad te frequentes dedi, litterarum,<sup>1</sup> quibus omnibus tuum ad nos adventum exhortatus sum, et scire optavi, ubi esses gentium,<sup>2</sup> quid ageres,<sup>3</sup> et quod genus vivendi tibi proposuisses. Neutrum a te obtinere potui. Cum alterutrum licitum erat me consequi, nec certum 5 me fecisti, ubi esses, nec ad nos venisti, si venisses, non accepisses proculdubio tantum calamitatis, quantum nunc te a Turcis perpeccatum esse intelligo. Turcus eam Hungariae partem, ubi tu et tui habitant, proxime devastavit, igne omnia fere loca, quae inter Nitriam, Wagum et Danubium fluvios<sup>4</sup> a Trincinio<sup>5</sup> usque Strigonium<sup>6</sup> erant, exussit, ferro eorum accolae, qui provectoris erant aetatis, trucidavit, qui vero 10 adolescentiores erant, cum virginibus in servitute perpetuam abduxit. Inter alia loca tua quoque domus combusta esse dicitur, et ubinam mater tua fuit? Ubi tu? Vidistisne tantum incendium? Tantam Turcarum in Christianos crudelitatem? Si istic fuisti et oculis hanc stragem vidisti, miseret me tuae sortis, sin abfuisti, non minorem tamen, ut arbitror, accepisti audiendo dolorem, quam si ea vidisses. 15

Quamobrem, mi Kalnay, scis me ab ineunte nostra aetate tibi fuisse amicissimum, et nunquam contra tuam utilitatem quidquam molitum, sed potius summis semper votis expetivisse, ut omnia tibi secunda obvenirent. Hoc me in te animo scias nunc quoque esse, si igitur vivis valesque, et cum tuo matrisque tuae, cui semper fuisti 20 amantissimus, commodo fieri licebit, fac ut advoles ad nos, licet sint hic quoque quam plurima, quae ut te, ita et nos omnes non admodum delectent, tamen pauciora hic quam ubi nunc es, et videbis et audies, quae te offendant. Si sapis igitur, fac ut cito venias. Vale.

Ex Augusta XXVIII. Octobris MDXXX.

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105,2 quin] *O corr.* ex ut non 13 Christianos] *O del.* ex Christianos infelictam(?) 15 quam] *O del.* ex. quam si accepisses

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105 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 43, 75, 98, and 100. | <sup>2</sup> Ep. 43, and 75. | <sup>3</sup> See. Ep. 75. | <sup>4</sup> The Nitra, Váh, and Danube rivers. <sup>5</sup> Trenčín. | <sup>6</sup> Esztergom.

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Augsburg, 30 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 100.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 98–99.

*If Thurzó thinks that Oláh has forgotten about his duties as a friend, he is gravely mistaken. If Oláh did not trust Thurzó's wisdom, he would be afraid that he will listen to the malevolent gossip being spread about him.*

Ad Alexium Turzonem.

Oblitumne me putas officii humanitatis et benivolentiae tuae, qua me in rebus meis omnibus, etiam his, quae honorem concernebant meum, singulari amore es prosecutus. Maxime omnium qui sunt, fuerunt et futuri sunt, ingratus iudicari debe-  
5 rem, immo ne inter homines quoque connumerari, si huiuscemodi beneficiorum in me collatorum immemor essem. Quod te quoque ita, ut scribis, iudicatum esse confido. Nam et prudentis est et in amicos benevoli non semper fidem habere his, quae de amico temere circumferuntur. Si de tua prudentia et singulari erga me studio  
10 dubitarem, vererer, ne faciles aures aliorum, qui nos tanta coniunctos esse dolent amicitia, sermonibus praebere, sed cum et te quo in me sis animo, et meorum quoque factorum conscientiam noverim, non admodum curo, quid quisque de me loquatur. Tu modo te talem praesta in amicitia, qualem cupio, aliorum iudicium non magni facio. Quod ut tu pro vetere tuo ingenio, virtute et probitate facias, te vehementer  
15 rogo.

Augustae 30. Octobris 1530.

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Augsburg, 31 October 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 101.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 99.

*Thurzó must have heard already that Oláh's possessions have been lost. However, he has to endure these perturbations, as they do not last forever.*

Ad eundem.

Quid agas rerum et quid cogites, neminem tuorum intelligere arbitror. Accepisti sane magnam a Turcis rerum tuarum iacturam, quae res non potest te ut etiam omnes alios non commovere. Ita enim nati sumus, ut omnibus perturbationibus simus obno-

xii, sed tamen aequo animo ferre debemus, quicquid fortuna nobis tulerit, consulte 5  
igitur facies, si contemptis vel potius non admissis animi tui perturbationibus, te hac  
una re consolatus fueris non diuturnam nobis fore hanc calamitatem. Denique te  
liberaturum ab hisce malis. Hoc si feceris, et ad nos veneris, nobiscum una perpessus  
fueris et bona et adversa, sanius feceris. Vale.

Ex Augusta ultima Octobris anno MDXXX.

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## 108

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Augsburg, 1 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 101.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 99–100.

*A desire to dominate has overcome their common friend, Oláh feels ashamed for him. He is hurting everyone, especially in conversation, and Oláh cannot but be surprised at this. Oláh is writing to let Újlaki know what an inglorious life this friend of theirs is living.*

Ad Franciscum Wilaky praepositum Poseniensem.

Cum scias ex veteri proverbio neminem bene imperare, nisi prius paruerit imperio, non possum satis mirari de homine illo, quem scis utriusque nostrum amicum, qui imperare velit, nunquam prius accepto imperio. Tanta illius temeritas et impudens audacia, ut nihil non audeat; pudet me facti illius, quod sine ulla verecundia et 5  
humanitatis ratione assidue facit, nullum habet cum veneranda verecundia commercium. Ita omnia emendicat et palpat quemlibet stolidis potius quam modestis verbis, ut mirareris de ipsius stultitia, si quando eius facta videres. Haec volui tibi nota facere, ut scires, quam hic non laudabilem agat vitam. Omnino futurum opinor esse necessarium, ut aliqua ars quaeratur, quae hominem ab hac impudentia deterreat, et 10  
ut dicunt quaerendum esse malum cuneum, quo malus cuneus extrudatur. Vale et scribe ad me saepius quam hactenus.

Ex Augusta prima Novembris MDXXX.

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108,2 neminem... imperio] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,I,3: "Nemo bene imperat, nisi qui paruerit imperio", see MYNORS 1982, 50–51. 11 quaerendum... extrudatur] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,II,5: "Malo nodo, malus quaerendus cuneus", see MYNORS 1982, 149–150, and Jerome, *Epist.* 69,4: "Iuxta vulgare proverbium: malo arboris nodo malus cuneus requirendus est." See also IJSEWIJN–SACRÉ–TOURNOY 1993, 14.

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Augsburg, 2 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 101–102.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 100–101.

*1. The common friend he mentioned last time seems to be bringing shame on them, and scolding does not have an effect, he is begging from everyone, although there is nobody poorer than those who are living far away from their homeland. Oláh reminds him that he has also stolen from Újlaki and has harmed him. 2. Oláh has always been able to count on Újlaki, he thanks him for laboring on his affairs, and he warns him to learn from others' mistakes. He will learn from János [Czeglédi] what is going on with him, partly now, partly when he has sent him back.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Nondum mecum constituere potui, plusne gloriae adferat nobis amicus ille noster, de quo proxime<sup>1</sup> ad te scripseram, an turpitudinis. Non possum ipsius facta ignominiosa enumerare, ne tibi plus quam tempus patitur occupato multis molestus  
5 esse videar, hoc tamen unum praeterire nolui illum tam esse sui amantem, omnisque humanitatis et verecundiae oblitum, ut quid pudor sit prorsus ignoret, tota iam curia ipsius impudentiam admiratur. Emendationem contemnit ita, ut hic unus natus esse videatur ad nationis nostrae ignominiam sempiternam. Scis ipsius verba, Reverende Domine, et cetera similia, quae et adulando omniaque emendicando plerumque effu-  
10 tire solet. At pauper est et cogitur se huic immittere fabulae? Non est certe nobis utrisque pauperior et aliis, qui similem nunc agimus peregrinationem, paremque canimus cantilenam. Immo tantum abest, ut sit egentior, ut opibus et facultatibus nos multum superaverit. Scis collo eius pendere longissimo fune crumenam plenam  
15 videndam. Cum igitur non usque adeo egens sit, ut perire possit fame, in eaque constituatur conditione, ut maiorem honoris deberet habere rationem. Doleo eum sic rem suam agere. An oblitus es, quid nuper tecum in equo prius tibi promisso egerit? Quam miris technis illum quoque tibi eripuerit? Ubi est tua fuscinula? Ubi aliae res, quas fidei suae concrederas? Perierunt iniquis, perierunt tibi certe, sed non ei. Quare,  
20 mi Frater, cautus deinde sis velim, tuo ut dicunt damno, et cave ei quicquam credas, in quo tibi non velis damnum aliquod accedere. De eo satis.

[2.] Litterae tuae, quas ad me nuper dederas, mirificam attulerunt mihi laetitiam. Nam ex eis illud intellexi, quod me scire magnopere mea intererat. Cognovi semper

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109,20 tuo... damno] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,I,31: "Malo accepto stultus sapit" etc., see MYNORS 1982, 78.

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109<sup>1</sup> Ep. 108.

et nunc quoque cognosco eam singularem humanitatem, quam in hanc usque horam a  
pueritia integram erga me conservasti, pro qua ut hactenus ita magis in posterum 25  
habebis me tibi devinctissimum, verum cum res meae sint nunc in acie novaculae, et  
tuae humanitatis, officii et laboris non minimum indigeam, fac reperiam te talem,  
quem semper reperturum sum confisus. Quale sit meum, de quo admoniturus sim,  
negotium, intelliges nunc aliqua ex parte, ex meo Ioanne.<sup>2</sup> Apertius tamen postea ex  
meis litteris, quas ad te daturus sum, si Ioannem bonis avibus remisero. Vale. 30

Ex Augusta II. Novembris MDXXX.

## 110

Miklós Oláh to Lőrinc Kretschmer  
Augsburg, 3 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 102–104.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 101–103.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 630–632.

*1. As Kretschmer cannot wait to learn what has happened, Oláh will provide a report. He must have heard already that Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I, and the princes discussed two main topics: the fight against the Turks, and religious reforms. During the Imperial Assembly several lords left, which made those who stayed more recalcitrant. The Emperor would rather exercise tolerance in terms of religion than disturb the campaign against the Turks. 2. In the end, they decided at the Imperial Diet that the princes will send 40,000 infantrymen and 8,000 horsemen to the campaign against the Turks if the Emperor safeguards peace within Germany, which he obviously will endeavor to do. With this army and with God's help they will drive out the Turks.*

Ad Laurentium praepositum Albensem.

[1.] Cupidissimum te esse scio rerum novarum, earum praesertim, quae utilitati reipublicae Christianae aliquid sunt conducturae. Hanc ob causam putavi me esse officii te certum reddere his de rebus, quae hic agantur. Audivisse te antea credo ex multorum tuorum litteris, satis diu hic per caesarem Carolum, regem Ferdinandum 5 ceterosque principes imperii duabus de rebus tractatum esse, de bello contra Turcos inferendo, et de reformando vivendoque schismate, quod in religione Christiana est ortum, utrisque ita (quod foelix faustumque sit) est provisum rebus, ut arbitrer omnes bonos, ea quae caesar, rex et ceteri principes concluderunt, aequi bonique consulaturos. Admonebat primum caesar pro sua in religionem nostram pietate, ut est princeps 10 Christianissimus, animoque ad religionem colendam propensissimo, admonebat, inquam, principes imperii, ut instituta primum sanctorum, religionem veterem nostram, quam maiores nostri a mille vel pluribus annis sacrosancte observarunt, pluris

<sup>2</sup> Probably János Czeplédi.

15 facerent, quam novas has aliquorum neoteriorum virorum nescio, quas professiones,  
et a doctrina institutisque maiorum non aberrarent, sed eas sanctissime colerent,  
observarent et venerarentur. Multis autem et quidem omni pietate, humanitate et  
benevolentia plenis verbis ad haec principes ipsos fuit exhortatus, inter quos duo  
fuere vel tres ad summum, aliquot praeterea civitates, ut Nurmberga, Argentina,<sup>1</sup>  
Ulma, Francfordia et pleraeque aliae quae tam piam non admitterent exhortationem,  
20 principes ipsi, qui contrarii fuerunt, Ioannes dux Saxoniae cum filio,<sup>2</sup> Lanthgravius  
Hessiae<sup>3</sup> et Georgius marchio Brandenburgensis<sup>4</sup> erant, qui non exspectato fine con-  
ventus, partim nescio, partim annuente caesare unus post alium discesserunt.<sup>5</sup> Quo-  
rum discessu civitates non parum confirmatae sunt in sua pertinacia. Caesar dum ita  
per eosdem principes rem agi vidisset, etsi mirum in modum, ut debuit, fuerat contur-  
25 batus, et omnia quaeque extrema pro rectificando hoc fidei schismate pati intra se  
deliberaverat, maluit tamen hanc, quaecumque esset, rectificationem aliquantisper  
differre, quam expeditioni, quae contra Turcas parabatur, aliquid inferre turbationis.

[2.] Ea enim quam necessaria esset, Turca monarchiam totius orbis machinante et  
quam maximos, quin res contra tam potentem hostem agi deberet, exposceret appara-  
30 tus, iamdudum animo conceperat. Quamobrem negotium fidei ad futurum prorogavit  
concilium, ut in eo quod quantocius fieri per communem expeditionem posset, coge-  
retur, omnium votis postea concluderetur, quo in statu, ordine et constitutione res  
Christiana permanere deberet. De expeditione vero Turcica conclusum est, ut princi-  
pes imperii quadraginta millia et octo millia equitum mitterent, caesar, rex et alii  
35 principes tantum et ipsi numerum darent. Ea tamen lege imperiales dictas copias  
polliciti sunt, si usque ad concilium generale pax in Germania servata erit, et ab omni  
belli terrore interea erunt securi, in eaque re caesaris litteris et promissione adsecura-  
buntur. Quod caesarem facturum arbitramur, ut enim est natura ad pacem reiique  
publicae tranquillitatem, concordiam et quietem natus, ita omnia ultro videbitur  
40 facturus, quod facere possit et quod honor et dignitas ipsius feret. Itaque facturum  
esse existimo, ut optatam quam diu maximis votis moliti sumus expeditionem contra  
Turcos simus habituri. Et tantam, quae illorum potentiae et viribus toto terrarum orbi  
formidolosis facile sufficiat.

Non deerit nobis Dei quoque optimi maximi, cuius iram in populum suum propter  
45 scelera nostra immissam deprecari debemus, auxilium singulare. Quo freti ac indu-  
stria, virtute et opera principis nostri, tum viribus non imperialibus modo, sed etiam  
aliorum principum Christianorum arbitror propediem futurum, ut Turcarum tyranni-

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110,28 machinante] *corr.* ex machinate

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110 <sup>1</sup> Strasbourg. | <sup>2</sup> Johann Friedrich I, Elector of Saxony and his son, Johann Friedrich II, the later Duke of Saxony. | <sup>3</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. | <sup>4</sup> George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1484–1543), known as George the Pious. | <sup>5</sup> Oláh wrote about the same instance of leaving the assembly in Ep. 90.

dem simus propulsaturi, et respublica Christiana, quae tot annis iudicibilibus malis est paene obruta, suum florem, decus et gloriam sit recuperatura. Vale et me ama.

Ex Augusta III. Novembris MDXXX.

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## 111

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Stomberius  
Augsburg, 5 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 112–113.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 103.

*He knows from a trusted messenger that Roggendorf is headed towards Buda with King Ferdinand I's troops, while King John I, having heard about the fall of Esztergom, has fled from Buda and taken 15 cannons with him. He believes that with God's help Roggendorf will take Buda within a few days.*

Ad Ioannem Stomberium.<sup>1</sup>

Venit ad nos hodie nuntius certissimus, qui retulit Wilhelmum a Rogendorff capitaneum exercitus regii in Hungariam missi factis cum Paulo Strigoniensi archiepiscopo<sup>2</sup> aliquibus pacis condicionibus Strigonium<sup>3</sup> in ditionem suam XXVII. huius mensis recepisse. Imposuisse in arcem praesidium Hispanicum quattuor vel quinque 5 vexillorum. Qua re istic confecta, cum copiis regiis omnibus Budam versus descendisse. Ioannem vero vaivodam audita Strigoniensi deditione Buda aufugisse, tormenta quindecem, quae in arce erant, secum advexisse. Credo ipsum Rogendorff auxilio Dei optimi maximi in hunc diem ipsius quoque arcis Budensis potitum esse. Haec volui tibi significare, ut, quid nunc in Hungaria gereretur, scires. Vale et scribe 10 ad me frequenter.

Ex Augusta quinta Novembris anno MDXXX.

## 112

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Stomberius  
[Augsburg], 9 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 113.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 103–104.

*A messenger has arrived saying that Roggendorf has conquered Esztergom on 27 October, and on 19 October also Visegrád, and he is headed for Buda, where King John I is currently at.*

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111 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>3</sup> Esztergom.

Ad eundem.

Ferdinandus rex dominus meus, dum hodie assideret mensae in prandio, dixit mihi venisse nuntium affirmantem vigesima septima Octobris mensis praeteriti Strigoniensem arcem<sup>1</sup> traditam in ditionem suam, decima vero nona eiusdem mensis  
5 turrin illam, quae ad ripam est Danubii, quam aquaticam vocant, et arcem Wissegradiensem nostros consecutos fuisse, et eodem die castra posuisse in planitie campi Wissegradiensis, protensi Budam versus. Ioannem vero de Zapolya in eum diem adhuc Budae fuisse. Quid ab eo die a nostris tentatum sit, nondum scimus. Credo nullam rem illos esse remoratos, quin recta Budam sint profecti. Deus fortunet felicitetque eorum progressum et conatus, ut tandem post tot patriae nostrae clades, no-  
10 strasque calamitates et aerumnas maximas, si non optata saltem aliqua frui pace possimus.

Ex nona Novembris anno MDXXX.

### 113

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio  
Augsburg, 10 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 113.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 104.

*Why Nitra did not have a prelate before he now understands. St. Andrew Zorard's grave is in Nitra, which he himself has also seen, but the locals have also preserved his memory. There is nothing to stop them now to mint coins from the casket, and for Nitra to have a bishop. God be merciful.*

Ad Iovium<sup>1</sup> amicum.

Quid causae fuerit, quod Nittra hactenus praelatum suum non habuerit, hoc primum die sole clarius intellexi. Scis nominatissimum illud Beati Sorardi<sup>2</sup> sepulchrum, in quo ossa huius Beatique Viti<sup>3</sup> erant recondita, fuisse Nittriae, illud videre ut videor, tu ipse vidisti, dum aliquando Nittriam eras invitatus amicitiae cum episcopo ineundae causa. Non videbis posthac neque ibi, neque alibi monumentum hoc praeclarissimum, ut hoc divorum ossa hactenus conservavit, sic deinceps homines vivi in visceribus suis idem conservabunt. Si videtur tibi impossibile, ut vivi sepulchra mortuorum recondant in sua viscera, Viennenses incudes monetariae testimonium huius  
10 rei tibi praebunt non vulgare, nihil iam obstabit hoc sepulchro in monetas conflato,

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112 <sup>1</sup> Fortress of Esztergom. 113 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio. See FEST 1927, 202. For more on Giovio see Ep. 137. Note 1. | <sup>2</sup> St. Andrew Zorard was a Benedictine monk, the patron saint of Nitra. Andrew's remains are in the Cathedral of St. Emmeram in Nitra. | <sup>3</sup> Correctly: *Beatus Benedictus*.



quin Nittria episcopum suum habeat.<sup>4</sup> Utinam bonis res nostra procedat avibus, ve-  
reor, ne Deus irascatur nobis saevius quam hactenus. Nollem esse vates adversus, sed  
formidandum proculdubio est, ni Deus ex singulari sua clementia nos a malis custo-  
dierit, ne propter sacrilegium aliquid nobis adversi contingat.

Ex Augusta X. Novembris MDXXX.

15

## 114

Miklós Oláh to Mihály Fejérvári  
Augsburg, 11 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 114.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 104–105.

*A messenger has arrived to say that Roggendorf surrounded Buda on 31 October, and both King John I and Gritti are stuck inside. Roggendorf has offered a reward for King John I, 10,000 gold coins alive, 1,000 gold coins dead. On the day of Buda's occupation they demolished the city walls with cannons.*

Ad Michaellem utriusque iuris doctorem praepositum Colocensem.

Volui tecum communicare, quae nunc habeo laeta feliciaque. Venit hodie nuntius, antequam mane ingrederemur templum Beatae Virginis Mariae sacrum audituri, adferens regi Wilhelmum a Rogendorff ducem exercitus Hungarici ultima Octobris 5 praeteriti victualia, quae Ioannes comes Scepusiensis<sup>1</sup> ad arcem Budensem navibus inferri parabat, interceptisse occupavisseque ac Budam obsidione cinxisse. Ioannem Scepusiensem cum Ludovico Gritti, notho ducis Venetiarum<sup>2</sup> in arcem inclusum, eundemque ipsum Wilhelmum a Rogendorff praemium proposuisse decem millia ducatorum, quicumque Ioannem vivum ad manus suas duceret, qui mortuum mille. 10 Eodem die, quo Buda est obsessa, magna pars muri civitas tormentis demolita fuerat. Utinam Deus optimus maximus iam calamitatis et tam diuturnae internecionis miserae nostrae nationis Hungaricae misereatur, haec te scire volui. Vale.

Ex Augusta XI. Novembris MDXXX.

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114,1 utriusque...doctorem] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>4</sup> In 1530, the silver casket of St. Andrew Zorard and St. Benedict was minted into silver coin by King Ferdinand I, see DIVALD 1929, 112. 114 <sup>1</sup> King John I. It is worth mentioning that Oláh rarely referred him as king. | <sup>2</sup> Andrea Gritti.

Miklós Oláh to Mihály Fejérvári  
Augsburg, 13 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 114–115.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 105–106.

1. *It is rumored that Roggendorf is attacking Buda day and night, and many have fled to the other side, mostly exhausted with hunger. They include Balázs mercator, Royal Judge of the city of Buda, who left his family behind to reported that there is little food left, and so ours are urging to end the siege as soon as possible. Even though Fejérvári is closer to Buda than Oláh, it is possible that he hears about the developments more quickly.* 2. *Oláh cannot but be surprised why Kretschmer has taken so long to answer his multiple letters and even then briefly and not appropriate to Oláh's title. King Ferdinand I thinks he merits this title, but Kretschmer still ignores others' glory due to pride or arrogance.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Dum essemus in summa exspectatione rerum novarum, quae ex Buda afferentur, rumore publico, qui veritatem aliquando complectitur, audivimus Wilhelmum a Rogendorff capitaneum regium, nec dies nec noctes praetermittere, quin sit diligentissimus et sollicitus in oppugnatione Budensi. Multos ex civitate ad nostros transfugere obsessos, inedia paene exhaustos, inter quos dicitur Blasius mercator,<sup>1</sup> qui huius anni Budae est iudex, ad castra nostra venisse, relictis in civitate uxore, liberis et fratribus suis; qui omnem civitatis illius et eorum, qui obsessi sunt, defectum penuriamque victualium nostris exposuit. Qua re nostri intellecta acrius et diligentius instant, ut quamprimum civitate illa primum, deinde arce potiantur. Quid tamen futurum sit, Deus solus scit. Speramus bona omnia laetaque et felicia. Si quid audiverimus, faciam ut scias. Nam licet sis Budae propinquior quam nos, plerumque tamen contigit, ut postae citius ad regem veniant cum rebus novis, quam vos eas intelligere possitis. Tamen curae tu quoque habeas, rogo, me certiolem facere de his, quae intel-

15 legeris.  
[2.] Mirari non satis possum, quid sentiat et quid sibi velit, quantumque sibi arroget praepositus noster Albensis.<sup>2</sup> Plurimas iam ad eum litteras<sup>3</sup> dedi, ut eum, qui natura est insolens, in amicitia retinerem. Ad quas omnes non pluribus hactenus respondit, quam unicis saltem litterulis, hisque quam brevissimis, et his quoque non  
20 satisfecit meae dignitati et honori. Nam rex dignatur mihi titulum honorificum non

115 <sup>1</sup> Balázs mercator was Royal Judge of Buda until 1530. After he fled to the Habsburgs, Péter Pálczán became the Royal Judge of Buda who remained loyal to King John I till the death of the ruler, see GEREVICH–KOSÁRY 1975, II, 219. Balázs later occurs in the letters of Bálint Török, see BESSENYEI 1994, 175 (Ep. 241), and BESSENYEI 2007, 15 and 62. Bessenyei referred to him as “Balázs Kalmár” in 1994, but as “mercator Balázs” in 2008. | <sup>2</sup> Lőrinc Kretschmer. | <sup>3</sup> Ep. 86, and Ep. 110.

meis meritis, sed sua ex diginitate praescribere suis, quas ad me saepe dat litteris. Ipse vero perinde ad me scribit ac quempiam unum ex minoribus, si tanta est vel superbia vel arrogantia, vel ne peius dicam malitia plenus, ut honorem alterius consulte reticeat, non ero inscius eum suis armis petere, scis comicum illum poetam optimam dedisse artem, qua nobis insultantibus insultare possimus. Eam profecto et etiam aliam omnem ipsius poetae phrasim, quam a puero observavi diligentissime, sum contra illum tanta superbia elatum accurate emissurus, par scilicet pari referam donec eum mordeat. Nec patiar meo honori, quem modeste mihi tribui non dedignor, per eum aliquid derogari. Qualem quisque se in te praestat, talem tu quoque in eum te praestare debes.

Haec scito, ut aliquando nacta occasione dum familiariter tecum egerit, possis ei subindicare, satius esse sibi, si humanius, quam consuevit, erga amicos se gerat. Vale et scribe ad me frequenter.

Ex Augusta XIII. Novembris MDXXX.

## 116

Miklós Oláh to Johann von Hadelburg  
Augsburg, 15 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 115–116.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 106–107.

*Oláh does not see the justification of what his friend is complaining about. If he thinks he is remiss in the things entrusted to him, well, those have never been in a better shape than now. Or is he accusing him of something else? There have been many who have said bad things about his friend, but he has never listened to them. Furthermore, he thanks him that he has not forgotten about his affairs.*

Ad comitem Ioannem a Hadelburg.<sup>1</sup>

Quorsum attineant tuae querelae, quibus iam a multis temporibus apud me es usus, non possum non admirari. Nam si omnes temporum praeteritorum rationes, quas tecum suavissime transegi, diligentius mecum revolvo, nihil certe possum reperire, quod tibi aliquam dedisset occasionem de me conquerendi. Negligens tibi videor in tuis rebus mihi demandatis; negligentiam sane ita accusare poteris meam, si res tuae nullum optatum consecutae sint exitum. At ego ita scio res tuas nunquam in meliori fuisse statu et conditione, quam nunc sunt, nec illas potuisse confici a quoque laudabilius et tibi honorificentius, quam a me sunt confectae. An aliorum criminatione moveris? Non est porro tuum, qui singulari semper praeditus fuisti humanitate

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115,28 meo] *O corr.* ex me | non...29 per] *O mut.* ex nuper per

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116<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

et prudentia, iniusta aliquorum accusatione moveri. Dubitasne defuisse multos, qui mihi de te praeclara quaeque et honesta praedicanti multa talia dixerint, quae non parum contra tuam essent dignitatem. Eorum tamen ego verba minimi feci, et malui tecum in amicitia iamdiu sanctissime culta permanere, quam eorum verbis et mendaciis honestis locum dare.

Quare negligentia mea, qua me criminaris, non potest a te merito reprehendi, qui me laudibus afficere debes, quod res tuas curae habuerim singulari. Quam possum, tibi maximas gratias habeo, quod res meas cordi habueris, dignus es certe vir, qui ab amicis observeris, et miris extollaris laudibus. Non es oblitus officii amicitiae, quod iampridem suscepisti. Tuae virtutes et ornamenta ab omnibus, qui tecum necessitudine ac familiaritate sunt iuncti, praedicabuntur ubique, inter quos habebis me earum praeconem non taciturnum. Vale et desine de me queri, meque ama.

Ex Augusta XV. Novembris anno MDXXX.

## 117

Miklós Oláh to Ludovicus Riccius  
Augsburg, 16 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 116.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 107–108.

*The other day he wrote that Buda is being besieged heavily. It is rumored that 40 or 50 of their own soldiers have fallen, as well as two Spanish officers. In any case, their luggage will be put on boats and brought to Linz tomorrow; if they receive good news, the luggage will wait for them in Linz, and if the news is not so good, they will go to Vienna, or to Krainburg for a little while. The Emperor and the King will also leave for Aachen that day, where the Roman King will be crowned.*

Ad Ludovicum Ricium.<sup>1</sup>

Scripseram ad te diebus proximis Budam a nostris obsessam esse et acerrime oppugnari. Venit rumor non omnino quidem vanus quadraginta vel quinquaginta ex nostris militibus in ea oppugnatione cecidisse et duos Hispanorum praefectos; post eum rumorem nihil ad nos allatum est novi. Utinam Deus res nostras bene vertat. Vereor tamen, cum nuntium nullum a tanto tempore certum acceperimus, ne res nostrae durius, quam nos opinamur, sint processurae. Utcumque res cadat, sarcinas

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117,7 sarcinas... 8 nostras] *del. ex sarcinas nostras sarcinas nostras*

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117 <sup>1</sup> Probably Ludovico Ricci, we do not know him more closely. He was probably either a relative of Paul Riccius (ca. 1480–1529), physician of King Ferdinand I, or he was the brother of Girolamo Ricci (Hieronymus Ritius), who was *artium et medicinae doctor* and was recommended to King Louis II by King Ferdinand I in 1523, see KÜHNEL 1962, 66, and E. KOVÁCS 2003, 38.

nostras et res, quas nobiscum habuimus, imposuimus ratibus, quae cum rebus reginae  
crastina die Lincium versus descendent. Quod si advenerint adversiora, quam spera-  
remus nova, res ipsae Lincii consistent, et nostrum istic adventum praestolabuntur. 10  
Nam regina quoque nobiscum una, si viatico providebimur a caesare, die Lunae vel  
Martis<sup>2</sup> proxima hinc solvet. Recta Ratisponam<sup>3</sup> equitatura, ubi consensa navi adna-  
vigabit Lincium. Ex Lincio si res (quod Deus longe avertat) eam non retinuerint  
adversae, Viennam descendemus, vel ad minus Carneoburgam.<sup>4</sup> Caesar vero et rex  
Ferdinandus eo ipso die, quo nos, hinc solvent profecturi Spiram,<sup>5</sup> deinde Aquisgra- 15  
num,<sup>6</sup> ubi rex corona regis Romanorum coronabitur. Haec volui te scire. Vale.  
Augustae Vindelicorum<sup>7</sup> XVI. Novembris MDXXX.

## 118

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Augsburg, 19 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 116–117.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 108; ALLEN 1938, 87–88.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 139–140.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 632–633.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 157; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 98–99.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 82–83.

*It has been 13 days already since a messenger has arrived from Buda, hopefully they will occupy Buda soon and capture King John I along with his partners. Whether the outcome is going to be good or bad, it would be best to learn the outcome as soon as possible.*

Ad Erasmum.

Tredecimus<sup>1</sup> agitur iam dies, mi Erasme, quod nullum e Buda habuerimus nun-  
tium. Mira sane res tamdiu nos nihil certi istinc, unde omnis nostra pendet salus,  
accipere potuisse. Audita nuper obsidione Budensi ex prima oppugnatione certissi- 5  
mam conceperamus spem nos eo oppido et brevi potituros, Ioannemque ad manus  
nostras una cum ceteris, qui in arcem sunt inclusi, venturum. Nunc longe ab ea spe  
decidimus. Et non modo non dubitamus nos ista consecuturos, sed veremur propter  
tantam moram, ne res nostra male in illa obsidione agatur. At inquires, Wilhelmus a  
Rogendorff capitaneus propterea hactenus nihil scripsit, quod exspectat negotii fi-  
nem, ut si res prospere succedat, laetioris aliquid novi inexpectato scribere possit, 10

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10 praestolabuntur] *corr.* ex praestulabuntur

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<sup>2</sup> 22 or 23 November. | <sup>3</sup> Regensburg. | <sup>4</sup> Korneuburg. | <sup>5</sup> Speyer. | <sup>6</sup> Aachen. | <sup>7</sup> Augsburg. 118 <sup>1</sup> The messenger arrived on 5 November, see Ep. 111.

forte haec est causa eam diuturni ipsius silentii, sed mallems omnia, sive adversa  
sive prospera, in tempore scire, ut in utramlibet partem providendum esset, id in  
tempore curarem. Si res prospera esset, laetaremur, si adversa, cogitarem, ut viis  
et remediis, quibus fieri posset, omnibus rebus meis mederemur. Verum utrumque  
15 negotium procedat a Deo optimo maximo, ex cuius manu omnium mortalium res  
pendent, est expectandum. Et si quid laeti prosperique nobis contigerit, illi agenda  
gratiae, si sinistri, nostrae id culpae tribuendum, qui id mali propter peccata nostra  
nobis iuste inflixerit. Tu, qui inter omnes nostrae aetatis iudicaris, et quidem merito  
prudentissimus, fac me reddas certum de his rebus, in quibus ad te nuper scripseram.  
20 Vale et me habe commendatum.

Augustae XVIII. Novembris anno Domini MDXXX.

119

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Augsburg, 20 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 117–118.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 108–110.

*1. They are excited to receive the result of the latest Imperial Diet, as their fate depends on the agreement. Then it was announced today that Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I, and the lords will arrive at 1pm, and they will announce what they have decided. He went there with Újlaki, and they had to wait for a long time for the lords to arrive. 2. Before they sat, Prince-electors Joachim asked about the assembly and its outcome in great detail, when at the Emperor's order the decisions were announced, the reading of which lasted two hours. A lot was said about religion, the war against the Turks, and other matters; as soon as they print it, he will send him a copy.*

Ad episcopum Agriensem cancellarium.

[1.] Sollicite hactenus expectavimus exitum huius conventus imperialis, scireque  
maximis optavimus votis, quid boni ex eo secutum esset, videbamus enim hinc si  
concordes futuri essent principum animi, omnem nostram salutem, quietem et libera-  
5 tionem pendere, si vero dissensionibus res finiretur, proculdubio nobis exitium et  
perditionem imminere. Ecce autem hodie proclamatum est: caesarem, regem ceteros-  
que principes imperii venturos ad horam primam post meridianam in praetorium  
civitatis, et palam ibi praelecturum iri omnia, quae in hoc sex mensium concilio  
tractatum et deliberatum esset.

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119,2 imperialis] *corr:* ex imperialis

Exspectavimus sollicitè hanc horam statutam, venimus cum Wilaky<sup>1</sup> in curiam 10  
regis, ut cum eo in praetorium progredieremur. Rex per posticum elapsus est ad caesarem, nos pertaesi longae exspectationis praecessimus, venimusque in praetorium, ubi horam fere et dimidiam transegimus confabulationibus, donec caesar et rex aliique advenirent. Qui tandem ad pulsum horae fere quartum advenere, caesar consedit in loco sibi praeparato,<sup>2</sup> ad dextrum latus cardinalis Moguntinus,<sup>3</sup> tum rex noster Ferdinandus, tum oratores Treverensis<sup>4</sup> et Coloniensis<sup>5</sup> deinde ex ordine omnes praelati imperii. In sinistrum vero marchio Ioachimus,<sup>6</sup> comites palatini circa Rhenum<sup>7</sup> et Ioannes dux Saxoniae,<sup>8</sup> electorum oratores, deinde omnes ordinatim duces et principes seculares imperii. 15

[2.] Antequam tamen consedissent, marchio Ioachimus non multis verba fecit ad caesarem, principes omnes venisse, inquiring ad conventum per caesarem indictum et de rebus omnibus, quas caesar proposuisset eis, tractasse et conclusisse. Eaque omnia in articulis redegisse, propterea si liberet caesari, illa curarent perlegenda. Caesaris nomine Fridericus<sup>9</sup> dux Bavariae, comes palatinus Rheni respondit. Caesari optime placere ut ea, quae tractata fuissent et deliberata, palam perlegerentur. Tum considerentibus omnibus, eo quo praeosui ordine, factoque silentio, secretarius cardinalis Moguntini legere articulos cepit. Quorum lectio a quarta hora ad sextam fere, vel parum ultra duravit. In quibus multa sunt de religione, de variis nostrae tempestatis schismatis, de bello contra Turcas inferendo, de capitaneis, de nervis belli, de spoliatione ecclesiarum, et de aliis quamplurimis rebus, multis verbis copiosissimeque perscripta. 20 25 30

Quae opus non fuit me tibi omnia litteris nota facere, ne modum litterarum excedere viderer, ob eam maxime rem, quod caesar pollicitus sit, ea omnia curare imprimenda, ut omnibus nota fiant. Quae cum primum typis excudentur, curabo, ut illarum copiam habeas. Vale et me, ut soles, ama. 35

Augustae Vindelicorum XX. Novembris MDXXX.

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18 dux] *corr.* ex duces

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119 <sup>1</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. | <sup>2</sup> This seating arrangement looks like the protocol of the Imperial Assembly in Augsburg, see GRUNDMANN 1958, 67–69. | <sup>3</sup> Albert II of Brandenburg (1490–1545). He was Elector and Archbishop of Mainz from 1514 to 1545, and Archbishop of Magdeburg from 1513 to 1545, see MAY 1865, I, 3–8. | <sup>4</sup> Trier. | <sup>5</sup> Cologne. | <sup>6</sup> Joachim I Nestor (1484–1535), Prince-elect of Brandenburg. <sup>7</sup> Ottheinrich (1502–1559), Philipp II (1505–1548) both Palatines of Neuburg, Ludwig VI (1478–1544) was Elector of the Palatinate, Johann III (1492–1557) was the Palatine of Simmern, and Ludwig VII (1502–1532) the Palatine of Zweibrücken. | <sup>8</sup> Johann Friedrich I (1503–1554), Elector of Saxony. <sup>9</sup> Friedrich II, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1482–1556), Elector Palatine, also called Frederick the Wise.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes Ferentinus  
Augsburg, 22 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 118.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 110.

*How hectic court life is! After the Imperial Diet the rulers are already planning to leave, nobody can relax. His mistress, Queen Mary, has come hoping that his brothers will take care of her, which they would, if time was not pressing about other matters; what is more, they cannot even give her expenses for travel. They are desperate, but he will stay at his mistress' side no matter what.*

Ad Ioannem comitem Ferentinum.<sup>1</sup>

Vide, quanta sit, mi Ioannes, curialium miseria et animi inquietudo! Finito hoc imperiali conventu caesar et rex parabant hinc abire. Curiales ab aliquot mensibus insoluti, non parum tremere, murmurisque rem agere coeperunt, quod aliquibus nihil  
5 daretur solutionis, aliquibus parum, regina quoque mea Maria post multas peregrinationes, quas amisso marito suo rege Ludovico, domino meo clementissimo confecit, ea venerat huc sub spe, ut a fratribus suis, caesare et rege, eius quietis et provisionis cura haberetur. Qui et proculdubio id diligenter fecissent, ni ipsorum quoque per id  
10 tempus non parva esset necessitas. Quam non modice sua fefellit opinio. Nam non omnino ea, quae voluit, est exsecuta. Itaque cum pecunias et viaticum exspectaremus, dictum est non posse illud nobis praeberi. Di boni, quantum exacerbati sumus! Attamen cogemur ad tempus aliquot habere patientiam. Ego statui reginam sequi pro  
15 nostra in eam consueta fidem et in adversis penes eam ferendis integritate, quoque esse, qui illam in suis necessitatibus sim derelicturus, posteaquam illi in prosperis fuerim addictus. Quid postea facturi simus, curabimus, ut scias.

Ex Augusta XXII. Novembris MDXXX.

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120 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.



Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes Ferentinus  
Augsburg, 23 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 118–119.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 110–111.

*While they were worrying about raising the travel expenses, the Queen ordered that their salary of the last four months should be paid out. Now they are happily preparing for the trip, they are leaving tomorrow.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Dum essemus admodum solliciti de viatico nobis comparando, ut hospitibus nostris solutis possemus domum cum regina in Austriam reverti, ecce regina, nescio, qua sua necessitate, exsolvi nobis iussit quattuor praeteritorum mensium stipendia. Sic laeti praeparavimus nos itineri, ut cras hinc solvamus. Vale.

Ex Augusta XXIII. Novembris anno Domini MDXXX.

5

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes Ferentinus  
Regensburg, 27 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 119.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 111.

*After much difficulty, they arrived to Regensburg after a three-day ride. They were happy to get rid of the burdens of Augsburg, but their money is running out. They will stay for one day, then sail to Linz.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Venimus magnis certe affecti laboribus et lassitudine trium dierum equitatione ex Augusta huc Ratisponam. Gaudium erat ingens nostrum nos liberatos ab Augustensi molestia et rerum omnium necessitate, sed interim non parum tristabamur parum nobis superesse viatici ex eo, quod nobis datum erat Augustae. Quid enim precor magni superesse persolutis hospitibus ibi nostris, hominibus licet, ut ipsi iactitant, evangelicis, sed plusquam pharisaicis poterat. Remorati igitur hic hunc unum diem sumus, ut navigia conduceremus ad equos et res nostras devehendas. Cras Deo auspice commitemus nos navigationi et recta navigabimus Lincium. Haec volui te scire, ut intelligeres, quid ageremus. Vale.

Ex Ratispona XXVII. Novembris MDXXX.

10

121 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 122 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to John Fisher  
Linz, 30 November 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 119.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 111.

*They arrived to Straubing, then to Vilshofen on the 28<sup>th</sup> of this month. He traveled to Linz on a small fishing boat on a long and tiring journey, which, even though it is only sixteen miles away, is a dangerous trip even in the summer; let alone in wintertime. The Queen is looking for a place suitable for hunting.*

Ad Ioannem Rofferium.<sup>1</sup>

Ut scias itineris nostri rationem, volo te non ignorare ex Ratispona<sup>2</sup> XXVIII. huius mensis venisse ad noctem Straunbingam,<sup>3</sup> ex Straubinga deinde ad Fylshoffen.<sup>4</sup> Ex ea civitate tricesima mensis huius diei<sup>5</sup> per Patavium<sup>6</sup> adnavigavi usque ad Villyring<sup>7</sup> monasterium distans supra Lincium uno miliari. Ego vero in scaphiolo piscatorio ad multam noctem descendi Lincium non sine periculo nocturnae navigationis, quae navigatio et laboriosa fuit et longa. Nam Lincium abest a Fylshoffen sedecim magnis sane miliaribus, quae etiam aestivo tempore conficere satis esset, nedum brumali. Parendum tamen fuit voluntati reginae, quae eo tenebatur desiderio venationis, ut parum existimaverit tantum sufferre uno die laborem, modo voti sui compos fieret, et ad locum venationi aptum pervenire posset. Vale.

Ex Lincio ultima Novembris MDXXX.

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123 <sup>1</sup> John Fisher (1469–1535), an English Catholic bishop, cardinal, and theologian. Fisher was also an academic as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He was Bishop of Rochester (*episcopus Roffensis*) from 1504 to 1535, when he was executed by King Henry VIII because he had refused the Anglican schism and rejected the King's divorce. After his death he became a martyr and a saint. His work against Luther *Assertiones Lutheranae confutatio ... per Reverendissimum Patrem Ioannem Roffensem Episcopum, academiae Cantabrigiensis Cancellarium* was published in 1523 in Paris, see MCCONICA 1986. <sup>2</sup> Regensburg. | <sup>3</sup> Straubing. | <sup>4</sup> Vilshofen an der Donau. | <sup>5</sup> 30 November, 1528. | <sup>6</sup> Passau. | <sup>7</sup> Wilhering, the name of the monastery: Stift Wilhering.

Miklós Oláh to John Fisher  
Grein, 2 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 119–120.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 112.

*1. In his previous letter he informed him about their journey and the inconveniences at the court. Many would have dissuaded him and would want him to stay at the court, but they will be disappointed. 2. Today they have reached Grein, and they could have pressed on, but sailing is both dangerous and shipwrecks are also common, and so he is rather going to ride on with the queen while the others are crossing the Danube.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Scio te esse valde sollicitum pro nostra iam vetere amicitia, quid rerum agamus et ubi simus gentium. Nudiustertius tibi perscripseram,<sup>1</sup> qua navigatione pervenerimus ad Lincium magna certe et laboriosa. Ex quibus meis litteris te sane cognovisse arbitror, qua curiales teneantur anxietate et sollicitudine, dum aliorum nutus et voluntates observare cogantur; cuius rei causa bene tuis rebus est consultum, qui molestias curialium in omnibus rerum tuarum progressibus vitare curaveris, ut te domi continere volueris, hoc sane meum quoque esset propositum, si quem mihi fata statum quietum concederent. Non sum nescius multos me ab hac cogitatione avertere velle et optare, ut eorum rebus in curia inservire deberem, sed multum profecto eos sua voluntas fallat. Faciam enim, quod e re mea fore cognovero, et quid deliberaturus sim, faciam te postea certiores.

[2.] Ultima Novembris, ut tibi antea scripsi, pervenimus ad Lincium, prima die Decembris toto istic die quievimus. Hoc primum die commisimus nos rursus navigationi, venimusque ad horam secundam postmeridianam ad Grayn, Iulii comitis de Hardeck<sup>2</sup> oppidum, navigare ulterius poteramus, sed ex composito hic residere voluimus. Nam rupes est utrimque ex Danubio non longe infra oppidum ita enata, ut inter duos veluti scopulos via quadam per angusta aqua non sine magno murmure defluat, qua via unica navis deferri potest. Quae si illam non teneat, nautaque sit ignarus navigationis, navis facile impingi scopulis poterit, navigantesque naufragium plerumque patiuntur. Noluit igitur regina loco hinc periculoso ad noctem non tantum se, quae animosior est ceteris et cordatior, quantum ceteras suas virgines et familiam committere, neque crastino die se committet. Praemissis enim navibus ipsa nobiscum una in ripa Danubii, dum alii pertranseant Danubii, hunc locum periculosum praeter-equitabit. Vale.

Ex Grayn secunda Decembris MDXXX.

124 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 123. | <sup>2</sup> Julius von Hardegg (1500–1559).

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Krems, 5 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 120–121.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 113.

*They have been here for three days and still do not know what is happening in Buda. Yesterday they received the news that Buda has been taken and King John I and Gritti have been captured, but this news turned out to be fake. They are waiting for another messenger, and if he brings good news, they will head for Magyaróvár; and if not, they will either stay here or go to Znojmo.*

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem.

Venimus nudiustertius<sup>1</sup> ad hanc civitatem, in qua tantisper consistere decrevimus, dum aliquid certi, quid Budae agatur, intelligere poterimus. Heri venerat rumor publicus et arcem et civitatem Budensem captam esse a nostris. Ioannem vaivodam cum  
5 Gritti et aliis suis sequacibus venisse ad manus nostrorum, dum ex arce aufugere molirentur. Mirum, quantam omnibus is rumor laetitiam attulerat. Regina, quae pacis et quietis futurae est cupidissima, misit mox ad monasterium L. huic civitati propinquum, cuius abbas dicebatur pridie eius diei venisse Vienna, et ex quo rumor iste ferebatur cepisse principium, ut interrogaretur, quid certi hac de re haberet. Rediit  
10 nuntius, qui vanum esse rumorem affirmavit. Exspectamus in horas reditum alterius nuntii, quem Viennam hac eadem de re misimus. Qui si aliquid certi et boni attulerit, illico descendimus Carneamburgam,<sup>2</sup> tum Pruuk,<sup>3</sup> deinde ad Owar,<sup>4</sup> sin adversi habebimus quippiam vel residebimus hic usque ad laetiora nova, vel ibimus Znoynam. Vale et me ama.

15 Ex Cremps V. Decembris 1530.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Krems, 5 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 121–122.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 113–114.

*1. He believes Szalaházy would like to hear about the coronation, but he does not know anything about it, as he left the court about 12 days ago. He believes Újlaki will inform him. There is no news on organizing against the Turks, four leaders have been appointed to gather information, as well as money for 40,000*

125 <sup>1</sup> 3 December. | <sup>2</sup> Korneuburg. | <sup>3</sup> Bruck an der Leitha. | <sup>4</sup> Magyaróvár.

*infantrymen and 8,000 horsemen. Friedrich II, Count Palatine of the Rhine has been appointed to lead the expedition, who has sent a fat boar to the Queen in Regensburg. Oláh has doubts if they are really organizing a campaign, as they have not heard about it anywhere they have been. 2. However, there is not much time left, since the Turks will leave at the end of March, beginning of April, and there are only three months left till then, and if they do not prepare for it, the Turks will easily make it to the interior parts of Austria as well.*

Ad eundem.

[1.] Credo te, Reverende Praesul, avidissime exspectare, si quid rerum de rege ipsiusque in imperio coronatione intelligere posses. Ego his de rebus nihil certi tibi scribere possum, qui nunc absim ab illius curia iam duodecim vel circiter diem. Non arbitror Franciscum Wilaky,<sup>1</sup> tui nominis studiosissimum tam esse negligentem, ut 5 haec te nescire patiatur.

De apparatus contra Turcas nihil audio adhuc fieri. Quattuor ex principibus imperii electi sunt expeditionis vel potius apparatus Turcici praefecti: Ioannes dux Saxoniae,<sup>2</sup> archiepiscopus et cardinalis Salczpurgensis,<sup>3</sup> Wilhelmus dux Bavariae,<sup>4</sup> dux de Franspergk,<sup>5</sup> his commissum est, ut exploratores habeant fidissimos, qui de 10 Turcorum futuro adventu eos certiores faciant. Intereaque pecuniam illam promissam, quae ad conscribenda quadraginta millia peditum et octo equitum erit necessaria, ex imperio colligant, ut adveniente vere, si Turca se moverit, possint eas gentium copias sine more expedire. Capitaneus autem huius expeditionis generalis electus fuit 15 dux Bavariae Fridericus,<sup>6</sup> comes palatinus Rheni. Is Fridericus, antequam caesar se ex Augusta moveret, contulerat se domum, et dum Ratisponae proximis diebus essemus, miserat reginae dono aprum pinguisimum. Qui post caesarem rursus Spiram celeri itinere proficisci parabat. Cum igitur ipse ad caesarem vadat capitaneus huius expeditionis, unde satis longo tempore vix reverti possit. Et etiam alioquin per praedictos quattuor viros nullam exactionem fieri videamus, subdubius sum hanc expeditionem 20 praeparari. Nam ubicumque iter fecimus, sive per civitates liberas, sive per dominorum Germanorum bona nullibi de hac solutione pecuniaria aliquid audivimus. Immo dum illius aliquando itinerando fecimus mentionem, responderunt se nihil de his etiam rumore ipso audivisse, sed fortasse tam cito non potuit fieri, ut pro hac 25 solutione in omnem partem scriberetur.

[2.] Tamen si tempus illud considero, quo Turca se movere consueverit, dum aliquam molitur expeditionem, brevissimum certe nobis residuum esse temporis animadverto, quo nos tanto hosti obviam praeparemus. Nam si hostis venire voluerit,

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126 <sup>1</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. | <sup>2</sup> Johann Friedrich I (1503–1554), Prince-elector of Saxony. | <sup>3</sup> Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1469–1540) was a statesman of the Holy Roman Empire, and also the Cardinal and Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg from 1519 till his death. | <sup>4</sup> Wilhelm IV, Duke of Bavaria (1493–1550). | <sup>5</sup> Probably Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse (1504–1567). | <sup>6</sup> Friedrich II, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1482–1556) was a commander of King Ferdinand I.

committet se itineri proculdubio in fine Martii, vel principio Aprilis. Nos vero vix  
30 tres menses ad apparatus habemus integros. Infra hos si velimus illi occurrere, para-  
tos nos esse oportet. Quare non satis cogitare possum, quonam pacto tam brevi tem-  
pore sufficiant illi quattuor viri et ad exactionem pecuniarum et ad conscribendos  
milites, et ad alias necessitates, quae ad usum spectant bellicum praeparandas, opus  
igitur est vel festinantissime haec omnia illos exsequi, vel Turcus sive ullo hoste sibi  
35 obvio libere usque ad superiores Austriae partes ascendere poterit. Nam si venire  
voluerit hoc certe itineris, antequam nos nostras vires moveamus, facile conficiet,  
haec ego timeo, et utinam falso timeam. Deus vertat rem nostram in bonam partem.  
Vale.

Ex Cremps V. Decembris 1530.

127

Miklós Oláh to Michael comes  
Krems, 10 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 122–123.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 115–116.

1. He does not know what to write, as he does not know anything for certain. Three days ago a messenger arrived for the Queen with a letter from Georg Baron of Puchheim, saying that Mehmed Bey will help King John I with 5,000 horsemen and 100 sloops and liberate him from the 40-day siege. The plan is that part of the cavalry will be sent to face Mehmed, while part of it will be left behind by the siege. 2. Roggen-dorf's experience will be enhanced by Török, Bakics, and Pekry, who are familiar with the Turks' combat style, and he is ultimately hoping that God will also have mercy on them in the end.

Ad Michaelem comitem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Quid tibi de rebus nostris scribam, nescio. Tam varia atque dubia ad nos  
quotidie afferuntur nova, ut nemo sit, qui certi aliquid scribere possit. Nunc concepi-  
mus spem ex nuntiis, qui Vienna veniunt, certam fore propediem, ut Buda potiti, et  
5 hostibus in ditionem nostram propter inediam, quam pati dicuntur, redactis pacem  
diu summis omnium votis expetitam simus consecuturi. Nunc Turcarum adventu  
adeo terremur, ut prope res nostras desperemus. Venit hic triduo ad reginam ex  
Vienna nuntius cum litteris locumtenentis,<sup>2</sup> qui certo attulit Mechmet becum<sup>3</sup> Tur-  
cam praefectum arcis Nandor Albae<sup>4</sup> cum quinque millibus equitum et centum nasa-

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126,33 praeparandas] *corr.* ex praeparandos 127,9 nasadis] *corr.* ex nadastis

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127 <sup>1</sup>We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup>Georg, Baron of Puchheim at Raabs and Krumbach was Governor of the Archduchy of Austria under the Enns between 1528–1531. | <sup>3</sup>Yahya-Pasha-zade Mehmed Bey. | <sup>4</sup>Belgrade.

dis (qua navicula sunt non longe a Buda) consedissee, velleque Ioanni et omnibus, qui 10  
in arce sunt, suppetias ferre, et eos ab obsidione quam iam quadraginta dies patiuntur,  
utcumque fieri a se possit, liberare. Id autem hoc consilio facere, ut dicitur, cogitat, ut  
nostros, qui Budam obsident, imparatos invadat, eodemque ipso tempore ex civitate  
quoque ipsa erumpant, ut utrimque nostris terror iniciatur. Nostri dicuntur esse vigi-  
lantes et licet pauci, tamen magno animo cogitant rursus dies ac noctes stratagemate 15  
contra illos uti; ut dum Mechmeth becum advenire senserint, illi partem copiarum,  
quas cum nostris equitibus levis armaturae usque ad XVI millia habere dicuntur,  
mittant obviam, reliqua parte tamen in obsidione relicta, ne illis manum conserenti-  
bus civitatenses et arcenses erumpere et nostros rem cum hostibus habentes interci-  
pere possint; optimum sane consilium. Nam hoc modo futurum esse arbitror, ut unam 20  
exercitus nostri partem exiguis Mechmeth beci copiis sufficere putem, et alteram  
rursus satis futuram potentem ad civitatenses intra muros continendos.

[2.] Ad haec non deerit prudentia Rogendorffii, insignis certe et praestantissimi in  
re militari viri, qui multa iam a pueritia et vidit et expertus est, cogitabit mihi crede  
omnibus modis, ut hostibus nostri superiores sint evasuri. Valentinus Theurek,<sup>5</sup> Ba- 25  
khyth,<sup>6</sup> Ludovicus Pekry<sup>7</sup> et alii, qui artes et mores in bello gerendo Turcicos optime  
a teneris annis noverunt, quod in Rogendorffio in re cum Turcis gerenda deerit, cum-  
latissime supplebunt, et ubi ille admonendus est alicuius rei, admonebunt. Infracto  
enim animo sunt hi, ut quemlibet eorum cum bonis belli ducibus conferre audeam.  
Quibus ex rebus non parvam habeo spem Deum optimum maximum res nostras 30  
felicitaturum miserturumque nostrae diuturnae calamitatis et nos ex illius gratia  
optatam pacem consecuturos. Pater, ut dicitur, filium, quem amat, castigat, sic pater  
noster caelestis, a quo et esse et vivere coepimus, per cuius sanguinem regenerati in  
novum sumus hominem, nos satis diu iam ob scelera nostra, quae maxima sunt,

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15 dies] *corr.* ex dis

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127,32 Pater...castigat] H12, 6: "Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat".

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<sup>5</sup> Bálint Török of Enying (1502–1550) was a Hungarian aristocrat, Ban of Belgrade, and Lord of Csesznek (1527–1542). After Mohács, we find him on the Habsburgs side. King Ferdinand I promised to donate possessions to him, but Török could not wait to receive them and began to plunder these estates with his hussars. Because he took one of Oláh's possessions, Oláh always berated him in his letters. In 1530, Török was still loyal to King Ferdinand I, but in 1532 he seems to have changed sides, see BESSENYEI 1994, 64, and KASZA 2012, 300. | <sup>6</sup> Pál Bakics or Pavle Bakić (†1537) was the last Despot of Serbia. Bakics participated in the battle of Mohács with his forces. After Mohács, he was with King John I, but later he changed sides at the latest after the battle of Tokaj (1527) and remained faithful to King Ferdinand I until his death. He was one of the most important defenders of the Habsburgs in Transdanubia. For more see KASZA 2012, 340. | <sup>7</sup> Lajos Pekry of Petrovina (†1552?) was servitor of Ferenc Bathány de Güssing, then hussar captain of King Ferdinand I, and later Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1532–1537), see VARGA 2003, 164.

35 emendavit, amat enim nos et non patietur perire. Et iam misertus nostri reducit in sui cognitionem vel observationem, ut sanctam iustam istius voluntatem agentes vitam consequi possimus, et hanc pacem temporariam et illam aeternam, cuius nullus unquam erit finis. Vale et me ama.

Ex Cremps X. Decembris MDXXX.

128

Miklós Oláh to János Szalay  
Krems, 10 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 431.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 116–117.

*His tears flow when he thinks of their good old friend, István Majláth, who served the King so faithfully. Nothing would have been easier for him than staying in Sibiu, like his friends, had he not been solicitous of the King's cause. When Voivode Moses has been driven out, he went there with a small troop to return him to his seat, but the Turks captured him and took him to the castle of Făgăraș so that his brother surrender it if he wanted to see his brother alive. Since he did not surrender the castle, Majláth ended up in captivity.*

Ad Ioannem Zalay comitem Posoniensem.<sup>1</sup>

Non possum sine lacrimis ad te hac de re scribere, dum enim veterem illam fratris nostri communis Stephani Maylath<sup>2</sup> suavem familiaritatem revoco in animum, lacrimae subito erumpunt, et miseret me ultra quam dici potest eius sortis ac calamitatis.  
5 Erat vir in amicos suavis, comis, humanus et liberalis. Regi nostro fideliter serviebat, omnemque suam et facultatem et vitam nihili faciebat, ut regi commode et fideliter servire posset. Et quae res alia eum ad hoc coniecit periculum, quam fidelitas regi servanda? Quid facilius facere poterat, si regis res ei cordi non essent, quam ut intra muros Cibiensis<sup>3</sup> se contineret, ut illi alii amici nostri? Sed regis nostri negotia, quae  
10 totis curabat viribus, et fidelitas quam regi debebat, compulit eum ad regionem Transalpinam, unde regis subditus vaivoda<sup>4</sup> expulsus erat, cum parva manu proficisci, ut vaivodam ipsum non tam propter necessitudinem, quam cum eo inierat, quam ut regi

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128,4 me] *O(?) del. ex me videre* 6 suam et] *O(?) del. ex suam et facultatem* 9 muros] *O mut. ex amicos* | regis] *O(?) del. ex regis et fidelitas* 10 curabat] *O(?) corr. ex procurabat*

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128 <sup>1</sup> János Szalay. | <sup>2</sup> István Majláth (†1550) participated in the battle of Mohács, then joined King Ferdinand I, who bestowed him the castle of Făgăraș, in gratitude for his seizing Bratislava together with Tamás Nádasdy and Elek Thurzó. In 1528, he changed sides and in 1534 he became Voivode of Transylvania, see MAJLÁTH 1889. | <sup>3</sup> Sibiu. | <sup>4</sup> Voivode Moses. For more on these, see MAJLÁTH 1889, 15–17.



illam provinciam redderet penitus astrictam, in sedem suam collocaret. Interceptus est igitur a Turcis, et a multis hostibus cum suis, quas habebat exiguis copiolis oppressus, in manus incidit Turcarum. Dicitur, posteaquam captus esset a Turcis, fuisse ductus sub arcem Fagaras,<sup>5</sup> et frater suus, quem in ea arce loco sui reliquerat, admonitus, ut si fratrem vivere vellet, arcem illam dederet. Ille pluris fecit regni illius salutem, quae in illius arcis permansione pendet non minima, quam sui fratris vitam. Noluitque arcem dedere, sic ille ductus est in captivitatem. Vale.

Ex Cremps 10. Decembris 1530.

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## 129

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Révay  
Krems, 10 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 431–432.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 117.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 33–634.

*Smoke at home is even better than fire abroad: even if he has good company here and is living a pleasant life – his love for the homeland and his friends are forcing him to go home.*

Ad Franciscum Reway.<sup>1</sup>

Scis vetus esse, fumum patrium igne alieno esse luculentiores. Amor patriae etsi iam aerumnis plenae me monuit, ut domum fere reverterer, tum amicorum magna et arctissima familiaritas. Quibus in deliciis versati Augustae fuerimus, nemo melius quam tu vidisti, cum aliquot diebus nobiscum una istic esses. Pecuniae licet non admodum nobis abundabant, usi tamen sumus quoquo modo fieri potuit in summa quiete et voluptate. Quare non erat, cur me deliciae domesticae domum inde raperent, si voluptatis et otii rationem aliquam habuissem, sed, ut dixi, amor et patriae et amicorum, quorum in numero es tu imprimis, coegit, ut tandem vos reviserem. Si quid

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13 redderet... astrictam] *O mut. ex penitus astricam redderet 129,2 patrium] O corr. ex paternum*

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129,2 fumum... luculentiores] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,II,16: "Patriae fumus, igni alieno luculentior", see MYNORS 1982, 161.

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<sup>5</sup> Făgăraș. 129 <sup>1</sup> Ferenc Révay (1498–1553) was the Secretary of Palatine István Báthori and Protonotary of the Hungarian Royal Chancellery. After Mohács, he joined King Ferdinand I and connected his brother István and Jovan Nenad to this party. King Ferdinand I first appointed him *Personalis* (1527–1542), then he became Bailiff of Turóc county in 1532 and Palatine's Governor from 1542 until his death, see PÁLFFY 2009a, 1–20, and KASZA 2012, 105.

10 igitur est, in quo tibi gratificari possum, non patiar meam a te operam et studium desiderari, modo intelligam, quid me facere velis. Vale et me ama.  
Ex Cremps 10. Decembris 1530.

### 130

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Krems, 10 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 432.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 117–118.

*It would be of great use to him, if Kálnai did not refuse his help. They have always been able to rely on each other, it should not be different now, either. How Kálnai can help now, he will learn from the man who is giving him this letter.*

Ad Calnay archidiaconum Transilvaniensem.

Multis rebus usui esse mihi potes, mi Calnay, si tuam mihi operam et familiaritatem denegare nolueris. Scis magnam inter nos ab ineunte aetate intercessisse necessitudinem, tum aetate pari, tum studiis similibus comparatam. Eius ego intercidendae  
5 nullam unquam occasionem me praebuisse memini. Tu quoque ita te mihi semper amicum praestitisti, ut nihil amplius a te exspectare potuerim. Fac igitur, ut etiam inposterum tali in me sis voluntate et animo, rebusque meis non sis defuturus, quae quales sint, intelliges apertius ab hoc meo homine, qui praesentes tibi reddet, quem habe commendatum.  
10 Ex Cremps 10. Decembris anno 1530.

### 131

Miklós Oláh to the Secretary of the Bohemian King  
Krems, 11 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 432–433.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 118–119.

*1. Humankind is wretched, they can never know what is going to happen, as the Savior reminds us in the gospel. 2. When they arrived to this city, at their accommodation the pharmacist's aide had died of the plague that day, but it was kept a secret. So unbeknownst to them, they were walking around in the middle of a plague outbreak. Oláh's priest saw that the pharmacist's wife was sad and asked her about it, and so it was by accident that it came to light that the pharmacist's daughter was also sick. So luckily, with God's help, they left the house, leaving unnecessary belongings behind. Who knows if he has contracted the disease?*

Ad secretarium regis Bohemum.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Misera certe hominis conditio: quid cuique infortunii et casuum eveniat, nemo scire potest. Momentum ipsum fert homini aliquid, quod antea vix putaras vel aliquando vel tam cito posse contingere. Non immerito Salvator noster hominem vigilem esse mandavit in suo Evangelio omni temporis puncto, nescientem quippe 5 quando mors veluti fur venturus sit. Quod Salvatoris nostri praeceptum, si quis semper prae oculis habuerit, quicumque homini casus accidat, sperandum est eum non periturum; hostem enim supervenientem mortem scilicet, quam nullus vitare potest mortalium, vigil et paratus accipiet.

[2.] Scis, cur haec tibi scripserim? Cum ad hanc civitatem venissemus, et ad 10 hospitium meum, quod est et amplum satis et honestum, divertissem, forte eo ipso die cuiusdam apotecarii puer, qui in posteriore domus parte hospitabatur, peste interierat, quem nemine sciente clam extulit. Mors huius nemini ex meis fuit nota, immo ne hospiti quidem domus. Sic inscientes diversabamur in medio pestis. Tribus deinde post diebus sacellanus<sup>2</sup> meus stabat in solario domus, forte uxor apotecarii maesta 15 praeteribat. Sacellanus meus interrogans eam, quid rei esset, et an aegrotaret, quod tam esset pallida. Illa reticere suspirando dolorem internum non potuit, sed quicquid inquit, tibi dicam: “Sum admodum molesta super filiae meae et servi alterius aegrotatione, qui hanc fortasse noctem non evadet, sed morietur.” Sacellanus percunctatus genus infirmitatis, illa se non posse alterius dissimulare: “Pestis” inquit “eos oppres- 20 sit, et magno” inquit “supra quam dici potest maerore conficior, casu filiae meae, timeo enim, ne moriatur. Nam hac nocte servus ipse, ni Deus ei auxilietur, proculdubio morietur, quia et antequam ad hanc domum dominus tuus venisset, unum ex meis extuli.” Haec sacellanus meus ad me iam die declinante detulit; ego mox accepta 25 veste egressus sum domum, et in alio hospitio eam peregi noctem. Ab eo die in alia dego domo, partemque rerum mearum ex illa contagiosa domo feci efferri, partem, quae non admodum curavi, ibi reliqui.

Sic, Frater Optime, ex medio pestis ex Dei auxilio cum meis evasi. Nescio, quid de me aut meis, quod Deus optimus maximus longe ex sua gratia avertat, adhuc fieri potest, contrahere enim vel ego vel mei aliquid contagii in domo illa pestilenti potuerunt. Vale et me ama. 30

Ex Crems 11. Decembris anno 1530.

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131,8 mortem scilicet] *O add. sup. l.* 17 Illa] *corr. ex Ille* 19 percunctatus] *corr. ex perconctatus*

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131,5 Evangelio] Cf. Mt25, 13: “Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem, neque horam.” 6 fur...sit] Cf. Mt24, 43: “Illud autem scitote, quoniam si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur venturus esset, vigilaret utique, et non sineret perfodi domum suam.”

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131 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Probably János Czeglédi.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 12 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 371.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 119.

*His letter has brought him great joy, to learn that the Queen is getting closer. He will inform him about everything he learns. King Ferdinand I's army is still besieging Buda, longer than would be desirable. Oláh's priest has left with the army, Szalaházy has given him the letters he had asked for. He has recommended to Choron and others that they look after Oláh's affairs.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Multum mihi in malis attulerunt solatii litterae vestrae, quibus scribitis maiestatem reginalem Hungariae nostrae appropinquare. Quas habeo res novas, partim ex meis, partim ex amicorum ad me litteris intelliget maiestas sua, et vobiscum, ut arbitror, communicabit. Exercitus regius haeret adhuc in obsidione Budensi diutius omnino, quam quisquam mortalium sibi persuadere potuisset. Deus, ut spero, hanc nostram sollicitudinem et labores diuturnos felici aliquo rerum exitu compensabit. Sacerdos vester una cum exercitu hinc est profectus, dedi ei, quascumque voluit litteras. Commendavi Choron<sup>1</sup> nostro et amicis omnibus, nec dubito, quin res vestras bene et ex vestra utilitate administret. Bene valete.

Posonii XII. Decembris 1530.

Miklós Oláh to Michael comes  
Krems, 13 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 123–124.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 119–120.

*1. The Queen went hunting, then yesterday the messenger of the Governor of the Archduchy of Austria under the Enns arrived with a letter, according to which Mehmed Bey is at Buda with 3,000 light horsemen and one hundred sloops. Roggendorf sent part of his troops, 150 mailed horsemen, 6,000 infantrymen, and 1,000 hussars to meet the Turks. Four hundred Germans infantrymen, drunk on wine, worked their way into a village close to Pest, from where the Turks drove them out, killing three hundred, and dragging away and killing one hundred. 2. Roggendorf wants to get to Buda with small boats. There is*

132<sup>1</sup> András Choron or János Choron. For more on András see Ep. 37. Note 1.

*great hunger in Buda, people are getting smaller and smaller portions to eat, and they are eating horse-meat. Their plan is that if they do not receive food for three days, they will break out and fight to the death.*

Ad Michaellem comitem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Propter eam familiaritatem, quam ab ineunte aetate nostra tecum coluimus sanctissime, facere non possum, quin tecum, quae ad me nova afferantur, communice-  
cem. Regina mea in Chyrendorff<sup>2</sup> dat operam venationi sibi naturaeque suae iucun-  
dissimae. Ad quam heri ad multam noctem locumtenens regius Viennensis<sup>3</sup> misit 5  
nuntium cum litteris. Quae postea hodie ad me sunt missa, in quibus significavit  
Mechmeth becum<sup>4</sup> infra Budam cum tribus equitum levis armaturae millibus et cen-  
tum nassadis his diebus fuisse. Turcas, qui in nassadis erant, et eos etiam, qui in ripa  
Danubii iaculatos ex quattuor tormentis aeneis campestribus, quae secum attulerant,  
in nostram classem, nihil tamen fecisse damni, capitaneum autem regium Wilhel- 10  
mum a Rogendorff audito Turcarum adventu ex omnibus fere militum Budam obsi-  
dentium stationibus aliquam partem evocasse, sed ita, ut integrum castrorum nume-  
rum sub Buda reliquerit, hosque evocatos, qui ad centum et quinquaginta equitum  
cataphractorum, peditum sex millia, husaronum mille fuissent, misisse Turcis ob-  
viam. Ex his peditibus quadringenti forte vino, ut mos est Germanorum, perfusi et 15  
ordinem suum relinquentes contulerant se in villam Pestho<sup>5</sup> propinquam. Qui a Tur-  
cis istic reperti, turpiter sunt profligati, ex quibus trecenti interfecti, centum residui  
abducti in castra Turcarum, ibique pecudum more ense trucidati.

[2.] Nostri autem, qui obviam Turcis iverant, coacti sunt rursus ad oppugnationem Budensem reverti. Nam Turci in fugam conversi eos exspectare noluerunt. 20  
Wilhelmus a Rogendorff eius est propositi, ut cuniculis factis heri aut hodie aut ad  
summum cras Budam inverti faciat, et facta muri ruina mox milites ad invadendam  
civitatem undique emittat, ut vel hac via civitate potiatur. Dicitur Turcus quidam ex  
civitate propter famem clam ad nostros venisse, qui affirmavit tantam esse intus  
victualium paucitatem, ut pugillum panis in quemlibet virum singulo die dividatur, 25  
Hungari vero et Turcae vescantur carnibus equinis. Constituisse autem obsessos  
concordibus animis, ut si ad triduum commeatus alicunde eis inferre non possint,  
mox erumpant armati, et ad mortem usque quisque pugnet, pugnantisque vel evadant  
vel moriantur. Hoc eorum consilium ex ipso transfuga et ex aliis etiam captivis nos-  
tris iam optime est cognitum, curant igitur nostri se huic obsessorum proposito 30  
instruere. Quid iam istic factum sit, vel adhuc fiat, hoc biduo aut triduo ad summum  
audiemus. Qua de re, si quid certi habuero, faciam te rursus certiolem. Vale.

Ex Cremps XIII. Decembris MDXXX.

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133 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Kirchdorf an der Krems. | <sup>3</sup> Georg, Baron of Puchheim at Raabs and Krumbach. | <sup>4</sup> Yahya-Pasha-zade Mehmed Bey. | <sup>5</sup> Pest.

Miklós Oláh to Michael comes  
Krems, 15 December [1530]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 124.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 121.

*No news has arrived in the last three days. He is hoping that they are fighting heroically in Buda. Some news should surely arrive within two days.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Nihil sane aliud rerum hoc triduo audivimus, quam quod tibi proximis litteris nostris praescrpsimus. Miror, cur tam tarde ad nos res gestae perferantur. Arbitror non parum esse nostris Budae laboris et periculi, ut civitate et arce potiantur, adversariis intus, dum spirabunt, nostris strenue resistentibus. Neque diu quicquid sit latere nos poterit, omnino aliquid audiemus hoc biduo. Mallem laeta. Nam taedet iam omnium calamitatis et cursitationis, quas hoc fere biennio non sine et magno incommodo et labore fuimus perpessi. Quicquid audierimus, faciam te certiolem. Vale.

Crempsii 15. Decembris.

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Krems, 16 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 125.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 121.

*Their friendship has only been strengthened by the time that has passed, so he should not believe those who are spreading lies about him, as he does not believe the lies about Kálnai, either.*

Ad Calnay.

Noli putare, mi Calnay, me quemquam te habere cariorem. Amorem nostrum mutuum tum vetustas familiaritatis, tum studiorum nostrorum aequalitas inter nos mirum in modum auxit. Noli igitur credere iis, qui persuadere conantur me alio in te esse animo, quam quem ab ineunte aetate multis in rebus cognovisti, id est sincerum et candidissimum. Qui aliud dixerint et nescio, quae figmenta, nunc mihi de te, nunc de me tibi nuntiant, mihi crede, curant amicitiam nostram iam diu maximarum sanctissimarumque rerum fundamento inter nos conciliatam debilitare, et nos, nescio in

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134 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

quae odia amicitias et fraternis consuetudinibus pestifera intrudere. Quare cautus sis, et talium mendacia, si quae ad te delata fuerint, non admitte, rogo, hoc idem ego 10 quoque sum facturus. Vale.

Ex Cremps XVI. Decembris MDXXX.

136

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Krems, 18 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 125.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 121–122.

*They are awaiting news about the siege of Buda. Apparently some have dug themselves in by the walls of the Sabbatical Portal, the wall is being attacked on the other side. King John I, Simon Erdődy, and Imre Czibak have been stuck inside. The Turks under Buda number approx. 10,000, and they battle with our troops every day.*

Ad comitem Paulum.<sup>1</sup>

Mirum certe nos nihil certi a tanto tempore de Budensium rerum progressu audivisse, pendemus animo aliquod in horas certi exspectantes. Attamen nescio, quid sane rei certae adhuc audire possemus. Dicuntur nostri instare vehementius, quam quisquam cogitare posset, aliquot vexillorum pedites se terra defodisse sub moenibus 5 ipsis prope Portam Sabati.<sup>2</sup> Ex alia parte murum similiter fortissima quati iaculatione. Illos etiam obsessos strenuiter rem suam agere audimus. Sunt inclusi cum Ioanne rege<sup>3</sup> episcopus Zagrabiensis,<sup>4</sup> Czyback electus Varadiensis<sup>5</sup> et multi suae factionis strenui viri. Turci infra Budam ad decem millia esse dicuntur et quotidie cum nostris manus conserere. Quid futurum sit, incertum est. Exspectamus in horas laeta nova. 10 Vale.

Ex Cremps XVIII. Decembris MDXXX.

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136 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Sabbatical Portal, or the so-called Bécsi kapu (Viennese Portal), which is located at the northern side of the Buda Castle. | <sup>3</sup> It is very unusual that Oláh calls Szapolyai king. | <sup>4</sup> Simon Erdődy (ca.1489–1543) was Bishop of Zagreb (1519–1543). He participated in the battle of Mohács and later joined King John I. In 1527, he changed sides because King Ferdinand I occupied the Slavonian fields. King Ferdinand I appointed him Ban of Slavonia and let him stay as Bishop of Zagreb. For more see LUKINOVIĆ 1995, 233–237, and KASZA 2012, 205. | <sup>5</sup> Imre Czibak (†1534) was Bishop of Oradea from 1526, and he was loyal to King John I. He participated in the battle of Mohács, on the side of Pál Tomori, Archbishop of Kalocsa. After Mohács, King John I appointed him Captain of Timișoara and Bailiff of Temes county.

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio  
Krems, 23 December 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 125–126.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 122.

*While they were waiting for developments in Buda, news came that all troops have marched over to Esztergom with their military equipment. If the besiegers had lasted a few more days, Buda would have been theirs due to the starvation in the castle. They say the weather was so bad that there were only three calm days, otherwise it either rained or snowed, so they had to bow in front of what was necessary.*

Ad Paulum Iovium.<sup>1</sup>

Proh pudor, dum aliquid praeclari de nostrorum militum virtutibus audire quotidie  
 exspectaremus, advenerunt tristia, quae mirum in modum nos omnes conturbarent:  
 discessum est re infecta a Budensi obsidione, regressae classes cum tormentis et aliis  
 5 instrumentis bellicis Strigonium,<sup>2</sup> secutus est exercitus et peditum et equitum tam  
 levis quam gravis armaturae. Nihil incommodius accidere rebus nostris potuisset,  
 nam si diutius in obsidione nostri durassent, spes erat omnibus, propter inediam  
 obsessorum Buda omnino potiremur. Nunc frustra istis consumptis diebus et rebus  
 nostris, quid futurum suspicari possimus, non satis intelligo. Certum quidem est hanc  
 10 nostrorum discessionem non omnino esse sine ratione. Dicunt enim tantam fuisse  
 temporis tempestatem omnibus, quibus ibi fuerunt diebus, ut vix tres dies habuerint  
 nostri serenos, sed semper aut nivium aut pluviarum magnam intemperiem. Fuit  
 igitur necessitati parendum, quae quantam attulerit rerum nostrarum iacturam, vix  
 explicari potest. Vale.

15 Cremps XXIII. Decembris MDXXX.

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137,5 instrumentis bellicis] *O mut. ex ornamentis*

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137 <sup>1</sup> Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) was an Italian historian, prelate, and physician. In 1528, he became Bishop of Nocera de' Pagani, in 1549, Bishop of Como. He is respected as the chronicler of the Italian Wars because he witnessed many battles and corresponded with many humanists (e.g. with István Brodaries) to get first-hand information. At this time, he was a Papal Courtier, see his biography by PRICE ZIMMERMANN 1995, particularly 106–135. | <sup>2</sup> Esztergom.



Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, [end of December] 1530

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 371.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 122–123.

*Oláh and company had probably received news before he did. As far as he is concerned, priest János will tell. He is lacking wine and could not have foreseen that he would stay in Bratislava so long. He is asking the Queen that the tax collector give him two barrels of wine.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Res novas credo maiestatem reginalem et vos habere multo certiores, quam ad me perferantur. Ea, quae penes me sunt, hic bonus vir Ioannes<sup>1</sup> sacerdos vester narrabit. Inter multa, quae desunt, vinum mihi non est, neque enim putabam tamdiu me in hoc carcere Posoninensi futurum et idcirco de com meatu multorum dierum non prospexi; 5 efficite, rogo, apud maiestatem reginalem, ut tricesimator<sup>2</sup> det mihi duo vasa<sup>3</sup> vini, quod accedet ad cumulum multorum in me beneficiorum illius maiestatis.

Posonii 1530.<sup>4</sup>

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 23 January 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 372.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 123.

*If the Queen leaves the country, the homeland will be orphaned. Szalaházy does not want to elaborate on this in a letter, so he will only say it briefly: Oláh should not leave the Queen, and if she requests that Oláh should go with her to Belgium, or even if she does not request it, he will know what to do. As far as Szalaházy is concerned, Oláh can always count on him.*

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138 <sup>1</sup> Probably János Czeglédi, see Ep. 132. | <sup>2</sup> Meaning ‘taxcollector of thirtieth tax’ used in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary. Thirtieth was a tax on foreign trade in Hungary. | <sup>3</sup> It is not clear which barrel he is talking about. The common barrel in Hungary was the so-called *akó*, which is *urna* or *tinna* in Latin. The Bratislava *akó* was about 53.72 liters. | <sup>4</sup> We could not guess the exact date of this letter. The succession of the letters suggests that this letter was written after 12 December (see Ep. 132.) but still in 1530.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Si maiestas reginalis patrona communis regnum hoc deseret, quicumque tandem noster futurus sit status, lacrimas (modo non perpetuas) nobis relinquet. Nam etsi regem habeamus optimum, laborabit tamen huius infelicis patriae nostrae libertas, si  
5 hac regina et parente carebimus. Cur ita mihi videatur, litteris non committam. Consilii mei rationem paucis accipe. Noli reginam relinquere, si id abs te contenderit, ut in Belgas secum proficiscaris, immo etiam si magnopere non contendat, comitare eius maiestatem, labor non erit magnus, ubi eo ventum fuerit uno aut altero mense, quid facto sit opus, ipse statues facillime. Quod ad me attinet, nihil est, quod praesentis  
10 tis aut absentis tui causa nolim facere, sicuti res ipsa docebit, ubi feceris periculum. Bene vale.

Posonii XXIII. Ianuarii 1531.

140

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Krems, 2 February 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 141.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 123–124.

*Kálnai should not be surprised that Oláh has not written to him or any other friends in all of January: he has never been this confused. The Queen is going to Belgium, and he cannot decide if he should go with her or stay. If he goes with her, he is afraid of the strange lands and people, if he stays, where should he turn, all his possessions have been taken, and staying at home is also dangerous. He should help him, give him advice.*

Ad Emericum Calnay Nicolai Olai epistola.

Miraris fortasse et cupis scire, quid causae fuerit, quod per totum Ianuarium praeteritum nullas neque ad te, neque ad alios meos amicos dederim litteras. Nunquam, mi Calnay, fui perturbator, quam his ipsis diebus, quibus tacui. Omnia mea negotia,  
5 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, nescio. 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. Vale.

Ex Cremps II. Februarii anno MDXXXI.

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Krems, 5 February 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 141–142.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 124.

*His soul is tossing, like a boat in a storm, if he should go or stay. In the end he concluded that he will do what is necessary and join the queen, entrusting his chaplain with his affairs. In his last letter he asked for Kálnai's advice, now that he has already made his decision, he is asking that Kálnai help his affairs in the future, as well as his chaplain in managing them.*

Nicolai Olai ad eundem.

Sapientis esse scio consilium tempori accomodare. Magna iactabatur animus meus, ceu navis in tempestatibus maris perturbatione, an eundum mihi in Flandriam cum regina sit, vel in patria cum meis manendum. Res, quid ex utraque parte contingere posset, diligenter mecum versabam. Tandem putavi necessitati esse parendum, 5 et relictis rebus meis omnibus Hungaricis sacellani mei<sup>1</sup> curae et industriae reginam sum secutus, quamcumque in partem fortuna me detruserit. Cupiebam proximis meis litteris<sup>2</sup> a te intelligere, quidnam consilii mihi dare posses rebus hisce meis tam turbatis et sollicitis. Nunc, cum ipse mecum statuerim, quid faciam, non est, cur te oneres hac cogitatione. Eam potius curam, quam mihi consilio dando praestiturus nunc 10 esses, impartiare rebus meis, si in Hungaria perseveraturus es, domesticis, et tam consilio, quam rebus aliis, quibus opus fuerit, sacellano meo praesto esse non grave- ris. Nihil hoc gratius facere poteris. Vale.

Crempsii V. Februarii MDXXXI.

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141,7 quamcumque] *corr.* ex quemcumque

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141 <sup>1</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>2</sup> Ep. 140.

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Linz, 13 February 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 142.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 124–125.

*They left Krems on the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, and they arrived after three exhausting days. He had two reasons for coming here, one, to meet the King, and two, to comply with the Emperor's will. They will have a lot to do in order to leave the Queen's affairs in order, and it will be very difficult to put up the cost of such a big trip. He does not know how long they will stay, he will notify him when he finds out.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum.

Decima huius mensis die commisimus nos ex Cremsio<sup>1</sup> itineri et celeri certe cursu huc venimus. Tribus enim hoc iter diebus confecimus et arduum et longum non solum reginae et puellulis natura imbecillis, sed etiam viris robustis et ad equitandum  
5 aptis. Duae res nobis addebant alas. Altera, ut regem, qui Lincii erat, cito videre possemus, altera, ut caesaris voluntati, quam ex cubiculario suo accepimus, primo quoque tempore a regina satis fieret. Reperimus tamen hic res non minimas, quae nostrum iter remorarentur, imprimis autem curandum erat nobis quam maxime, quonam pacto res reginae Hungaricas in bono statu relinqueremus. Ea enim absente,  
10 praesertim si Turca, ut certo ferebatur, Hungariam et Austriam invaderet, omnia ipsius bona et Hungarica et Austriaca in periculum essent ventura, deinde viatici etiam ad tam longum iter conquirendi non parva nobis erat cura. Coacti igitur sumus ad tempus aliquod, donec his de rebus cum rege tractaremus hic immorari. Quamdiu autem haec negotia conficere hic possimus, est incertum. Verum quid futurum sit et  
15 quis sit itineris nostri cursus, faciam te certiore. Vale et fac, ut crebras tuas litteras habeam.

Ex Lincio XIII. Februarii MDXXXI.

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142 <sup>1</sup> Krems.

Miklós Oláh to Jan Dantyszek  
Linz, 15 February 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 142–143.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 125–126. SKOLIMOWSKA–TURSKA 2010, IDL 1718.

1. *He knows well how benevolent Dantyszek is towards everyone and cannot resist anyone's pleas, thus he has accomplished that everyone loves and respects him. Therefore, he should not let anyone accuse him of having changed.* 2. *Iodocus, who used to be so nice, has offended him several times, but now he is saying that it was not for ill will, but due to misunderstanding; it will be of great credit to Dantyszek if he can forgive this.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem episcopum.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Non sum nescius, quibus semper beneficiis ac ornamentis affeceris eos, qui tui nominis fuerunt observantes, et non eos modo, sed etiam qui te saltem nosse cupierunt. Huius rei causa scio eam stare nunc quoque naturam tuam et consuetudinem, ut omnibus sis ad benefaciendum propensus, et neminem patiaris tuum patrocini- 5  
um implorantem, quem non admittas, quem non subleves, cui non adsis omni quo possis auxilio. His igitur tuis moribus, Praesul Amplissime, hac tua natura et alii, quibus imprimis auctus ornatusque es, virtutibus, promeritus es, ut ab omnibus ameris, orneris et summis extollaris laudibus. Non patiare igitur, ut unicus reperiat, qui praedicare possit, te tui factum esse dissimilem, et te consuetudinis humanae esse 10  
oblitum.

[2.] Iodocus<sup>2</sup> tuus olim necessarius tibi que maxime carus, etsi non leviter contra te deliquerit et tuam consuetudinem plurimum offenderit, tamen cum nunc poeniteat se sui delicti, et errore quodam non malitia se quod fecit commisisse confiteatur. Non exiguae certe laudis et gloriae tibi accesserit, Pater InclYTE, si id factum quaecumque 15  
sit, sive errore, sive imperitia commissum ei condonaris. Fac igitur, ut unius culpa ab insigni tua aliis semper benefaciendi natura, ab optimis tuis, quibus semper omnibus placuisti, moribus te non abducat. Et si multos tibi adversantes et aemulos tua virtute, pietate et industria vicisti, te ipsum quoque unice plusque tribuas aliorum iudiciis de te olim fiendis, quam tuis affectibus, ex aliqua nunc praesenti contractis animi com- 20

143,3 modo] *corr.* ex nos 7 hac] *corr.* ex haec

143 <sup>1</sup> Jan Dantyszek, according to the critical edition of his correspondence, see SKOLIMOWSKA–TURSKA 2010. | <sup>2</sup> Probably Justus Ludwik Decjusz or Jakob Ludwig Dietz (ca. 1485–1545), royal envoy to Italy, merchant, historian, reformer of the Polish monetary system. He was Royal Secretary between 1520–1524, later in 1528 Cracow town Councillor, in 1528 alderman in Piotrków, between 1526–1535 Administrator of the Royal Mint in Kaliningrad, see SKOLIMOWSKA–TURSKA 2010, Person #70.

motione. Id si feceris nimirum, amplitudini et gloriae tuae non parum consules. Vale et me ama.

Ex Lincio XV. Februarii MDXXXI.

144

Arnold van Bergheick to Miklós Oláh  
Enghien, 11 March [1531]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 178.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 126.

*He is very happy that such a great person as Oláh, who is also dear to Erasmus, has accepted him as a friend. As far as his praise by Oláh is concerned, it is an exaggeration, but who would not be moved by Oláh's praising words? And although he empathizes with Oláh being in exile, he is glad that Oláh has ended up on their shores as a castaway.*

Arnoldus Oridryus<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secreatio reginae serenissimae.

Si quid mihi unquam in vita votis adblanditum est, Olahe procerum merito Laudatissime, profecto hoc unice volupe fuit summoque gaudio, quod ipse primum vir  
5 tantus, deinde tam incredibili rerum omnium notitia praeditus, ad haec eruditibus omnibus atque imprimis Desiderio Erasmo orbis certo oraculo impense carus, postremo tot curarum, tempestatum et negotiorum mille undis involutus, nihilo secius amiculi et tenuis et nuper nati, non est oblita celsitudinis tuae veneranda humanitas, quin et litteris etiam multo facundissimis iisdemque non fastidiose contractis, sed benigna  
10 musarum vena ac divite dilatatis non te pigunt, quasi perblandae nutriculae in morem adolescens illud recens amicitiae pignus nostrum fovere. Ea nimirum fasciae sunt ac veteris illi Thesaei<sup>2</sup> noduli, quos non leve eruditorum vulgus, sed minime incogitans consuevit genuinus ille e iudicio proficiscens amicorum candor stringere. Ceterum

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144,1 Arnoldus...serenissimae] *O corr:* ex Reverendo domino Nicolao Olah secretario reginali domino honorando 6 Desiderio Erasmo] *corr:* ex Desiderii Erasmi

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144 <sup>1</sup>Arnold van Bergheyc (†1533), theologian and writer. He hellenized his name to Oridrius and devoted himself to the Greek language, delighting in being taught by Rutger Ressen, Professor at the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven. After he had completed his studies, he became a fairly experienced theologian, and for some time he lived in Ghent in the Abbey of St. Peter. He left that house in 1530 and opened a school in Enghien to teach literature. We only know his work *Summa linguae Graecae utilissima Grammaticam Graecam auspicantibus* which was printed in 1538, see CHALMOT 1798, 335–336, and VOCHT 1955, 189–191. | <sup>2</sup>In the Greek mythology, Theseus received a ball of thread from Ariadne so he could find his way out of the Labyrinth.

laudes illas, quas Oridryo tribuit Olahus, magnas existimo, sed maiores aestimo. Quis  
est enim tam fibris, corneis, immo ferreis, qui non sibi plaudat ac penitissime permo- 15  
veatur ἐγκωμιάζοντος τοῦ Ολάου?<sup>3</sup> Gratiam itaque habeo maximam, maiorem etiam  
relaturus, quod Dominatio Tua Carissima litteris Oridryum non sis dedignata, ubi  
vero et per pristinum meum paedagogicum licuerit fusius et te dignius, modo quic-  
quam celsitudine tua, tam omnibus modis amplissima, a nostra tenuitate dignum  
proficisci possit. Lepide certe blanditur mihi spes nihil non esse Olahicae sinceritati 20  
gratissimum. Quod modo e candidis semper musarum ianuis prodierit.

Bene vale atque ut diutissime is sis, quem cupit animus in te meus, id quod facis,  
constanter facies. Deo omnes calamitates committes, humeros etiam in delicatissima  
aula cruci subicies. Exilium tuum tam mihi dolet et patriae deliquium, quam unice  
gaudeam te naviculae nostrae hactenus satis quassae nauclerum coelitus datum. 25

Angiae<sup>4</sup> XI. Martii.<sup>5</sup>

92 145

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Regensburg, 25 March 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 226–227.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 127–128; ALLEN 1938, 202–203.

*In English:* FANTAZZI–ESTES 2016, 310–311.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 635–636.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 158; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 99–101.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 83–84.

1. He will easily forgive Oláh's silence if he thinks about what troubles and work they are laboring under there in the court. Erasmus writes that this age bears terrible people who confuse and break mankind, pretending friendship. 2. The spoon and fork he should not thank for; he should just think of him whenever he eats with them. He gladly recommends Erasmus to the Queen, and now he will be able to write to his friend more frequently.

Nicolai Olai ad Erasmum Roterodamum responsio.

[1.] Noli mirari, mi Erasme, quod ad tuas litteras nuper Augustae<sup>1</sup> mihi redditae<sup>2</sup>  
in hunc diem non responderim. Nam si cogitaris, quantis iactemur in aulis principum  
curis, laboribus et occupationibus, et quam incerta sit nostra in uno loco permansio,  
facile mihi veniam dabis de praeteriti temporis taciturnitate, praesertim si post hoc 5

<sup>3</sup> 'if Oláh praises'. | <sup>4</sup> Engchien is a Walloon municipality located in the Belgian province of Hainaut.

<sup>5</sup> Dating by context and the letter's position in the manuscript. 145 <sup>1</sup> Augsburg. | <sup>2</sup> According to ALLEN 1938, 202: "Not extant; though Olah's letter seems to refer to matters touched in Ep. 2393." That is Ep. 92. in this edition. Because of the next note, we can be certain that Oláh responded to Ep. 92.

frequentius ad te scripsero. Scripseras seculum hoc multa gignere hominum portenta,<sup>3</sup> quae te plerumque in maximam duxerint turbationem, caritatem et humanitatem nunc frigere, simulatas esse amicitias, multosque, quos fides putaveris amicos, et quibuscum benefeceris, ac a quibus bene merebaris oblitos omnis humanitatis a te  
10 turpissime descivisse et ex amicis factos tibi hostes capitales. Nihil mirum est, mi Erasme, si homines hac postrema seculi aetate cum temporibus mutantur, quamvis bonorum eadem est semper constantia, eadem virtus et in amicos humanitas ac benevolentia. Inveniuntur tamen saepenumero, qui cum temporibus in malam rem turpissime se mutari permittant, quibus antequam id facerent, satius erat vel non nasci vel  
15 mori. Non debes igitur talium facilitate moveri, quin potius laeteris te talem esse, in quem etiam hi, quibus fuisti amicus, sint ingrati, et Deus per eos tuam aliis illustrem facere velit patientiam.

[2.] De cocleari et fuscinula<sup>4</sup> non est, quod mihi gratias agas. Non muneris loco ea accipe, sed ut mei memineris, dum prandes caenasque.<sup>5</sup> Apud reginam meam licet  
20 satis commendatum te tuae fecerunt virtutes, tamen eo eris commendatior, quo in patriam tuam contendemus, ubi quamvis tu mihi suffragari debebas, tanquam ignoto et in illa provincia peregrino homini tamen, quantum in me erit, non patiar, ut meam quoque possis operam desiderare. Cum autem istic constitutus fuero, plus mihi veluti hospiti erit otii, per quod crebrioribus et litteris et amicitiae officiis mutuo uti poterimus. Vale, et ut coepisti, me ama.  
25

Datum Ratisponae XXV. Martii 1531.

146

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Veszprém, 2 May 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 373–374.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 128–129.

1. He has already written about the latest news to the Queen, Oláh should also be aware of them by now. As far as Oláh's affairs are concerned, he is trying to fulfill his commitment. Oláh's chaplain has been here. He will get Dörgicse back as well as the rest of his neighboring estates. Bálint Török refuses to give back what he has conquered. He has completely looted Somogy and now has retreated to Nyitra county with his family. He has left János Lengyel behind as captain, maybe it will be easier to negotiate with him about the return. 2. The Queen's castle in Mukachevo is in the hands of Ártándy's servants. If she wants it

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145,16 aliis... 17 velit] *O mut. ex experiri tentet* 22 in<sup>1</sup>... provincia] *O mut. ex illius patriae | homini] O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 92. Cap. 1: "hoc saeculo, quod nobis undique tot gignit, hominum portenta". | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 88, and Ep. 92. Cap. 1. | <sup>5</sup> See Ep. 88.



back, she should write a letter of commission for Szalaházy and a letter of safeguard according to the model he is sending, and he will do what he can.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Nova, quae in praesentia apud nos sint, ad serenissimam dominam reginam perscripsimus. Quae quoniam Dominationem Vestram non dubitamus ex iisdem illis intellecturam, non putavimus hic repetenda esse. In negotiis Dominationis Vestrae quicquid praestare potuimus, praestitimus. Fuit apud nos his diebus capellanus eiusdem, obtulimus illi omnem operam et auctoritatem nostram, possidet Dergycze<sup>1</sup> et illas possessiones Dominationis Vestrae nostris vicinas. Ut dominus Valentinus Therek<sup>2</sup> remitteret bona, quae occupavit hactenus, adduci non potuit, apud quem quantum possimus, vel hinc Dominatio Vestra considerare potest, quod omnes nostras in Simigio<sup>3</sup> possessiones variis exactionibus adeo exhaustis, ut multi aufugere coacti sint, multi ne panem quidem habent ad manducandum. Hoc modo tractato toto fere Simigio Nitriam<sup>4</sup> una cum coniuge, liberis et rebus omnibus se contulit, reliquit capitaneum in Simigio dominum Ioannem Lenghyel,<sup>5</sup> forte apud hunc melius agi de recuperatione bonorum Dominationis Vestrae poterit.

[2.] Nos nihil omittemus, quod praestare poterimus, scripsimus ad serenissimam dominam reginam de arce eius Mwnkach.<sup>6</sup> Est adhuc in manibus servitorum egregii cuiusdam Pauli Arthandy,<sup>7</sup> instant illis ac variis artibus. Apud eos laborant quidam, ut tradant arcem, veremur ne expugnentur. Nam non sunt divites et huiusmodi genus hominum facile cedit muneribus. Nos decrevimus laborare, si quo pacto arcem e manibus eorum eruere possimus, sed timemus, ne cum negotium aggressi fuerimus, haerendum nobis sit, si litteras reginalis maiestatis non habuerimus. Quare si placuerit eius maiestati, ut laboremus, Dominatio Vestra efficiat, ut quamprimum nobis litteras mittat, unas credentiales in personam nostram ad ipsos castellanos, et alteras expeditorias hoc exemplo, quod misimus. Si extorquere arcem e manibus eorum poterimus, mox eius maiestati significabimus, poterit de eo disponere, prout ei visum fuerit, nobis foret admodum molestum, si in manus hostiles deveniret. Quod omnino futurum veremur, si reginalis maiestas cunctata fuerit negotium praevenire. Dominatio Vestra feliciter valere optamus.

Vesprimii secunda Maii 1531.

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146,2 nos] *O corr.* ex vos 7 vicinas] *corr.* ex viciniis

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146 <sup>1</sup> Dörgicse. | <sup>2</sup> For more on him and what follows see Ep. 127. Note 5. | <sup>3</sup> Somogy county. On Török's devastation in this county, see BESSENYEI 1994, XIV. | <sup>4</sup> Nyitra county. | <sup>5</sup> János Lengyel of Tóti (†1532?) was an aristocrat loyal to King Ferdinand I, who bestowed many possessions to him e.g. Zalaegerszeg, and Csesznek. He was Royal Master Seneschal (*magister regalis dapiferorum*) from 1527 until his death. | <sup>6</sup> Mukachevo. | <sup>7</sup> Pál Ártándy of Kereki (ca. 1490–1533) was a follower of King John I, and the Bailiff of Máramaros county between 1526–1530. He and his brother, Balázs were executed by Gritti, see HEISS 1976, 84.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
[Bratislava?], [after 2 May 1531]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 372–373.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 129–130.

1. *He is surprised that he has not received an answer to his last letter, although time is of the essence. People in the Mukachevo castle are poor and starving, and so it is to be feared that they could be bought. He should persuade the queen write to the castellans with the model he has sent, there is no time to waste.*  
2. *After he had left Veszprém, the priest in Tihany captured Oláh's chaplain and fined him, then he invaded Oláh's possessions and commissioned Choron to get them back. The abbey in Tapolca keeps changing hands, now it belongs to Diósgyőr; but they cannot defend it. He should send his letter to Ferenc Újlaki, he will get it to him.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem

[1.] Scripseramus nuper<sup>1</sup> ex Vesprimio ad Dominationem Vestram et ad serenissimam reginam de negotio arcis Mwnkach.<sup>2</sup> Miramur, quod nihil rescripserit, nam res festinatione indiget. Quamvis enim illi ipsi castellani adhuc eam habeant, qui antea,  
5 tamen per varios mire sollicitantur, non solum minis, sed et pollicitationibus largitionibusque. Qui cum sint pauperes et conditionis infimae, verendum est, ne tandem expugnentur. Nos quidem continue eos hortamur ac admonemus, ut memores fidelitatis et constantiae arcem illam serenissimae dominae reginae servent. Nescimus tamen, quantum nostra opera sive litteris reginalis maiestatis prodesse posset. Quare  
10 Dominatio Vestra efficiat, ut eius maiestas litteras scribat ad ipsos castellanos eo exemplo, quod nuper misimus ad Dominationem Vestram. Nos nec laboris nec sollicitudinis quicquam omittemus, quo commodis eius maiestatis inservire possimus, sed festinatione opus est, ne illi interim artibus adversariorum seducantur. Induciae annuae confectae sunt, sed parum bene observantur. Nescimus, qui motus in dies au-  
15 diuntur.

[2.] Monachus etiam ille Thikoniensis<sup>3</sup> post nostrum a Vesprimio discessum capellanum Dominationis Vestrae cepit ac multavit, bonaque Dominationis Vestrae occupavit. Arbitramur ea rursus per Choron<sup>4</sup> nostrum recuperata esse. Nam ut id faceret, ei commiseramus. Abbatiam de Thapolcza<sup>5</sup> nunc unus nunc alter possidet,  
20 tenetur nunc ab illis de Dyosghyer,<sup>6</sup> sed parum defenditur, bona eius dicuntur plurimum esse desolata. Si Cassoviam<sup>7</sup> quemadmodum constituimus proficisci poterimus,

147,17 bonaque] *corr:* ex bonasque

147 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 146. | <sup>2</sup> Mukachevo. | <sup>3</sup> Tihany. | <sup>4</sup> András Choron or János Choron. To András see Ep. 37. Note 1. | <sup>5</sup> Tapolca. | <sup>6</sup> Diósgyőr, fortress next to Tapolca. | <sup>7</sup> Košice.

providebimus abbatae illi, prout melius fieri poterit, defensionem nos suscipiemus, ceterum proventus eius Vestrae Dominationis esse patiemur. De futura concordia nihil adhuc affirmari potest, si quid intellexerimus, faciemus Dominationem Vestram certio- 25 rem. Quae et bene valeat, et subinde nos servitiaque nostra serenissimae dominae reginae humillime commendet. Litteras, quas Dominatio Vestra missura est, mittat in curiam regiae maiestatis ad manus domini Francisci Wilaky<sup>8</sup> praepositi Poseniensis, secretarii regiae maiestatis, qui eas ad nos perferendas curabit.<sup>9</sup>

148

Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
Šintava, 12 May 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 396.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 133; SZENDREI 1890, 177;

BUNYITAY–KARÁCSONYI–RAPAICS 1904, 134–135; ERDÉLYI 2005, 236–237.

*Since Oláh has been away, he has written Thurzó less. László Soklyóssy has received the Miskolc parish, since presbyter Márton has died, and his place was vacant. He is asking Oláh to concede this parish to Soklyóssy and to confirm him.*

Alexius Turzo comes locumtenens regis Ferdinandi in Hungaria Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende Domine, Amice nobis honorande! Postquam Dominatio Vestra ex hac patria nostra communi in regna ac provincias externas<sup>1</sup> se recepit et nostri et officii sui immemor, raras eius accepimus litteras. Non fuisset alienum a nostra amicitia, ut 5 Dominatio Vestra more suo alias consueto frequentiores de rebus omnibus, praesertim de iis, quae dignae fuissent ad nos perferre, fecisset nos certiores. Sed ita usu venit, ut absentia oblivionem eorum, quorum consuetudo intermittitur, adferat. Ceterum meminit Dominatio Vestra, quod alias quoque locuti sumus Dominationi Vestrae de negotio plebaniae de Myskolcz,<sup>2</sup> quae ut Dominatio Vestra non ignorat, fuit 10

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148,1 Alexius ... 2 salutem] *O add.* 3 Reverende] *O mut. ex Egregie*

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<sup>8</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. | <sup>9</sup> We only suppose that Szalaházy wrote this letter after the previous one (Ep. 146) in Bratislava where he spent almost the whole year. 148 <sup>1</sup> Thurzó means that after Oláh had left Hungary and Austria. Oláh sent him several letters from Linz and Augsburg, see the letters Ep. 32, 47, 48, 59, 80, 81, 106, and 107. | <sup>2</sup> The parish of Miskolc was donated to Soklyóssy by Queen Mary in 1524, but later she retracted the donation, and so it remained with Oláh, see ERDÉLYI 2005, 236. Note 291. About the debate on the parish of Miskolc, see Ep. 147. Cap. 2.; HUSZTI 1998, 624–626, and DOBROSSY 2000, 172.

capellano etiam nostro, videlicet magistro Ladislao de Soklyos,<sup>3</sup> canonico ecclesiae Poseniensis collata, quod Dominatio Vestra cum alioquin non indigeat in praesentia eiusmodi beneficio, amicitiae nostrae causa plebaniam illam eidem capellano nostro dare, remittere et resignare curaret, protraxit tamen Dominatio Vestra idipsum usque  
15 in hoc tempus, et cum quidam Martinus presbyter, qui Dominationem Vestram in ea plebania vicem gessit, iam sit vita functus et plebania illa careat suo moderatore. Rogamus Dominationem Vestram plurimum et ex animo, velit amicitiae nostrae causa plebaniam iam dictam capellano nostro praescripto remittere et resignare. Si  
20 Dominatio Vestra in hoc nobis (sicut non dubitamus) morem gesserit, habeat sibi pro persuaso, quod rebus suis et accessionibus omnibus ita favebimus, ut recompensa illi vicissim conferamus. Exspectamus in hoc ita nobis responderi, ne videamur hoc exiguum negotium non potuisse tantis precibus nostris consequi. Cupimus Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere.

Ex arce nostra Sempthe feria sexta proxima ante Dominicam Rogationum 1531.

## 149

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Ghent, 21 May 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 44. and p. 227–228.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 130.

*The smoke of the home is brighter than fire abroad, and we can only see clearly too late. If he had to decide now, he would make a different decision, but then he could not act otherwise; he now regrets that he listened to others' advice and not to his own mind. Now he has to endure the fate that has been meted out on him; if his friends were with him, that would be easier as well.*

Nicolai Olai thesaurarii Albensis ad amicum epistola.

Mi Frater, scis, vetus esse proverbium fumum domesticum igne alieno esse luculentior, utinam id dictum, antequam huc venissem, animo meo inhaesisset. Melius et meis et tuis, cuius commoda mihi curae sint, rebus esset consultum. Sero, ut di-

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149,3 venissem] p. 44 O corr. ex venissent

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149,2 fumum...luculentior] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,II,16: "Patriae fumus, igni alieno luculentior", see MYNORS 1982, 161, and also Ep. 129. 4 Sero...5 Phryges] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,1,28: "Sero sapient Phryges", see MYNORS 1982, 76–77, and Erasmus, *Carm.* 2, 172–173: "More Phrygum inter ista / Incipimus sero sapere", see VREDEVELD 1993, 22, and VREDEVELD 2000, 133.

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<sup>3</sup> László Soklyóssy, Canon of Bratislava between 1525–1533, from 1543 Canon of Esztergom, see Esztergom, PL, AR AS, Classis O, 596; KENYERES 2002, 72, and KOLLÁNYI 1900, 144.

cunt, sapiunt Phryges. Si mutare consilium sine meorum rerum detrimento possem, 5  
profecto nihil morarer, sed cum plurimae sint rationes, ut subito id me facere non  
liceat, neque sit possibile. Perferenda est, quaecumque nos maneat fortuna. Nunquam  
meae me cogitationes fefellissent, neque me in hanc Charibdim<sup>1</sup> immissem, si  
hortatus amicorum meorum pluris non fecissem, quam meum consilium. Nunc tarde  
nimirum intelligo cum magno meo et damno et animi perturbatione, quam multum 10  
errarim, aliorum consilia meis praeferens, utcumque tamen sit, mi Frater, patienter  
omnia fero. Et si laetos aliquandiu tecum et cum aliis nostris amicis communibus  
pulcherrimos obivimus dies, hos quoque tristes patienti perferam animo. Si amici mei  
adessent, facilius omnia etiam acerbiora perferrem, sed cum solus sim, videor tristem  
agere vitam. Vale. 15

Ex Gandavo 21. Maii 1531.

## 150

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Joannes  
[Ghent], [before 24 May] 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 143.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 130–131.

*He can only commend his advice, even if he departed from their previous agreement, which he is only noticing now, and for which many are judging him. Joannes should believe him that these are terrible times, and they will barely be able to overcome them, or only through great difficulties. He does not know what to recommend, he himself would also prefer to live a quiet life somewhere else.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem amicum.

Non possum non probare tuum consilium, qui etsi cum de rationibus rerum com-  
munium tractabamus, videbaris non parum aberrare a vero consilio, tamen nunc  
primum sapuisse videris, et tua prudentia ingenique tui perspicacia omnem nostram  
sapientiam antevertisse ab omnibus iudicatur. Quare, mi Ioannes, crede mihi, in mala 5  
perturbataque tempora incidimus, ex quibus vix vel cum magna difficultate exire  
poterimus. Quid dicam, nescio. Et quid mihi sit consilii, penitus ignoro. Cum video  
ista adversissima tempora, ea quoque, quae adhuc superventura sunt, pericula reformidat  
animus, et quid mihi sit agendum, ignoro. Mallem, si Deus id ex sua gratia

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6 cum] p. 227 O(?) del. ex cum tam p. 44 cum tam | plurimae] p. 44 plures 8 hanc] p. 227 om.  
Charibdim] p. 44 Carybdim | immissem] p. 44 intrusissem 12 aliquandiu] p. 44 aliquando  
13 pulcherrimos] p. 227 pulcherrime | tristes] p. 44 O del. ex tristes solus, p. 227 tristes solus

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149 <sup>1</sup> Charybdis was a sea monster or whirlpool, considered a shipping hazard in Greek mythology. Oláh often used this ship-allegory.

10 concederet, in loco aliquo esse, ubi quiete vitam hanc temporariam agere possem, et quod reliquum est vitae, sine animi perturbatione transigere. Si quid mihi dare consilii poteris, rogo pro nostra communi amicitia eaque coniunctissima, id facere non graveris. Vale.

Anno MDXXXI.

## 151

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Joannes  
Ghent, 24 May 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 143–144.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 131.

*Oláh understands what advice he has received from his friend, and he admires his wise foresight that he can still give advice, which Oláh will also take. Only his friend's presence would be better than his advice, so if he can, he should hasten to Oláh.*

Ad eundem.

Quid mihi consilii dederis et cuius me voluntatis esse velis his rebus adversis, ex litteris tuis ad me rescriptis sane intellexi. Non possum non mirari tuam prudentiam, qui amicis adversissimo tempore optime consulere didiceris. Erat certe in animo meo  
5 fixa tua admonitio et nullo modo patiar eam avelli. Verum si per tuum otium, mi Ioannes, fieri liceret, et rebus tuis non officeret, nulla res maiorem mihi consolationem afferre posset, quam tua praesentia, qua me depositis omnibus animi perturbationibus plurimum recreari existimarem. Si igitur aliquid unquam in te amicitiae contuli, vel quicquam mearum fuit tibi iucundissimum, fac rogo, quatenus id e re tua  
10 fieri poterit, ut ad me cito venias. Vale.

Ex Gandavo XXIII. Maii MDXXXI.

## 152

Miklós Oláh to Paulus Venetus  
Ghent, 26 May 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 144.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 131–132.

*Life at court is difficult, they can always see something that hurts; there is constant agitation as to who he should help, and if he happens to be doing well, others cozy up to him to gain advantages. Nothing is constant here, so he should not regret living far from the court, dedicated to literature.*

Nicolai Olai ad Paulum Venetum.<sup>1</sup>

Durum est esse in curia, semper videas aliquid, quod doleas, quod tibi summo-  
pere displiceat. Mens nunquam quieta, cogitat quisque semper, quo pacto aliorum  
adversetur fortunis. Nunquam segura est hominis conditio. Nunc hanc, nunc in hanc  
impellitur partem. Si te viderint rebus affluentem, es omnibus honori, magnis affice- 5  
ris ornamentis, qui prius te salutet, is melior est et laudabilior, verum si fortuna ali-  
quantisper tibi adversabitur et ea te in praecipitem quempiam locum deiecerit, nihil  
est te abiectius, eris omnibus ludibrio, derideris ab iis, quibus cum aliquando bene  
feceris et quibus ornamento fuisti. Quid igitur plura tibi de statu curialium scribam?  
Cum hic nihil reperire possis, quod constans sit. Omnia ad flatum fortunae mutantur, 10  
sed fortasse te movet principis favor et gratia; ea quoque non secus, ut alia tempori-  
bus regitur, et in horas mutatur. Quare desine, mi Frater, anxius esse et sollicitus,  
quod te a curia iamdudum in otium honestum contuleris. Sapiens enim, mihi crede, si  
te cupiditas curiae non sollicitaverit, et te in eo loco ubi cum maxima et animi et  
corporis tranquillitate nunc agis, contriveris illud, quod superest aetatis tuae, otioque 15  
litterario te dedideris. Vale et me haec in bonam partem ad te scripsisse existima.

Gandavi XXVI. Maii MDXXXI.

153

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Ghent, 30 May 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 144–145.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 132–133.

*Everyone is saying that Burgio is very much interested in the commotion, but what he does not want to believe is that he has changed so much. He, who has always loved Burgio, is now asking that he should not change, and he should not start something that can endanger him, instead, satisfied with the opportunities, he should lead a quiet life and continue reading books.*

Idem ad Ioannem baronem.<sup>1</sup>

Novarum rerum te esse valde studiosum omnes, qui ex istis veniunt partibus, mirifice apud omnes depraedicant.<sup>2</sup> Quod satis mirari non possum te, si id ita est,

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152 <sup>1</sup>We do not know him more closely. 153 <sup>1</sup>Giovanni Antonio Buglio Barone del Burgio (ca. 1485–1538), Sicilian Baron and Papal Legate. He was the first Apostolic Nuncio to Hungary between 1524–1526. During the battle of Mohács, he remained in Buda; later he accompanied Queen Mary of Hungary when she left for Bratislava. He played a leading role in reporting on the battle and its consequences. In 1529, he returned to Sicily, then between 1531–1532 he negotiated between King Henry VIII and the Holy See in England. For more on his biography, see RILL–SCICHLONE 1972. | <sup>2</sup>A 16<sup>th</sup>-century word, meaning ‘to proclaim’, see RAMMINGER.

nuper humanum, modestum tuis rebus contentum, omni praeditum virtute, tam parvi  
5 temporis momento subito esse mutatum et rebus novis struendis faciendisque esse  
intentum. Si ea in re, quod non credo perseveraris et longius perrexeris, magnam  
mihi crede perniciem et calamitatem tibi contrahes. Quae nihil aliud tibi alioqui a  
bonis studiis et ab his, quae virtutis sunt comites, rebus non abhorrenti, quam ma-  
gnum dedecus et periculum, mihi crede, sunt allaturae. Quare scis me tui semper  
10 fuisse studiosissimum, nihil unquam quantum mearum virium fuit, quod ego sciam,  
tibi consuluisse, quod rebus tuis fuisset detrimento. Eodem igitur, quo semper fui in  
te amore, studio et benevolentia te rogo, et, si pateris, exhortor, cave, ne tui sis dissi-  
milis, et ne quid rerum novarum periculum tibi tuisque adferentium incipias, sed ea,  
quam tibi fortuna tribuit, facultate contentus vitam agas quietam, et quae quatenus a  
15 te fieri poterit nullius criminationi sit obnoxia. Iterque tuum, quod coepisti bonis  
litteris colendis, libris legendis, continua. Quod si feceris, mihi crede, sapienter non  
solum rebus tuis, sed etiam vitae consules. Vale.

Gandavi XXX. Maii anno Domini MDXXXI.

## 154

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Ghent, 2 June 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 145–146.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 134–135.

1. He does not know what sins and evil deeds Újlaki is talking about, but if he talks more clearly, he might be able to understand him. Újlaki mentions sins, but he does not say what has caused them. Since they have been good friends for a long time, Újlaki should help Oláh understand with the help of the kind of friendship that endures both the good and the bad. 2. Oláh is sending Johannes Cornelius, so if Újlaki has something more confidential to say, he can tell him. Many fall ill when they suddenly change their lifestyle. Újlaki has gotten used to the court from an early age, and now he has left it, maybe that is the cause of his misery as well. If this is the case, he will speak with the ruler on his behalf, so Újlaki can recover.

Idem ad Franciscum praepositum.

[1.] Quod scelus, quae flagitia, quam turpitudinem tu in tuis litteris commemoras, nescio. An te aliquid ex tuis accepisse mali sentis, vel in tuis negotiis, quae maxima te habuisse certo intellexi, tibi impositum esse putas, si apertius in tuis litteris uteris, et clarius tuam voluntatem animique sententiam explicares, possem fortasse tibi  
5 consulere. Sed cum tam implicate et ὑπερβολικῶς<sup>1</sup> fere in tuis scriptis sis usus, quis amicorum tibi consulere potest? Scelera, flagitia, turpitudinem quandam in tuis litte-

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154 <sup>1</sup> 'in an exaggerated way'.



ris commemoras, sed retices earum rerum causam, vel a quo ea tibi sint illata, vel quid tibi contigerit rerum alienarum. Quare si vis amicorum tuorum, et velle debes, uti consiliis, auxilio et ope, fac, ut clarius te intelligamus, tua permotus amicitia et familiaritate, qua ab initio, ut scis, constantissime invicem fuimus, non secundis modo, sed etiam multis adversis rebus, quae veram a falsa amicitiam discernere consueverunt. 10

[2.] Misi ad te Ioannem Cornelium<sup>2</sup> tui et mei studiosissimum, ut si quid esset rei secretioris te animumque tuum anxie torquens, quod litteris mandare nolles vel non auderes, huic esses significaturus. A quo cum tandem tuum animum intellexero, non discedam, mihi crede, a meo officio, sed faciam, quantum in me erit, quod amicus amico praestare debebit. Sed heus, tu, quae te consilia nuper ceperint, ut a nobis abesse, et nescio quam solitariam vitam, quam nobiscum agere malueris, huius fortasse facti te poenitet. Dum enim assuetus es a pueritia tua vitae aulicae et consuetudini eorum, qui sunt in principum conspectu, huius tuae vitae praesentis te taedet. Vidi enim ego multos, qui cum ex levitate quapiam vel desiderio vitae novae assumendae, vel propter levem quampiam iniuriolam suum statum et vivendi conditionem immutarunt, qui in maximam prolapsi sunt paulo post tempore animi perturbationem. Ex qua aliquando in immedicabilem inciderunt aegritudinem, ut enim animi morbus cruciatusve maior est quam corporis, sic corpora quavis confecta aegritudine facilius sanantur, quam animi affectus. Ea si re cruciaris, optimum apud te medicum agere scio, nam idem adhibendum est remedium, quod tibi prius detractum fuerat, id est curiae status. Fac me modo certiolem, quae res te cruciet, et cuius sis voluntatis, praestabo apud principem meum, ut convalescas. Vale et me ama. 30

Gandavi secunda Iunii anno MDXXXI.

## 155

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Ghent, 5 June 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 146.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 135.

*Why is he risking his life, where there is no way out? If he has acted on his own volition, it can only be damned, if his friends had recommended it, he is less to blame, but they need to be scolded; he should have remembered that nobody else can make a better decision concerning his affairs than he himself. He should listen to Johannes, whom he is now sending over.*

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<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Nicolai Olai ad eundem.

Quae res, oro, te, mi Frater, impulit, ut in eam vitae conditionem praecipitares, unde vix vel cum summa difficultate te eruere posses! Si proprio id consilio fecisti, levitatem hanc tuam, ne dicam imprudentiam, nemo est, qui non vituperet. Sin amicorum tuorum, quos non paucos habuisti, persuasionibus, minus tu quidem errasti, sed non parum illi, quales sint tui amici, sunt reprehendendi, qui te imprudentem in hunc statum pellexerunt. Attamen meminisse debebas, neminem melius et prudentius tibi in rebus privatis tuis, quam te ipsum consulere posse. Quocumque modo tamen res sit, fac, ut Ioannis<sup>1</sup> nostri admonitionem, quem nunc ad te misimus, non reicias.

10 Vale.

Gandavi quinta Iunii anno MDXXXI.

## 156

Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 23 June 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 397.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 135–136; SZENDREI 1890, 178;

BUNYITAY–KARÁCSONYI–RÁPAICS 1904, 142–143; ERDÉLYI 2005, 250–251.

*In Hungarian:* HUSZTI 1998, 178.

*Since Oláh has left with the Queen, he has barely responded to Thurzó, although he is able to write to others. As Thurzó knows, László Soklyóssy master chaplain is asking that Oláh concede the Miskolc parish, since he will not occupy it anyway. Thurzó is also begging him to concede the parish on account of their friendship.*

Idem Turzo Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende Domine, Amice nobis Honorande! Credimus Dominationem Vestram esse nostri iam factam immemorem, quandoquidem post eius cum reginali maiestate discessum nihil litterarum a Dominatione Vestra accepimus. Quamvis non ignoremus  
5 Dominationem Vestram non praetermisisse ad alios scribere, forsán non fuisset alienum, si etiam ad nos aliquid rerum novarum scripsisset. Exspectamus id, quod hactenus neglectum est, litterarum frequentia resarciri.

Ceterum scimus Dominationem Vestram compertum esse, quamdiu magister Ladislaus Sokyosi<sup>1</sup> capellanus noster nobis inseruit, supplicavit, ut cum Dominatio  
10 Vestra plebaniam de Myskolcz<sup>2</sup> nunc habeat, nec unquam in illius possessionem se

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155,6 quales] *del. ex quales quales*

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155 <sup>1</sup> According to the previous letter (Ep. 154.), Joannes Cornelius. 156 <sup>1</sup> László Soklyóssy. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 148. Note 2.

conferat, cum maiora Dominatio Vestra habeat beneficia, virtuteque sua indies ad ampliora provehatur, pro illius plebaniae resignatione, eidem fieri partes nostras apud Dominationem Vestram interponemus. Proinde cum servitorum ipsius magistri Ladislai non vulgaris apud nos habeatur respectus, rogamus Dominationem Vestram plurimum et ex animo, velit amicitiae nostrae causa plebaniam iam dictam capellano nostro prae-nominato libere resignare, si unquam nostra opera Dominatio Vestra indigerit, propenso animo in rebus suis id Dominationi Vestrae rependemus et gratificabimur. Sperat capellanus noster autoritate nostra id a Dominatione Vestra se consecuturum, quod optat. Nos quoque arbitramur indubie, quod in hac re exigua apud Dominationem Vestram repulsam non patiemur. Quam cupimus feliciter valere. Pragae in vigilia Beati Ioannis Baptistae anno Domini 1531.

157

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Brussels, 2 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 146–149.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 136–139.

1. Even if it seems as though he has done something recklessly, it is not the case. Who is not aware of King Ferdinand I's merits, virtues, and sense of justice? 2. His brother, the Emperor would not be able to organize the fight against the Turks without his help: he has taken the task assigned to him seriously, and he is doing everything to protect Christianity. The Emperor has gathered the Prince-electors and made Ferdinand King of Italy, so that he can take even stronger action against the enemy with this name. 3. It is rumored that everything happened differently than they had thought. I.e. Hieronymus Łaski, whether at King John I's request or on his own, has succeeded in arranging that they pay an annual tax to the Turks. Then it seemed that all chance was gone for them to be able to do something for Christianity. But this is all the more reason for them not to give up hope, and during times of peace he should figure what to do in times of war. 4. There is nothing else he should warn Ferdinand of, only that he should not consider some affairs back home as important as he did the other day. Among his subjects, the Hungarians, the Czech and the Austrians, unfairness is so great that if anything goes wrong, they blame each other. Thus, he should stay strong, and everything will come to his aid.

Ad Ferdinandum regem Romanorum, Hungariae etc.

[1.] Non sum nescius, quantum is conatus meus, Rex Inclitissime, a multis reprehendi possit, et quod ex officio me facere oportuit, id ex temeritate susceptum esse multi dicant. Tamen temeritatis notam qualemcumque malui subire, quam non officio meo, quod tibi a multis iam annis debeo, aliqua ex parte satisfacere, praesertim cum non dubitem eam esse Serenitatis Tuae in me clementiam, ut quicquid pro mea in

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157,4 dicant] *O mut.* ex reprehendant | subire] *O corr.* ex sentire

eam observantia his meis litteris sim mandaturus, boni aequique consulas. Tuas  
animi dotes, virtutes, aequitatem, magnitudinem principi excellenti dignam quis  
ignorat? Aut quae esse potest in orbe natio, ad quam virtutis, gloriae ac nominis tui  
10 fama non pervenerit? Nullum certe arbitror non modo propinquum nobis populum,  
sed etiam remotissimum, qui non audierit, qua virtute, animi constantia, fortitudine et  
alacritate contra hostes fidei semper decertaveris, et dum etiam certandi tempus non  
fuit, quibus curis et cogitationibus semper molitus sis, ut occasione sese offerente  
possis hostibus fidei et maxime tuis, qui provinciae tuae fines dies et noctes incur-  
15 sant, quam praeclarissime et strenuissime resistere. Ad hoc, Rex Serenissime, tuas  
animi vires semper tetendisti, ne quid temporis praetermitteres ad rem bene geren-  
dam apti et convenientis, sed ut aliquis ad luctam strenuissimam natus, continuo  
quantum in te est, tuis hostibus tete opponeres. Maxime autem his temporibus supe-  
rioribus id ex animo tentasti.

20 [2.] Nam cum caesar Carolus inclitus frater tuus germanus in Germania superiore  
aestatem praeteritam exegisset, et rebus fidei aliquorum malignitate infectis, id sal-  
tem in imperio post multas curas et labores perfecisset, ut quisque contra Turcas  
animo forti et constanti conflueret, viresque ac facultates suas impartiretur. Ac nonni-  
hil imperii ac autoritatis tibi uni caesar tribueret ad bellum hoc Turcicum peragen-  
25 dum. Tu paratissimo animo hoc negotii quantumcumque gravis et propter hostis  
potentiam difficillimi acceptasti, et iam tunc primum decreveras omnia tua, quae-  
cumque haberes, pro religione Christiana tuenda ad hanc insumere expeditionem  
Turcicam. Et non modo tuas omnes facultates, sed etiam si ita casus ferret, vitam  
tuam esses in ea expositurus. Cum igitur hoc animo esses, caesar ut te magis suffi-  
30 cientem et idoneum faceret ad id tantumque negotii obeundum, non putavit esse  
indecorum liberis suis, quos ex se genuerat imperii sui non minimam partem adi-  
mere, ut te ea dignitate ornaret. Convocatis itaque electoribus principibus te in regem  
Romanorum creavit, ut eo esses contra hostes firmior, auctior et instructor, quo  
maiore imperio fulcireris et maior tibi dignitas, autoritas et nomen accessisset. Cum  
35 ergo in ea omnes boni essent spe, ut inter omnes alios Christianos principes tu esses  
unicus, qui hostibus obviare, vires eorum obtundere et fugare et auderes et posses.

[3.] Venit huc ad nos fama rem aliter, ut omnes opinabamur, cecidisse. Ita res  
humanae sunt inconstantes, leves et mutabiles. Nam allatum est Hieronimum a La-  
sko,<sup>1</sup> qui nuntium Ioannis regis<sup>2</sup> rebus inter vos tumultuantibus aliquoties apud Tur-  
40 carum imperatorem egit, sive commissione ipsius Ioannis, sive sponte sua apud Tur-  
cam effecisse, ut liceret inter vos annuas esse inducias, ea lege, ut intra annum hoc  
tempus posset etiam de pace futura eaque perpetua inter vos tractari, huic autem rei te

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9 quam] *corr. ex* quas 10 Nullum] *O mut. ex* Neminem 22 perfecisset] *O corr. ex* effecisset 32 ut] *O*  
*corr. ex* et 36 eorum] *O add. sup. l.*

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157 <sup>1</sup> Hieronymus Łaski. | <sup>2</sup> It is very unusual that Oláh calles Szapolyai king.

consensisse. Id cum certo acceperimus, visa est omnis tua voluntas, omnis conatus  
rei adversus Turcas hoc anno gerendae nunc interclusus esse, et haec quae nunc est  
ocasio pro religione Christiana aliquid agendi, omnino sublata. Quae licet tibi nunc 45  
erepta sit factis annuis induciis, non tamen hac re credendum est te omnino animum  
abiecisse ab aliqua expeditione in posterum contra Turcas praeclare facienda. Erit  
adhuc ex Dei benignitate tempus, quo tuum pristinum tam sanctissimum propositum  
perficere aliquando possis. Quis sit, an Deus optimus maximus, cui curae sunt res  
populi sui, hanc ipsam expeditionem ad tempus magis conveniens et opportunum 50  
prorogare voluerit, ut interea maioribus viribus Christiani sese munire, et hostibus  
obviam ire te duce possent. Non est igitur, cur te huius tui facti, vel ex necessitate,  
vel quamcumque aliam ob rem suscepti maxime poeniteat. Quod nunc prorogatum  
est, tempore adveniente maiore cum laude confici poterit. Id unum tamen in animo 55  
tuo res Christianas curae habenti diligentius semper revolvito pacis tempore cogitan-  
dum esse, quid postea bello interveniente praestare possis. Ea si cogitatio animum  
tuum insederit, et iacula venientia praevideris, minus tibi verendum erit, quin tibi ea  
obfutura sint, et adversa quaeque tempora tibi rebusque tuis nocitura.

[4.] Non est autem, Princeps Serenissime, cur ego te huius rei admoneam, satis  
dies noctesque cogitantem de his, quae contra hostem nostrum communem repellen- 60  
dum pertineant, tuapte natura, ingenio, industria et cogitatione tua facis, quantum ego  
a secretis tuis hactenus tuos mores cognovi, quae ad reipublicae Christianae defensi-  
onem, nominis tui gloriam pertinere videntur, hoc unum saltem me ex ea, quam tibi  
debeo, integritate ac fide monente, admitte rogo, ne tantum tuis tribuas nonnullis  
domesticis, quantum hactenus tribuisti. Hi enim occasionem, mihi crede, praestitere, 65  
ut subditi tui, quibus praees et Bohemi et Hungari tuae voluntati tam saepe non acce-  
derent et facerent, quod ab eis contenderes. Tanta est illorum apud eos indignitas, ut  
omnia quaecumque in hanc horam sunt in tuo imperio sive Hungarico, sive Bohe-  
mico, sive Austriaco malefacta, illis tribuant, illos in omnibus reprehendant, tuaque  
omnia, quae hactenus tibi contingerunt adversa, illorum malis consiliis adscribant et 70  
dicant aperte omnibus audientibus tuam licet naturam, Rex Inclite, prudentiam, iusti-  
tiam et alias animi virtutes omnibus regibus, qui nostrae sunt tempestate, nunc prae-  
ferendas esse, tamen pace tua dictum sit, Rex Optime, ita te illaqueatum esse et  
constrictum illorum persuasionibus, ut non sit liberum te ea, quae velis quaeque  
honestas sunt, et quae ad utilitatem tuam et regnorum tuorum ac reipublicae Christi- 75  
anae pertineant, sequi, praestare et facere.

Quare, Princeps Potentissime, si consideraris, quam necessarium et in rempubli-  
cam Christianam sit contra hostes fidei, Christo iuvante aliquid praeclari agere,  
quamque nunc huic rei agenda sit bona occasio, hancque materiam querendi tuis  
subditis ademeris, et eorum verbis, persuasionibus, adulationique, qui bonis omnibus 80  
sunt exosi, posthac aures occluseris, proculdubio rebus tuis non parum commodabis,

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43 consensisse] *O(?) corr. ex confecisse* 72 praeferendas] *corr. ex perferendas*

et facies, ut quique boni te ad caelum usque efferant, ac rebus tuis, quas habiturus es  
contra Turcas hostes fidei, non modo faveant, sed etiam et facultates tuas omnes, et  
quod maius est, vitam denique suam paratissimo animo praestent praebeantque. Vale  
85 et mea obsequia fidelia habe commendata.

Ex Bruxellis II. Iulii 1531.

158

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 6 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 149–150.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 139–140.

1. While they were depressed by work and finances, the aristocrats met with the representatives of the provinces this day. The Emperor and the Queen entered the palace gilded in gold and silver; where the Bishop of Palermo spoke on the Emperor's behalf in French. The gist was that after Margaret's death, they could not find anyone more suitable for Governor of the Netherlands than Queen Mary, whom they have appointed Governor. 2. Oláh said to Queen Mary after the ceremony that he wished God would help this province, so that she can rule happily here, but if there is peace in Hungary, the Queen should return, to which she responded: amen.

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem.

[1.] Dum hic pertaesi laborum et expensarum, quibus maxime urgemur, expecta-  
remus indies sollicite, quid in rebus reginae futurum esset, primores cum designatis  
harum provinciarum oratoribus ad hunc diem huc convenerunt. Caesar<sup>1</sup> cum regina  
5 ad palatium iam ante triduum peristromatis pretiosis auro argentoque textis adorna-  
tum et involutum ad horam nonam ante meridianam descendit. Et cum utrique asse-  
dissent loco, qui eis erat praeparatus, provincialesque expectarent verba caesaris,  
episcopus Panormitanus<sup>2</sup> cancellarius in his provinciis caesaris, homo provec-  
tae iam  
10 aetatis et in rebus gerendis iam diu versatus lingua Gallica caesaris nomine verba  
fecit. Quorum sententia haec erat: caesarem mortua domina Margarita<sup>3</sup> in animo  
frequenti cogitatione versasse, quemnam gubernationi harum provinciarum praefice-  
ret, qui et ei et provincialibus esse utilitati et ornamento. Ad hoc autem muneris  
neque aptiorem neque sufficientiorem circumspectis omnibus quemquam alium

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158 <sup>1</sup> Emperor Charles V. | <sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet (1469–1545) was a Burgundian cleric, politician, and one of the most important advisors to Emperor Charles V. He was Bishop of Palermo from 1519 until his death, and he became chairman of the Secret Council in 1522. Carondelet corresponded with Erasmus and served as one of the most influential officials in the court of the Burgundian Netherlands before Queen Mary of Hungary became the next Governor, see OLIN 1985. | <sup>3</sup> Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) was Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands.

reperisse, quam serenissimam reginam sororem suam. Quam magnis licet precibus tamen huc accersivisse, eamque nunc praesentem gubernatricem eorum constituere; 15 ipsam itaque audirent, ad eius nutum, voluntatem et arbitrium omnia agerent. Qui quidem secus faceret, eum se poenitutum ob mandatum neglectum. Proceres et nuntii missi gratias caesari egerunt de ea gubernatrice eis data, cuius prudentiam, integritatem, virtutem iam pridem audivissent, et nunc certam intuerentur, facturi igitur essent omnia ad caesaris mandatum. 20

[2.] His ita factis discessum est ab aula, comitatusque sum reginam ad cubiculum, cui in ingressu dixi me cupere hoc regiminis sui principium Deum optimum maximum fortunare et prosperum facere et concessurum, ut feliciter his regionibus praeesse possit, verum si pax futura sit in Hungaria stabilis, debere maiestatem suam Hungariam revisere. Ipsa hanc meam precationem conclusit his verbis inquiring: 25 “Amen.” Non puta hoc oneris me remoraturam hic, modo Hungaria, uti speramus, stabiliatur. Haec volui meo more tibi significare, ut scires, quid hic sit actum. Vale et sis mei memor.

Bruxellis VI. Iulii 1531.

## 159

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics (?)  
Brussels, 11 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 150–151.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 140.

*Woman is fickle and changeable, he has read many times. As he knows women's nature so well, sometimes he wishes he did not know them at all, they have brought so much trouble on him already. And he should not think that goddesses are any better than mortal women; what is more, the more powerful, the more fickle they are. He will speak about this in more detail when they meet in person.*

Ad S. doctorem amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Varium et mutabile semper τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι<sup>2</sup> credo te saepe legisse, hoc certe dictum non sine ratione impositum esse ταῖς γυναίξι<sup>3</sup> arbitror. Quandoquidem in

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159,2 γυναῖκα] *corr.* ex γυνεκά 3 γυναίξι] *corr.* ex γυνέξι

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159,2 Varium ... semper] Verg. *Aen.* IV,569–570.

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159 <sup>1</sup> Probably István Brodarics, because Oláh often calls him “Stephanus doctor”, see Ep. 338, and Ep. 312. | <sup>2</sup> Oláh translated Vergil’s sentence (*Aen.* 4,569–70) with a modification of the Greek based on Hom. *Od.* 15,20 which was Vergil’s model. The accusative of the *woman* would be γυναῖκα; the wrong ε mirrors the contemporary Greek pronunciation, and the accentuation error derives from that.

multis iam rebus adeo mihi mores et naturae femineae cognitae fuerunt, ut velim ne  
5 eas tam crebro et tam diu cognossem. Quantum enim ea res mihi attulerit calamitatis,  
quantumque rebus meis detrimenti et iacturae, non possum, mi Frater, nunc tibi litte-  
ris declarare. Nec te ea moveat cogitatio τὰς θεὰς τῶν γυναικῶν<sup>4</sup> multum a vulgari-  
bus esse dissimiles. Dissimiles, fateor, sunt facultatibus, opibus, deliciis, sed non  
moribus, non conditione naturae. Non possunt hae quoque sexum suum mentiri, ut  
10 illae, immo tanto sunt illis inconstantiores et mutabiliores, quo ditiores, quo facultati-  
bus affluentiores. Dominam Margaretham<sup>5</sup> nosti. Haec, cur ad te scripserim, est  
causa, quam scies apertius, cum te convenero, et meas apud te querelas iustas certe  
apud te deposuero. Vale et me ama.

Ex Bruxellis XI. Iulii anno Domini MDXXXI.

160

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics (?)  
Brussels, 15 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 151.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 141.

*S. should let Oláh know of his wishes as soon as possible. Sad news keep coming from Hungary, Oláh cannot express how aggravating this is for him. But he still is dealing with his friend's affairs with the same enthusiasm, but maybe a bit more slowly due to the news. He has also often thanked the Lord that he has helped him endure the troubles and has also protected him from physical ailments. Even if S. feels that Oláh is taking longer than usual to manage the affairs entrusted to him, he should be patient, and Oláh will make an effort so that he cannot accuse him of negligence.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Si quid velis me facere, Amicorum Optime, fac ut quamprimum significes. Nihil est tam grave, nihilque tam asperum, quod non tua causa mihi sit et iucundissimum et levissimum, verum haec una res obstat. Si non tam accurate rebus tuis, quas operae  
5 meae es mandaturus, quam aliis quietioribus temporibus nunc satisfacere possum, quod varia mihi de rebus meis Hungaricis Indies afferuntur, et quidem tristissima nova, quae vix dici potest, quantum me in externis nunc constitutum excrucient et

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7 γυναικῶν] *corr.* ex γυνέκων 10 tanto] *O del.* ex tanto peius 11 Dominam...nost] *O add. in marg.*  
14 MDXXXI] *corr.* ex MQXXXI

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<sup>3</sup> The plural dative form of *woman* as a complement of *impositum*. <sup>4</sup> ‘Goddesses compared to the mortal women’. | <sup>5</sup> Archduchess Margaret of Austria. 160 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 159. Note 1.



exacerbent. Si illud: tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, deinde nemo desperet  
meliora lapsis, frequenter in animo meo non revolvissem, ac omnibus adversitatibus  
forti animo restitisssem, gratias agens in omnibus Deo, qui me meamque in malis 10  
ferendis patientiam experitur, nescio certe, quid mihi iactura etiam incolumitate  
corporis contingere potuisset. Verum ab eo me corporis malo Deus optimus maximus  
hactenus praeservavit, quem deinceps quoque ex sua bonitate spero me custoditurum.  
Si igitur aliquid committetur tarditatis in tuis negotiis demandandis, id patientius  
paulo feras rogo, quam alia ferre es solitus. Curabo tamen nihilominus, ne quam 15  
negligentiam iuste meritoque mihi ascribere possis. Vale et me, ut soles, ama et tuum  
puta, quemcumque me fortuna servaverit.

Bruxellae XV. Iulii MDXXXI.

161

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics (?)  
Brussels, 15 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 151.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 141.

*He is happy that S. is well. He wished he could have been beside him during his troubles, that would have eased his pain.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Bene te valere gaudeo, valeo utcumque ego quoque, utinam melius valerem. Res  
tuas prosperas libenter audiui; non deerunt inimici rebus prosperis, qui te expugnent,  
fortiter his pro tuo more resistas. Vellem, ut scribis, in meis rebus adversis adfuisses,  
doloris minus habuissem, nec ego nec tu tantis fuissetis malis affecti. Quantum 5  
enim mutua societas et conversatio detrahat malis, eaque leniat, iam pridem satis es  
expertus. Ego quoque non sum nescius. Vale.

Bruxellae XV. Iulii 1531.

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160,17 servaverit] *O mut. ex tentet*

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160,8 tu... ito] Verg. *Aen.* VI,95. | nemo...9 lapsis] Sen. *Thyest.* 616.

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161<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 159. Note 1.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Brussels, 20 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 151–152.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 142.

*Oh, cruel necessity, what do you make people do? To go abroad, see your possessions crumble, and be in constant danger. He had predicted all these much earlier, and behold, he is right; he has also been disappointed in many people. He therefore advises Peregi to stay where he is now in peace, he will not be ashamed of it later. As far as Oláh is concerned, the Queen's affairs are tenuous, as soon as he knows something, he will let him know.*

Ad Albertum praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem.

O dira in rebus humanis egestas, quid tu non cogis mortalia! Exteras visere nationes, tuas res domesticas labantes et in summum adductas discrimen relinquere, incertum pro certo amplecti, et omnia denique pericula constanter subire. Haec ego tibi, 5 mi Alberte, longe ante, quam venirent, praedixeram, et non modo praedixeram, sed iam tum trepidabat animus ea perpeti, verum tu iubebas me constanti esse animo. Vide igitur, iam utrius consilium et divinatio verior fuerit, tuane an mea? Expertus ego quam saepissime scribere ad te certo possum, me pluries et quidem innumerabilibus vicibus deceptum esse, dum aliorum meis praeferrem consilia, verum cum me 10 adultiores dare mihi consilium viderem, tribui magis illorum aetati et experientiae, quam meae rationi. Quare consulo tibi, sis ibi, ubi nunc quietus, non deseras eum interea, quem cepisti locum, dum alium maioribus affluentem videris. Non te huius tui facti, mihi crede, poenitebit, nec me accusabis imprudentiae, quod tibi id suaserim. Quid mihi sit posthac faciendum, nondum satis constitui. Video enim res regi- 15 nae, ex quibus meae pendent, adhuc non esse firmas, sed nescio, quam ob rem varias et inconstantes. Verum cum aliquid certi constituerem, faciam te mox certiozem. Interea vale et me ama tuisque litteris invise.

Bruxellae XX. Iulii MDXXXI.

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics (?)  
Brussels, 24 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 152.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 142–143.

*S. should know that Oláh has never been as confused as he is now. There are many reasons: he misses his friends from home, whose situation he knows about from the letters; then he is not living the life that he*

*had hoped for; and finally, he does not know what is going to happen to Hungary. Lacking help and advice, he would be happy for either of these.*

Ad S. doctorem.<sup>1</sup>

Scito me nunquam fuisse animo perturbatiore, quam nunc sum. Quaeris causam, cur? Multae sunt, mihi crede. Inter multas tamen ea est potissima, quod parva admodum inter homines alienigenas, expertes meae conditionis et consuetudinis fieri potest familiaritas, qua absente nihil in vita potest esse homini suave, tum excrutior 5 adversitate rerum mearum domesticarum, quarum conditionem, statum et fortunam adversam ex tuis et aliorum amicorum meorum, quam domini Agriensis<sup>2</sup> litteris satis clare iam pridem intellexi. Deinde quod non ea mihi proponi hic videatur vivendi et manendi conditio, quam sperabam, et cuius spe promissis suavibus speciosisque 10 verbis fretus meas domesticas res turbatas deserveram. Postremo nescio, quid alieni animum meum sentio praesagire de futura regni Hungariae aut mutatione aut emersione. Accepisti nunc causas, cur sim animo anxio, vide pro nostra mutua amicitia, quid mihi praestare possis auxilii et consilii, utriusque essem indigens, maxima in tanta amicorum non dicam perversitate, sed infidelitate. Si igitur vis rem gratam, qua 15 gratiorem nunquam feceris, mihi nunc ostendere fac, ut si qua in re, vel praestare auxilium, vel mihi consilium, vel mihi consulere poteris, operam et officium tum mihi impartire. Ita amicitiae nostrae mutuae satisfacies. Vale.

Bruxellis XXIII. Iulii MDXXXI.

## 164

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics (?)  
Brussels, 24 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 152–153.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 143–144.

*It must have become clear for S. as well how ungrateful people are. What is surprising that ungratefulness has also spread among the princes. What could be more ungrateful than forgetting about the labors and dangers that one has endured for the well-being of his lord? To forget about those who had let their own possessions perish in order to persevere on their side? He can see a lot of unfairness around himself. So S. had better keep away from the court because if he was here, he would experience the same thing, but he would not have anyone to complain to.*

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163,18 MDXXXI] *corr. ex* MQXXXI

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163 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 159. Note 1. | <sup>2</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quam maxime et quam late ingratitude vitium pateat inter mortales, iam pridem te ex multis rebus cognovisse scio. Ego vero ita expertus sum, ut nihil magis. Miror tamen ultra quam dici potest, hoc vitium non tam inter populares dominari, quam  
5 inter principes et eos maxime, quorum magna cura esse deberet nomen suum virtutibus reddere immortale. Quae potest maior esse, mi Frater, ingratitude, quam non meminisse laborum, calamitatum, periculorum et gravissimorum impendiorum pro quiete, salute et honore principum susceptorum. Quae turpior turpitudine et crudelitas, quam oblivisci eorum, quae aliquis in re dubia principis sui cum magna et suarum  
10 rerum iactura praestiterit. Seculum praesens est hoc malo, ut non secus existimetur is, qui pro principe suo constanter omnia obivit, quam quivis ignotissimus. Desine mirari, cur haec ad te scribam. Multa fieri indigna video in benemeritos amicos; si hic esses, haec eadem, quae nos, sentiret et fortasse maiora peioraque. Consultius igitur te fecisse arbitror, qui ab his ingratissimis hominibus, omni pernicie peioribus, quam  
15 si eadem, quae multi boni perferunt, tu quoque non modo perferres, sed ne conquirendi quidem haberes locum aliquem, in quo tuas querelas deponere tuto auderes de Ioanne tuo. Quae mihi scripseris, curae habebō, faciam ut amicitiae meae illum, quantum in me erit, non poeniteat. Vale.

Bruxellae XXIII. Iulii 1531.

## 165

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 25 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 153–154.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 144–145.

*According to Cicero, Medea said how many had glory because they had to live far away from their homeland. Many who have accompanied the queen can now practice this way of life. Although they may not benefit from it, surely nobody will be able to accuse them, they are living a respectable life. There are many things at home that are lacking here, still, they are not missing anything. He liked the advice he had given to him, and he felt his love for him from it.*

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164 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 159. Note 1.

Ad amicum.

Medeam illam, ut scribit Cicero, scis dixisse: quam multos laudem fuisse consecutos amplissimam, quod honestam procul a patria egerint vitam; hoc scilicet dicto significantem sese quoque abesse a reprehensione, quod Corinthum arcem nobilissimam peregrinam accesserit.<sup>1</sup> Id vitae genus multi nunc sibi usurpare possunt, qui 5 reginam sunt secuti, nescio quo fato. Nam nihil licet sit hic utilitatis futurae, qua maxime capi possemus, tamen eam, ut possumus, agimus hic honestam vitam, quam a nemine merito accusari posse arbitror. Et quamvis multa nobis desint, quae in patria affluebant copiosissime, nihil tamen deesse videtur. Cum nos eas longe antequam huc veniremus, praeviderimus, quae nunc nos sollicitant incommoditates, et nihil non 10 ante animo conceperimus, quod nunc est nobis ante oculos. Cum igitur sponte nos huic fortunae obruserimus, etiamsi multa desint, tamen nihil deesse putamus, et vitam agimus etiam extorres patria dignam gloria. Tuum consilium, quod tuis litteris nobis dederas, non mihi solum, sed omnibus, qui et mei et tui sunt familiares, summopere placuit, nec aliud ex eo comprehendere potuimus, quam maximi tui in 15 me amoris inditium. Quem etsi iampridem multis rerum argumentis clarissime cognovi, facis tamen tu, Amice Carissime, continuis tuis in me studiis et amicitiae officiis, ut illum indes perspectiorem habeam, sequar igitur, quod consulueris, si tempus patietur. Vale.

Bruxellae XXV. Iulii 1531.

20

## 166

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 27 July 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 154.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 148.

*Paulus may think that the person who traveled to him on the Emperor's behalf the other day is weak, but he is in fact a strong person. So he should not only not send him away, but he should embrace him instead and entrust his affairs to him, his friendship will be of great benefit to him.*

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165,2 illam] Cf. Cic. *Fam.* VII,6: "Tu modo ineptias istas et desideria urbis et urbanitatis depone et, quo consilio profectus es, id assiduitate et virtute consequere: hoc tibi tam ignoscemus nos amici, quam ignoverunt Medae, quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant matronae opulentae, optimates, quibus illa manibus gypsatisimis persuasit, ne sibi vitio illae verterent, quod abesset a patria; nam multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul: multi, qui domi aetatem agerent, propterea sunt improbati; quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extruissemus."

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165 <sup>1</sup> According to Greek mythology, there was no glory in fleeing to Corinth after Medea and Jason had killed Pelias.

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Parumne animi aut roboris in eo esse putas, qui nuper ad te caesaris nomine fuerat profectus. Est profecto is vir, cui et animi et roboris inest maximum. Quod tum experieris, cum eius opera et virtute uti volueris. Non sunt igitur illi adhibendi, qui aut  
5 invidia aut malitia aliqua inducti secus de eo opinantur, et aliter tuis amicis persuaserunt, quam veritas se habeat. Nam tanta est in illo ultra ea, quae dixi, et constantia et virtus, ut neminem esse arbitrer, cui plus tribuere possis in rebus tuis etiam, quam maximis bene et cum laude curandis. Non est igitur, cur eum reicias, sed potius sunt quam multae magnaequae causae, propter quas amplecti debeas. Consules igitur optime  
10 rebus tuis, si illius usus fueris amicitia et familiaritate. Vale et me ama.

Bruxellae XXVII. Iulii MDXXXI.

167

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 1 August 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 154.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 148–149.

*The news Joannes Trifernus brought him the other day cannot be true, unless the person he was talking about had changed completely. Many want to ruin others' friendship now, but Paulus should stay strong and should not believe anything bad about their common friend.*

Ad eundem.

Non est simile veri, quod ad me nuper Ioannes noster Trifernus<sup>1</sup> constanter pertulit. Nam nisi hominis illius, de quo dicebat, omnis virtus, prudentia et constantia, quibus, ut scis, ab ineunte sua aetate maxime praestitit, penitus sit immutata, nisi  
5 maiorum suorum oblitus sit, et te hostis loco ducat, id certe contra te nunquam facere esset ausus. Quare cogita, mi Paule, multos esse nunc inter mortales, qui vel invidia, vel aliquibus aliis malis artibus inducti aliorum societatem et iucundam familiaritatem conentur turbare. Quibus, mihi crede, nihil est turpius, nihil perniciosius. Tuae igitur est, mi Paule, constantiae, te in proposito tuo perseverare et nihil de amico  
10 nostro illo communi adversi cogitare. Est enim profecto, ni fallor talis, qui tuam erga se benevolentiam iam pridem optime meritis sit et mereatur. Vale.

Ex Bruxellis prima die Augusti anno Domini MDXXXI.

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166 <sup>1</sup> It is not clear who he is, see Ep. 89. 167 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Brussels, 5 August 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 155.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 149.

*It is shameful how much they have to run around unnecessarily, if necessary, jump to their feet, ride, eat hectically, in sweat, and only find peace at night. And his friend is complaining that he is far from the court! If he tried it for three or four days, he would abandon that thought. He should listen to Oláh's advice, who can hardly wait for peace.*

Ad comitem Ioannem.<sup>1</sup>

Pudet me tibi referre, quas concursationes quotidie inanes faciamus. Bona omnia tempora sine aliqua vel ingenii, vel corporis cura turpiter negligentes. Ad omnem cuiuslibet nebulonis et impurissimi nuntii praedictionem nos insurgere, equitare, volare necesse est. Cuius rei nos ita piget taedetque, ut totius diei escam magnis 5 sudoribus tollerantes vix vespertinam requiem exspectare possimus. Tu vero conquereris et non tibi vivere videris, quod absis a curia. Non parum certe desipis, si adhuc in ea es curiae cupiditate. Quam, mihi crede, abiiceres, et tuam vitam prae nostra iucundissimam iudicares, si tribus saltem aut quattuor continuis diebus eam, quam 10 nos cum magna lassitudine faceres equitationem. Quamobrem desine tuis plus tribuere desideriiis, quam optimorum amicorum tuorum sanis consiliis, eorum maxime, quos, quid aula sit, et quos homini tribuat labores, experientia docuit. Nos, qui eos usque ad fastidium pertulimus, vix exspectamus vitae placidae nos dare. Tu vero ex quieta conditione mavis tibi turpem, laboriosam et aerumnis plenam vitam deligere, quod certe non nisi summae est insipientiae. Vale et sapientius tibi consule. 15

Bruxellae quarto Augusti MDXXXI.

168 <sup>1</sup> Probably János Szalay, Bailiff of Pozsony county, loyal to King Ferdinand I, or Johann von Hadelburg, or Joannes comes Ferentinus, see Ep. 120, and Ep. 121.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Brussels, 5 August 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 155.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 150.

*He is sad and anxious because he does not know what is happening to his possessions, and he misses his friends. In any case, he is trying to endure it with patience in case they accuse him of being fickle. Peregi should learn from his example and not choose a life from which there is hardly any way out.*

Ad Albertum praepositum.

Non secus, quam si Trophonii antrum<sup>1</sup> subiissem, ita videor, mi Amice, omnibus horis maestus molestusque esse. Primum, quod rebus meis omnibus nescio, quibus in periculis domi relictis ad has regiones naturae meae non parum inconvenientes, quasi  
5 invitus accesserim. Deinde, quod caream te et aliis amicis, quibus cum mihi magna olim fuit familiaritas. Verum utrumque fieri poterit pauci huius temporis gravem licet molestiam, aequo feram animo, ne inconstantiae argui possim, licet quae inconstantia iudicari possit, dum aliquid ex necessitate facias, quod te postea poeniteat, non satis  
10 intelligo. Quare disce meo exemplo, Amice mi, te dum aliqua venerit necessitas, non subito in aliquam vitam praecipitare, unde te exire vix liceat. Vale.

Bruxellae V. Augusti MDXXXI.

Miklós Oláh to András Csézi  
Brussels, 8 August 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 155–156.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 150.

*Oláh often thinks of the conversation in which Csézi was complaining about his own state and living conditions, which he said was against his nature. Csézi may be surprised that after such long silence Oláh is writing about this, but he himself does not know either if he is living this listless and sad life due to the will of fate or that of the lords.*

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169 <sup>1</sup> According to Greek mythology, Trophonius and his brother built the temple of Apollo in Delphi. There are many versions of their fate. One of Oláh's favourite authors, Cicero writes that the brothers, in exchange for the construction, were promised to receive got the best possible thing within a week: they died (Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 1,114). Here we find another version, probably according to Pausanias: whoever entered in the oracle cave of Trophonius never laughed again.



Ad Andream praepositum Strigoniensem.

Quam durum sit et perniciosum contra naturam agere tuam, et invita, ut aiunt, Minerva tuae vitae conditionem mutare, satis cognitum tibi esse arbitror. Venit enim saepissime mihi in mentem illius conversationis nostrae mutuae, quam aliquando in patria rebus nostris prosperis et felicibus suavissime habuimus, meminique tuarum querelarum, quibus apud me de tuo statu, de vivendi conditione, quam tunc duram et contra tuam naturam te agere existimabas, multis nostris communibus amicis praesentibus es usus. Quae non aliud significarunt, quam acerbissimum esse homini vitam agere contra naturae suae instituta. Miraris fortasse, cur nunc post tantum temporis intercapedinem<sup>1</sup> ad te hac de re scribam. Mirari desineres, si videres, quam in fortunam simus. Nescio, an fato, an nostrorum principum voluntate proiecti, et quam invitam taediosamque agamus vitam. Nunc scribere plura non possum, vel quod non liceat, vel quod tempus non habeam, sed plura propediem accipies. Vale.

Bruxellae VIII. Augusti 1531.

171

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Brussels, 12 August 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 156.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 151.

*Újlaki should not be surprised, if Oláh has been somewhat diverted from his duties, he has namely encountered a lot of injustice. Since Oláh left, Újlaki has completely abandoned him, and although he has written him many times, he has never responded. Well, he will not do well by the ungrateful, either. So if he was less careful in managing their affairs, it was not due to nonchalance, but due to this ungratefulness.*

Ad Franciscum Wylaky praepositum Poseniensem.

Non sit tibi mirum, si parumper ab meo officio, quo tibi pro meo iure amicitiae nostrae obstrictus eram, destiterim. Id enim non sine magnis iustisque est factum. Nam cum ego a te et etiam ab aliis nostris amicis, quorum in me pietatem et affectum tam magnum esse firmumque existimabam, ut nulla vi nullisque terroribus avelli a me amando posset, ab eo fere tempore, quo a vobis discessi, penitus derelictus viderer, et multis a me provocati et litteris et officiosis hortatibus, nullas ad me non modo alias, quas petebam, res, sed ne litteras quidem dare curaretis. Ego quoque sum a vobis, ne graviore utar verbo, factus alienior, ut meminissetis non convenire ingratos

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170,2 invita...3 Minerva] Cf. Hor., *Ars Poet.* 385: "Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva".

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170<sup>1</sup> We only know of an earlier letter addressed to Csézi from 1530, see Ep. 26.

10 homines magnis crebrisque afficere beneficiis. Si igitur aliquid hactenus a me com-  
missum est negligentiae, id non meae magis naturae, quam vestrae ingratitude  
adscribere poteris. Si me facere officiosorem volueritis, curate in me esse gratiores,  
et beneficiorum a me acceptorum non immemores. Quod si erit, ego quoque talem  
15 iura postulaverint. Vale et me ama.

Datum Bruxellis die duodecima Augusti anno MDXXXI.

172

Miklós Oláh to a friend and Provost called Joannes  
Brussels, 15 August 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 157.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 151–152.

*Joannes says he will be hard on those who forget about their friendship. However, they were taught that they should be forgiving, as was the Savior. If he is kind to those who have harmed him, he is strewing ashes over their head and will earn his reward.*

Nicolai Olai thesaurarii Albensis serenissimae Mariae Hungariae et Bohemiae  
etc. reginae secretarii et consiliarii etc. ad Ioannem amicum praepositum.<sup>1</sup>

Durum ais te esse in eos futurum, qui veteris amicitiae obliti in te acerbissimi  
essent. Si divinorum praeceptorum memineris, non durum, sed facilem ad condonan-  
5 dum quaevis errata, mitem et benignum in tuos inimicos te esse oportet. Nam si in  
amicos es benevolus et liberalis, quae tibi teste Salvatore gratia referri potest? At si  
inimicum amore prosequeris, et illis, a quibus mala acceperis, benefeceris, ita demum  
meritum reportabis, et carbones ignis congeres in caput adversarii. Quare si mea  
admiseris monita fraterna, et amicis amicus eris futurus et inimicos amore prosequer-  
10 ris, ita tam hos beneficio tuo tibi devinces, in amoremque tui provocabis, quam illis  
mutuum in amicitia reddes. Vale.

Bruxellae XV. Augusti anno MDXXXI.

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171,13 a] *O corr. ex ex* 15 iura] *O add. sup. l.* 16 MDXXXI] *corr. ex* MQXXXI

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172,8 carbones ... caput] Cf. Rom12, 20: "carbones ignis congeres super caput eius".

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172 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Caspar Ursinus Velius to Miklós Oláh  
Stuttgart, 10 September 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 180.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 152.

*He believes his portrait is with Oláh, he would thank him, if he could send it to Speyer. He has spent six months in Vienna, where he finished the fourth book of his historical work, as well as another piece about the death of King Louis II. He has also composed two poems: one about Hungary's lament, and one travel poem. He is on good terms with Újlaki, they sometimes gossip with each other, even about Oláh, and about books as well.*

Caspar Ursinus Velius Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Eikónα<sup>1</sup> sive effigiem meam adhuc apud te esse arbitror. Proinde mihi pergratum feceris, si primo quoque tempore miseris Spiram.<sup>2</sup> Nos fruimur induciis annuis, quas tamen adversarii non admodum sancte observant. Ego Viennae totos sex menses fui, 5 illic et quartum historiae librum<sup>3</sup> absolvi, et libellum confeci de interitu Ludovici regis et clade Hungariae.<sup>4</sup> Praeterea versu elegiaco composui *Querelam Austriae ad reliquam Germaniam*,<sup>5</sup> in qua utriusque Pannoniae laus in primis enitescit. Simulatque Spiram ventum fuerit, typographis excudendam mature tradam una cum *Epistola itineraria*,<sup>6</sup> in qua descriptum est iter in Ubiis<sup>7</sup> usque in Austriam. Die VII. Augusti 10 suscepi ex uxore filiam satis scitam viro puellulam. Etiam atque etiam Tuam Dominationem rogo et oro, ut illustrissimae atque excellentissimae feminae ac reginae clarissimae de optima nota me subinde commendet. Ego amori tuo ac fidei me penitus trado et committo.

Stutgardiae die X. Septembris anno 1531.

15

Utor suavissima consuetudine Francisci Poseniensis praepositi,<sup>8</sup> ac quoties per assignatores licet, eodem cum eo diversorio accipior, garrimus invicem, interdum etiam de te, et nonnunquam libris, sed frequentius libero operam damus.

173,7 Austriae] O(?) corr. ex Austriam

173 <sup>1</sup> Effigy or portrait. | <sup>2</sup> Speyer. | <sup>3</sup> *De bello Pannonico libri decem*. Edition and Hungarian translation: KOLLAR 1762, and SZEBELÉDI 2013. According to Szebelédi, Ursinus wrote this book between 1531–1537, see SZEBELÉDI 2015, 197. | <sup>4</sup> *De interitu Ludovici regis et clade Hungariae* was dormant until Spring 2018, when Péter Kasza discovered its manuscript. See KASZA 2018. | <sup>5</sup> *Querela Austriae sive epistola ad reliquam Germaniam* C. Vrsino Velio R. H. Authore, Augsburg, MDXXXI. | <sup>6</sup> Velius addressed his *Hodoeporicon* to Dantyszczek, see BAUCH 1886, 65. | <sup>7</sup> Udine. | <sup>8</sup> Ferenc Újlaki.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Košice, 26 September 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 374–375.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 152–153.

1. He has entrusted the affairs of the Tapolca abbey to his servants, since the Bebek brothers and others have been grumbling. The income is worth 150 Forint, which Szalaházy is sending to Oláh as soon as he has returned to Bratislava. He has no other way of looking after the abbey than Oláh staying in the abbey. He would like the Miskolc parish to be led by János Czeglédi, but the citizens of the city have already chosen someone else to administer it. Sebestyén Pemfflinger has also spoken to him lest they nominate someone else in spite of the citizens' wishes. 2. Bálint Török will not return Oláh's estates because he believes he has acquired them legally. Pál Bakics has taken Szalaházy's possessions. Since the Bishop of Tinnin is dead, he has entrusted Choron with collecting Oláh's rent. After he has returned to Bratislava, he will send Czeglédi to Oláh with the rents.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Non possumus in praesentia pluribus ad Dominationem Vestram scribere, quod is, cui praesentes commissimus, festinabat plurimum. Novi, si quid apud nos est, ex litteris ad serenissimam dominam reginam datis Dominatio Vestra intelliget.  
5 Abbatiam de Thapolcza<sup>1</sup> commisimus quibusdam de servitoribus nostris, propterea quod ex Agria,<sup>2</sup> et a dominis Bebeck,<sup>3</sup> et plerisque aliis locis molestabatur. Hi ex proventibus alent monachos et presbyteros, qui illic sunt, deinde aliis necessitatibus monasterii providebunt, praeterea pendent hoc anno Dominationis Vestrae centum et quinquaginta florenos, quos nos Dominationi Vestrae mittendos curabimus, quamprimum favente domino Posonium redierimus. Alio modo illi abbatiae providere non potuimus, ut Dominatio Vestra vel ipsa abbatia mansisset, vel commodi ab ea aliquid habere potuisset. Plebaniam de Myskolcz optabamus, ut Ioannes presbyter de Cze-  
10 gled<sup>4</sup> administrasset, verum iam cives illius oppidi unum elegerant, qui administraret et Dominationi Vestrae rationem suae administrationis redderet. Egit nobiscum et  
15 dominus Sebastianus Penpflinger,<sup>5</sup> ne contra voluntatem civium alius curator illius plebaniae constitueretur, cum Dominatio Vestra nihil hinc incommodi accederet.

[2.] Dominus Valentinus Therek<sup>6</sup> bona custodiae non remisit, nec arbitramur eum remissurum, postquam aequum existimat bona quorumcumque possunt occupare. Occupavit nostra quoque bona Paulus Bakyth,<sup>7</sup> nec hactenus efficere potuimus, ut ea

174 <sup>1</sup> About the debate on the abbey of Tapolca, see Ep. 148. Note 2. | <sup>2</sup> Eger. | <sup>3</sup> Ferenc and Imre Bebek, see Ep. 6. Note 6. and Ep. 102. Note 1. | <sup>4</sup> János Czeglédi, Oláh's provisor. | <sup>5</sup> Sebestyén Pemfflinger. | <sup>6</sup> Bálint Török, see Ep. 127. Note 5. | <sup>7</sup> Pál Bakics, see Ep. 127. Note 6.

remisisset. Dominus Tininiensis,<sup>8</sup> cui quaedam bona custodiae commendata erant, 20  
obiit; scripsimus Andreae Choron,<sup>9</sup> ut ea defendat, et alicui bono viro administranda  
committat, proventusque Dominationis Vestrae colligendos curet. Postquam favente  
Domino redibimus Posonium, mittemus Ioannem presbyterum de Chegleth, qui nunc  
nobiscum est, ut illorum bonorum et proventuum Dominationis Vestrae curam ha-  
beat, et quicquid pro commodo Dominationi Vestrae facere poterimus sedulo dabi- 25  
mus operam, quam bene valere optamus.

Cassoviae feria teria ante festum Beati Michaelis Archangeli 1531.

## 175

### Miklós Oláh to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki [Brussels], [before 2 October] 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 157–159.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 153–156.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 216–219.

*1. He is well aware that he is surprised at his long silence. It was inappropriate to write, especially to Poland, where to this day many support King John I; he also had no messenger; and there were many obstacles to writing. 2. Since King Louis II has died he has been tossed around, and so many things have happened, and they have been to so many places that it would have been impossible to write it all in letters. If he has missed anything, he should attribute it to the fickleness of the times and matters. After the death of György Szathmári, it was with his help that he made it into the service of King Louis II, whom he served faithfully, and he fulfilled his duties when he accompanied the queen and left his homeland. His love of his homeland forces him to return home, and if he cannot help in any other way, at least there should be more of them, and he can wait for the end that has been destined for him at home.*

Ad dominum Christophorum a Seydlovvetz<sup>1</sup> cancellarium regni Poloniae etc.

[1.] Non sum nescius te plurimum fuisse miratum de mea tanti temporis taciturni-  
tate, cum a multis iam temporibus nihil ad te dederim litterarum. Tamen si iuste  
dabitur locus excusationi, parcius miraberis, et omnem praeteriti temporis vel negli-  
gentiam varietati magis temporum et rerum, quam mihi tribues. Nam quis per Deum 5  
immortalem fuit per haec tempora locus scribendi? Quae conditio? Quae securitas?  
Materiam etsi nacti iratis diis eramus satis amplam, uberem et patentem, utpote qui in  
mediis praeteritorum annorum fluctibus et tragoediis versaremur. Sed quam periculo-

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174,22 colligendos] *corr.* ex colligenda 24 curam] *corr.* ex curet

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<sup>8</sup> András Tuskanics, see Ep. 222. Note 6. | <sup>9</sup> András Choron. 175 <sup>1</sup> Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (1467–1532) was a Polish noble, magnate, and Count of Szydłowiec. He was Chancellor and Voivode of the Cracow Voivodeship between 1515–1527, and Castellán of Cracow from 1527, see KIESZKOWSKI 1912.

sum, quam formidabile fuerit inter tot hominum genera, tot animos diversos, etiam  
10 bona hominum facta pessime interpretantes aliis, maxime vero ad Poloniam scribere,  
nemo est, qui non cogitare possit. Non defuerunt enim multi, neque nunc desunt, qui  
certo teneant Ioannis regis fautores, amicos, vires et omnem potentiam ex Polonia  
pendere, res suas istinc habere fundamentum tueri, agi, procurari. Ego vero quem  
15 fortuna ad servitia reginae meae concluderat, et qui videbar serenissimi regis Ferdi-  
nandi partes tum rebus ita ferentibus, tum quod regina mea ipsius est soror, sequi  
debere, nihil est, quod non metuebam.

Accedebat huc quod omnium omnia facta, immo non facta solum, sed etiam  
quodammodo omnes cogitatus adeo observabantur, ut ne hiscere quidem sine suspi-  
tione potueris, discutiebantur tabellarii, et nihil erat, quod non exquireretur, licet id  
20 mea ex parte secure fieri poterat, fui enim et sum meae conditionis fideique bene  
consciis. Hisce igitur temporibus et hominum moribus et naturis aliquidne ad te  
scribere poteram? Licet optime de me meritum et ob tua in me multa maximaque a  
puero collata beneficia, a me omnibus obsequiis maxime mihi devincendum. Quibus  
igitur affecti simus turbationibus et qui obstiterint mihi impedimenta, ut ad te nihil  
25 scribere potuerim, iam sane intelligis, sed si ea quoque, quae dixi, non fuissent meae  
ad te scriptionis impedimenta.

[2.] His a tempore cladis atrocissimae serenissimi olim regis mei Ludovici<sup>2</sup> iacta-  
tus sum fortunae calamitatibus, ea mutabilitate rerum, ut vix sane mihi constiterim.  
Nec loca diversa, in quibus fugientium more et regina et ego ab eo tempore diversati  
30 sumus, videbantur pati, ut ad te, ad quem unum inter omnes mortales maxime cupie-  
bam, litteras in tanta locorum distantia constitutum commode dare possem. Nam si  
velim loca enumerare, in quibus a tempore incinerationis<sup>3</sup> Budensis nunc brevius,  
nunc tardius pro temporis conditione rerumque progressu perstitimus, non epistolam,  
sed historiam contexere merito viderer. Si quid ergo a me commissum est aut noxae,  
35 aut erroris, aut visus sum in meo erga te studio ac officio negligentior, id non mihi,  
sed rerum et temporum varietati tribues pro summa, qua praeditus es et prudentia et  
humanitate. Quod si feceris, duplex mihi accedet laetitia, tum quod te mihi praeteriti  
temporis taciturnitatem condonasse et solita tua humanitate te usum in me esse arbi-  
trabor. Tum quod me mei in meos principes suscepti muneris, quod hactenus fideliter  
40 et constanter meo iudicio obivi, non poenitebit. Nam mortuo reverendissimo olim  
Georgio episcopo Strigoniensi<sup>4</sup> amico et fratre tuo adoptivo, me tuis etiam adiutum  
suffragiis servitiis Ludovici regis felicitis memoriae addixeram. Qui me in numerum  
suorum, qui a secretis et consiliis dicuntur, ascribere voluerat. Is ipse, ut petitioni  
reginali coniugis suae satisfaceret, me illi, ut eundem apud eam quoque agerem sta-  
45 tum, concesserat. Ego vero et vivente ipso domino meo clementissimo Ludovico rege

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175,39 meos] *corr.* ex meas

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<sup>2</sup> King Louis II. | <sup>3</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>-century word meaning ‘combustion’, see RAMMINGER. | <sup>4</sup> György Szatmári.

et post eius mortem, ut etiam superius retuli, non modo munia servitiorum, sed etiam fortunarum varietatem apud reginam animo parato pertuli. Et ut meo officio et honori et fidei quoque nunc satisfacerem, secutus sum ipsam ad has usque regiones tutam et fidam ipsius mansionem, in quibus tantisper mansurus sum, dum visum fuerit et placebit, ac bona ipsius principis meae venia patriam meam me revisere licebit. 50

Verum amor patriae meae misere iam ac partim per factiones domesticas, partim hostium incursione paene perditae, citius quam liceret, domum me rapiet cogetque, si multa patriae rebus omnibus inversis servire non possim, saltem numerum nostratium augere, et eum quem Deus rerum nostrarum Hungaricarum olim florentissimarum, nunc vero adeo afflictis, ut vix partem minimam veteris nominis sui retineat, dederit exitum, quem felicem Deo imprimis, tum serenissimo regi Poloniae domino meo clementissimo et te curante spero futurum domi praestolari. Haec ideo volui ad te scribere, ut meum in rebus omnibus tuis obsequendi animum nunc quoque eundem esse scias, qui prius in multis rebus fuerit, et velis mihi, si qua res inciderit, quam mea opera curari velis, non secus praecipere, quam uni ex tuis domesticis familiaribus. Vale. 60

MDXXXI.<sup>5</sup>

## 176

Miklós Oláh to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki  
Brussels, 2 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 159.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 156.

*If Szydłowiecki has received Oláh's latest letter, which he had sent with Dantyszek, he has no doubt that he has already forgiven him. He cannot write any more now, the Polish King's envoy will report about the events here, he has just been here and has seen and heard everything.*

Ad eundem.

Si meae litterae,<sup>1</sup> quas proxime Ioanni Dantisco<sup>2</sup> oratori hic apud caesarem agenti ad te mittendas dederam, sunt redditae, nihil dubito, quin meam iustam et rationabilem excusationem, cur tamdiu ad te nullas meas dare potuerim, ex tua singulari erga me benivolentia admiseris; pluribus enim verbis explicavi, quibus impedimentis tamdiu siluerim. Nunc quoque non multum sum scribendo prolixus. Nam eas omnes res, quae nunc hic aguntur, et de quibus possem ad te scribere, referre poterit is nun-

<sup>5</sup> This letter should be earlier than Ep. 176. 176 <sup>1</sup> Probably Ep. 175. | <sup>2</sup> Jan Dantyszek (1485–1548) was a Secretary and Notary at the Court of Poland from 1507. He corresponded with the culturally and politically prominent representatives of all European countries, see the online publication of his texts and correspondence: SKOLIMOWSKA–TURSKA 2010. For more on his biography, see GUENTHER 1985b.

tius serenissimi regis tui, qui aliquot hic dies commoratus, multa paeneque omnia, quae hic fiunt, et vidit et audivit. Restat igitur, ut meam omnem operam, studium et  
10 obsequium tibi commendem. Quem tu non secus, quam unum ex tuis domesticis veteribusque familiaribus tenere et velis et debeas. Cui id erit maxime gratum, si obsequia studiave mea tibi grata fore intellexero. Vale feliciter et me habe commen- datum.

Bruxellae II. Octobris MDXXXI.

177

Miklós Oláh to L.  
Brussels, 15 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 163–164.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 156–157.

*1. Why L. has distanced himself from Oláh, he has made clear before, and this is not Oláh's, but his friend's fault, who did not look after the affairs that had been entrusted to him, and so Oláh has lost everything. He remembers every day how nonchalantly he had managed his affairs, and it upsets him a great deal because he was too late to notice that he should not have listened to him. If he wants to make up for past mistakes, he should be trying to recover his possessions, or at least some of them. 2. Acrimony followed by acrimony, he was namely already moping that the King and the Queen do not appreciate his faithful service enough, when the news came that his chaplain does not oversee even one man any more. He was so embittered that if hope and the queen's words had not asked him to stay, he would not have gone but flown home.*

Ad L.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Quibus rationibus inductus fuerim, ut meam a te voluntatem alienaverim, multis verbis tibi declaraveram nuper. Non mea id revera factum est levitate, sed tua culpa, qui neglectis rebus omnibus, quas tuae demandarem fidei, nescio, quid ex tuo  
5 proprio cerebro incepteris ita, ut res meas omnes non modo in summam perniciem adduxeris, sed a me alienaris adeo, ut ne minimam quidem meorum bonorum partem nunc possideam. Multa mihi cogitanti de his meis rebus adversis quotidie occurrunt, quae me in maximam coniciunt curam et sollicitudinem, praesertim cum in animum induco, qua negligentia meas res gesseris. Non minimum curae mihi iniecisti tuis  
10 negligentis et tua timiditate, nec dies nec noctes possum quiescere, ita sum animi perturbati propter tua facta. Providere autem ea via, quam scribis, rebus meis absens non possum, si res meas omnes turbatas relinquerem, ita nunc tam subito ad vos

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177 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.



advolare possem. Et vereor, ne si id facerem, contingeret mihi, quod dicitur ὀψὲ  
αἰσθάνονται οἱ κυμαῖοι<sup>2</sup> hoc est, Cumaei sero sapiunt. Tarde persentiscerem, quod ad  
tuos hortatus fecissem. Quare si vis praeteritum tuum errorem futuris benefactis 15  
emendare, cura, ut si non omnia mea negotia aut pars saltem eorum aliqua tua rursus  
diligentia reformetur, et quod negligentia praetermisisti, sollicitudine nova rectifica,  
id et mihi et tibi non parum erit utile.

[2.] Amaritudo secuta est amaritudinem. Nam cum in maximis essem doloribus  
animi earum rerum, quas in fidelitate erga meos principes mea amisi desiderio et 20  
augeret cura maxima tum ob illarum amissionem, tum ob meam necessitatem super-  
venerunt litterae ex Hungaria declarantes mearum rerum statum aut conditionem.  
Quae me mirum in modum conturbant et priorem meam tristitiam anxietatemque  
auxerunt. Nam summam rerum mearum omnium ex amicorum meorum litteris<sup>3</sup>  
intellexi, quod sacellanus meus<sup>4</sup> omnia mea, quae possidebat, amisisset, et ne unicum 25  
quidem colonum meum gubernaret. Quae res in quam conturbationem me coniecerit,  
vix explicare possum. Nam quid iam facturus sim, nescio, nisi spes, quam in Deo  
optimo maximo et eius genetrice Virgine Maria habeo amplissimam, et verba seren-  
nissimae reginae meae, quae semper propitia sunt, sed nunquam in effectum datur,  
me hic hactenus retinissent, iamdudum non exivissem modo ad vos, sed advolas- 30  
sem. Ita me huius loci mansionis vitaeque taedet poenitetque. Deus vertat omnia in  
meliora et felicitiora, quod spero futurum. Nam licet Deus iustus sit, et hactenus pro  
meis delictis me castigarit, est tamen et misericors, qui poenitentibus miseretur, et  
post emendationem tribuit refocillationem. Haec, mi Frater, volui tibi significare, ut  
si quod scies remedium, amico laboranti adhibeas. Et non patiare eum in maxima 35  
tristitia constitutum diutius, si id a te fieri potest conflictari. Vale.

Bruxellae XV. Octobris MDXXXI.

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177,13 si] *O add. sup. l.* | ὀψὲ] *corr. ex ὀψε*

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177,14 Cumaei...sapiunt] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,V,61: "Cumani sero sapiunt", see MYNORS 1982, 439, and see Ep. 148.

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<sup>2</sup> 'the Cumaeans catch up too late'. Oláh translated the phrase by Erasmus: "Cumani sero sapiunt", which is a contamination of two different proverbs. See "The Phrygi sero sapiunt" by Erasmus and Strabon 13,3,6. | <sup>3</sup> For example, see Ep. 174. | <sup>4</sup> János Czeglédi.

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Brussels, 16 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 201–203.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 158–160.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 212–215.

1. *It may seem that he has forgotten about his duties because he has not written to Burgio, but since the death of King Louis II he has not really had the time to write, so he will start from the time Burgio left Bratislava. When he left, he and Brodarics missed him very much, but they were hoping that his trip would be of great use and glory for him. Since then he has not known where Burgio is, how he lives, but then he learned from Czettrich's words and his letter to Lucretia that Burgio has become a Papal Legate in England, which made him very happy.* 2. *Now Burgio should hear what has happened to them since he left. Not long after his departure Brodarics defected to King John I.* 3. *Then King Ferdinand I marched into Hungary with 7-8,000 men; Várday handed over Esztergom to him. In the meantime King John I had fled to Eger; but King Ferdinand I destroyed his army at Tokaj. Then King Ferdinand I was crowned king, Queen Mary returned to Magyaróvár; and King Ferdinand I returned to Esztergom. Not much later he was stripped of his bishopric of Transylvania, so he returned to Queen Mary. When King Ferdinand I went to Prague and would have needed his company, he wanted to go, so that he is not in female company all the time, but Queen Mary kept him by her side.* 4. *He will not say how many places they have been because it would take too long; most recently this is where he has followed his mistress. He is not very hopeful as far as his future is concerned because he is promised many things, but it is questionable what will materialize from these. Life at the court is also not for him due to its dishonesty, and it also creates a lot of confusion that they do not know each other with the others.*

Ad Iohannem Anthonium baronem Burgi Clementis VII pontificis apud Angliae regem oratorem Nicolaus Olahus.

[1.] Nonne tibi videor inofficiosus, ne dicam inhumanus, qui ad te tanto temporis curriculo nullas dederim litteras. Verum me hoc vitio a te accusari minime posse  
5 arbitror.<sup>1</sup> Nam ut in mei excusationem paulo altius repetam, ea, quae post serenissimi  
regis mei Ludovici cladem miserabilem consecuta sunt tempora, licebit me initium  
scribendi sumere ex tua Pisonio<sup>2</sup> a nobis in Urbem<sup>3</sup> profectione.<sup>4</sup> Cum tu bene de  
regno Hungariae et serenissima regina mea Maria propter tuas virtutes meritis ex  
Posonio ad Urbem reverteris, nihil erat Bioderico<sup>5</sup> nostro, mihi et aliis omnibus tui  
10 observantibus tua profectione molestius, qui tua iucunda familiaritate, consuetudine

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178,4 a te] *O add. sup. l.*

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178 <sup>1</sup> We only know one letter by Oláh addressed to Burgio, see Ep. 153. | <sup>2</sup> Bratislava. | <sup>3</sup> Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Burgio left Bratislava on 5 September, 1526. | <sup>5</sup> István Brodarics.

et humanitate carituri essemus. Sed necessitas vicit nostrum affectum. Et quod ex affectu moleste ferebamus, id necessitate patienter nos ferre oportuit, praesertim cum tuam profectionem magnum tibi in Urbe decoris, commodi, utilitatis et gloriae parituram existimaremus. Discessisti igitur a nobis non sine nostro magno tui desiderio, quod tua quam coram saepissime egeramus, comitas, humanitas et mansuetudo mirum in modum in nobis auxerat. Ab eo tempore, ubi egeris gentium, in Urbene comoratus fueris, an alibi locorum, non prius scire potuimus, quam proxime ex redeuntis a Gallia Czethlicz<sup>6</sup> sermone, et ex litteris tuis ad virginem Lucretiam<sup>7</sup> datis, ex quibus et sermonibus et litteris cognovi te in Anglia oratorem agere pontificis. Quod maximae mihi fuit voluptati, eam maxime ob causam, quod te prope haberem, cum quo et litteris et, si tantum esset futurum mihi otium, coram agere possem.

[2.] Nunc vicissim nostrum ab eo tempore, quo nos Posonii reliqueris, studium accipe, et quae nos interea sollicitaverit presseritque fortuna, quibusve fati agitati fuerimus, animadvertite. Brodericus non multis post tuam profectionem diebus a nobis ad Ioannem regem desciverat,<sup>8</sup> profectusque fuit Budam. Ab eo tempore quid fecerit, ubi fuerit, quam habuerit conditionem, certo nunquam potui intelligere. Rumore quidem ferebatur ipso profectum eum fuisse legatum ad pontificem, tum Franciscum regem Galliae<sup>9</sup> et ad alios principes. Nos Posonii post regis nostri Ferdinandi electionem,<sup>10</sup> cui et Brodericus non modo adfuerat, sed et album, ut dicunt, calculum adposuerat,<sup>11</sup> aliquandiu commorati, tum ibi, tum Viennae fuimus.

[3.] Tandem proceribus nostris, quos Posonii reliqueras ita volentibus rex ipse noster Ferdinandus profectus fuit ad Hungariam cum exercitu septem aut octo millium hominum. Strigonium<sup>12</sup> ei deditum per Paulum archiepiscopum<sup>13</sup> fuerat, Buda pariter dedita. Ioannes interea rex profugerat Agriam<sup>14</sup> versus, ubi fuerat ad arcem suam Thokay a nostris prostratus.<sup>15</sup> Non multo autem post tempore indicta die coro-

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21 coram] *O corr.* ex nostra 22 studium] *O corr.* ex factum 25 desciverat] *O corr.* ex descivit | fuit] *O corr.* ex est 27 quidem] *O add. sup. l.* 30 ibi] *O corr.* ex Posonii 31 proceribus] *O mut.* ex primoribus 32 fuit] *O corr.* ex est | millium] *O corr.* ex millibus 33 fuerat] *O corr.* ex fuit

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<sup>6</sup> Ulrich Czethrich von Kynsberg or Četrys z Kinšperka was a page of King Louis II and is generally known as the witness of the King's death. He reported to the Queen on 31 August in Bratislava, which Burgio noted down in his letter of 5 September, see KASZA 2016, and MAGYAR 2016. | <sup>7</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). | <sup>8</sup> Brodarics changed sides in March 1527, which he explained in his letter called "Dévény epistle", for more see KASZA 2015, 71–82. | <sup>9</sup> King Francis I, King of France (1494–1547). <sup>10</sup> On 16 December, 1526, see Book 2 of Velius' *Historiae* in KOLLÁR 1762, 27–33. On the coronations of both kings see PÁLFFY 2009b, 37–41. | <sup>11</sup> Meaning he approved. | <sup>12</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>13</sup> Pál Várday. <sup>14</sup> Eger. | <sup>15</sup> In the battle of Tokaj on 27 September, 1527, King John I's army was defeated and he fled.

nationis rex Albam Regalem<sup>16</sup> proficiscitur.<sup>17</sup> Coronam Petrus Pereny,<sup>18</sup> cui eam Ioannes servandam tradiderat, spe ductus polliciti et praemii adportat. Rex coronatur anno Domini 1527 die tertia Novembris cum summa omnium utriusque ordinis dominorum exultatione. Revertitur regina ad Owar,<sup>19</sup> rex Strigonium profectus est. Ego  
40 vero eum secutus, tum quod res meae ita exigebant, tum quod volebam me a reginae servitiis, si fieri potuisset eximere, ne perpetuo in gynnecio desiderare viderer. Strigoni in domo mea commoratus sum aliquantisper, et confectis istic apud regem meis negotiis, non ut ipse desiderabam, sed ut fortuna tulerat et aemuli mei passi erant, hi enim episcopatum Transsilvaniensem mihi a rege promissum a me omnibus suis  
45 viribus alienarunt, reverti coactus sum ad reginam, cum pluribus ipsius et scriptis et sollicitationibus, ut reverterer, admonitus fuisset. Contigit sub eo tempore, ut rex proficisceretur Pragam ad conventum inter Bohemos agendum, qui cum in temporis secretarium regni Hungariae apud se haberet neminem, et regiis et Agriensis episcopi cancellarii<sup>20</sup> Hungariae litteris sollicitatus fui aliquoties, ut ad regem proficiscerer, et  
50 officium istic meum exercerem, sed refragante retinenteque regina id me facere minime licuit.

[4.] Ab eo tempore semper me regina detinuit, cuius ego quoque, cum viderem in omnibus Hungariae locis tempestatem oborituram, non multum sum voluntati refragatus, licet id non cum minimis meis expensis ac damnis fecerim. Nam ad id, quod  
55 mihi pro viatico ex curia datum est, quicquid habui ex Hungaria reddituum, quod certe non erat minimum, adiicere me necesse fuit et omnia, ut meis conditionibus satisfacerem, liberaliter profundere. Taceo, quae interea temporis loca cum regina peragratus fuerim, similior currenti quam residenti, quas cursitationes, quos labores obiverimus. Si enim ea omnia, quae interea peragraverimus loca, explicare tibi vel-  
60 lem, dies unus et alter me deficeret, nec tibi arbitrarer me voluptatem hac rerum nostrarum commemoratione allaturum.<sup>21</sup>

Novissime, ne rebus etiam in extremis reginae pro mea in illam fide et constantia desse viderer, secutus sum eam huc usque, ut postquam eam in multis adversis

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38 anno...Novembris] *O add. in marg.* 50 retinenteque] *O add. sup. l.* 52 cuius] *O corr. ex et*  
53 voluntati] *O del. ex voluntati suae* 54 licet...fecerim] *O add. in marg.*

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<sup>16</sup> Székesfehérvár. | <sup>17</sup> 3 November 1527. | <sup>18</sup> Péter Perényi (ca. 1502–1548) was Keeper of the Holy Crown (*conservator coronae*) and Bailiff of the Temes and Abaúj counties from 1519. He participated in the battle of Mohács and became loyal to King John I, who appointed him Voivode of Transylvania. After the battle, he hid the crown in Trenčín, and later gave it to Szapolyai for his coronation. In November 1527, he changed sides and gave the crown to King Ferdinand I and became his ally. In exchange for this, he received Sárospatak and the income from the Episcopate of Eger. In 1529, he returned to King John I's service, while later in 1540 we find him on the side of King Ferdinand I, who appointed him chancellor.  
<sup>19</sup> Magyaróvár. | <sup>20</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>21</sup> Cf. Ep. 175. Cap. 2.

fortunis, casibus et cursitationibus, in ipsius egestate eam secutus fuerim, viderem hic  
quoque ipsius statum conditionemque futuram et quem exitum esset habitura. Sum 65  
itaque hic non tam abunde, ut liceret et mea ferret conditio, provisus. In regina nihil  
mihi deesse videtur, pollicetur omnia: fortunam futuram, provisionem honestam  
honori et statui meo convenientem, et ea, quae homini permansionem suadere pos-  
sent, sed mores hominum non novi, alieni illorum sunt a meis moribus. Videntur 70  
omnia et simulare et dissimulare, multa verbis polliceri re parum praestare, salutare  
quemvis libenter, corde longe diversa meditari. Omnes eorum cogitatus in lucro  
commodoque sibi parando versari, utilitatis privatae potius quam verae amicitiae et  
caritatis in proximum rationem habere. Praeterea non me cognoscunt, neque ego eos,  
quod quantum afferat homini turbationis, cogitare ipse potes. Ego tamen nihilominus  
facio, quod meum exigit officium iam pridem susceptum, quod e reginae re et mea 75  
esse videtur. Non praetermittam fidelia mea in principem meam officia, quae ab  
initio nullis deterritus incommodis, laboribus et periculis prae me semper tuli.

Intellexisti omnium rerum statum et illorum temporum, quo a nobis Posonio  
discesseras et horum praesentium, in quibus nunc versamur, conditionem. Si aliquid 80  
habes, quod mea opera et officii effici posse putaveris, fac intelligam. Gratissimum  
mihi erit pro vetere nostra amicitia et familiaritate, quicquid mihi demandaveris et  
quicquid in rem, usum et commoditatem tuam me praestare volueris. Vale et me, ut  
soles, ama.

Bruxellae 16. Octobris 1531.

179 184

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgo  
Brussels, 25 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 203–205.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 161–162.

1. The other day Czettrich, returning from England, said that a legate called Burgo had received him warmly. Oláh first thought that he was talking about Andrea dal Burgo, who had visited the queen more than two years ago. If he had known, he would have written sooner and in more detail than last time. Then when he was talking to Lorenzo da Campeggio's physician, he learned that he is indeed papal legate in England, and that he is well. He will do anything to please him. 2. As he has said, they have lost Brodarics. 3. Alas, how unfortunate he is, how unfortunate Hungarians are! There is internecine war, brothers are fighting each other, and the Turks are devastating a Kingdom that has been stripped of its religion, its ruler, and its liberty, as in last September, they dragged away and killed 40,000 people. Looting is all

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64 viderem] *O corr. ex viderim* 65 conditionemque] *O corr. ex conditionem* 70 re] *O corr. ex et*  
79 et...Si] *O mut. ex si et horum praesentium, in quibus nunc versamur conditionem* 82 me!] *O add. sup.*  
l. | volueris] *O mut. ex potero*

*friends write about as well, and even if the Turks did not attack any more, Hungary would collapse anyway unless help arrives.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Antonium baronem Burgii.

[1.] Reversus nuper, ut antea ad te scripseram,<sup>1</sup> Cetlycz<sup>2</sup> ex Anglia<sup>3</sup> errore quodam, cum sit expers litterarum, retulit mihi apud serenissimum regem Angliae agere oratorem cognomine Burgonem, qui eum humaniter excepisset. Ego errore deceptus  
5 eo, quem ipse ex cognomine hoc (videtur enim inter Burgonem et baronem nonnihil esse affinitatis) veluti ignarus litterarum fecit, non fui arbitratus te esse, de quo ille dicere vellet, sed Andream Burgonem,<sup>4</sup> qui apud reginam meam plus duobus annis in Hungaria fuit. Alioqui longe ante meas ad te dedissem litteras, tum quod tua singularis erga me humanitas, favor et benevolentia iam a multis annis fuerat mihi satis  
10 perspecta, tum quod iam diu propter meam in te observantiam animique affectum sciscitatus frequenter a multis fui, ubi ageres, ubi esses locorum? Quod tamen ipsum a nemine poteram certo intelligere, antequam cum Augustino de Augustinis<sup>5</sup> cardinalis Campegi<sup>6</sup> physico his paucis diebus fuissem locutus, qui mihi dixit te esse apud  
15 Anglos oratorem Apostolicum, tuamque optimam valetudinem et felicitatem mihi id sciscitanti declaravit. Gratulor itaque tuis bonis, mi Baro, Deus conservet te diutius in ea, qua esse audio, prospera valetudine, meaque opera, studio ac obsequiis, dum libebit voluerisque utere liberaliter. Nihil erit tam grave, quod mihi demandaveris, quod pro mea facultate non libenter sim obiturus et tibi inserviturus.

[2.] Brodericum<sup>7</sup> nostrum amiseramus, ut scripsi ad te antea non multo tempore,  
20 post tuam ex Pisonio profectionem. Is enim nescio qua superstitiosa ductus sua conscientia confugit ad alterius factionis partes. Quid deinde fecerit, ubi sit, quidve rerum agat et quam habeat conditionem, iamdiu de eo nihil certi habere potui. Non secus mihi cordi est eius prosperitas, quam mea omniaque ipsius commoda et prospera (salva mea in principem meam fide) mirum in modum concupiscerem. Est  
25 enim iampridem de me optime meritis et cui plurimum debeam.

[3.] Sed heu, me et alios Hungaros infelices! Divisio haec et bellum intestinum, quam amicos ab amicis, fratres a fratribus acerbissime distraxit, arcissimo et familiaritatis et necessitudinis iure olim inter se coniunctos, quanta excitavit mala, quae

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179,27 arcissimo] *corr.* ex arcissima

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179 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 178. | <sup>2</sup> Ulrich Czettrich von Kynsburg. | <sup>3</sup> In the previous letter, Oláh wrote France instead of England. | <sup>4</sup> Andrea dal Burgo (1467–1533) was one of the most prominent diplomats of his age. Between 1521–1523 he was at the Court of Buda as a legate of King Louis II, see LAKATOS 2017, 91–92. | <sup>5</sup> Augustine de Augustinis of Mantua was also physician to Cardinal Wolsey and King Henry VIII, for more on his life see ASHBY HAMMOND 1975, and GAIRDNER 1882, *passim*. | <sup>6</sup> Lorenzo Campeggi (1474–1539) cardinal and diplomat, for his Hungarian connections see NEMES 2014, and BESSENYEI 2002, 31. <sup>7</sup> István Brodarics.

pericula, quas Christianitatis clades, quas Hungariae vastitates, quam turpitudinem  
induxit, ita ut hostes fidei Christianae iam in Hungaria non secus omnem rapinam, 30  
licentiam libidinemque suam exerceant, quam in regno religione, principe et libertate  
vacuo. Exeunt tumultuose eo quo volunt numero, incendiis omnia miscent, rapiunt  
pueros et puellas, senes trucidant, quos abducere non possunt. Quod ipsum Hungaria  
non sine lacrimis ultra suam illam memorabilem praeteritorum annorum cladem anno  
exacto in mense Septembri atrocissime fuit experta. Cum et Ioannis et Ferdinandi 35  
regis subditi aequo iure usque ad quadraginta, ut scriptum ad nos fuit, millia ex ea  
Hungaria, quae est inter Strigonium<sup>8</sup> et Pisonium<sup>9</sup> parte fuerint partim abducta, par-  
tim trucidata. Quod vero a tot cladibus in Hungaria superesse potuit, id nunc factio-  
nes diripiunt ac vastant. Non hospes ab hospite, non frater a fratre est tutus. Sine ullo  
discrimine nunc haec nunc alia factio in aliam saevit, haec induciae annuae, quae 40  
nuper in mense Maio factae sunt, aliquantulam dedere tantorum malorum cessatio-  
nem, sed nihilominus nihil aliud nunc quoque ex amicorum litteris istic fieri accipio,  
quam depraedationem, latrocinia et alia multa facinora per eos, quibus stipendia  
debentur, et qui novis student rebus hisque ditari volunt.

Si hoc modo res agitur et vel Deus vel Christiani principes rebus Hungaricis non 45  
subvenerint in tempore, actum de reliqua quoque eius parte erit. Etiam si nullam  
Turcae in posterum (quod tamen nunquam facient dulcedine tantae praedae capti)  
irruptionem in eam fecerint, mole tamen sua, si in praesenti conditione res permanse-  
rit, ruere Hungariam, Deus id avertat, necesse erit. Ea autem perdita Christianitas tota  
non parum profecto sentiet detrimenti. Haec pauca volui ad te scribere, tum quod me 50  
tuum esse existimares illum veterem, tum quos ex doloris acerbitate, quam ex patriae  
calamitate quotidie accipio, non potui ea tibi non recensere, qui in Hungaria felices  
aliquando habuisti dies et cuius periculum ut alios omnes bonos, ita te quoque non  
parum movere existimaverim. Vale et me habe commendatum.

Bruxellae 25. Octobris 1531.

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180<sub>184</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Rocetus  
Brussels, 26 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 159–160.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 163.

*Why does Rocetus think Oláh did not complete what he had been entrusted to do? Does he think Oláh is forgetful? Him, who has always gladly helped his friends, and loves him especially. He has tried every-*

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39 vastant] *O corr:* ex devastant

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<sup>8</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>9</sup> Bratislava.

*thing that he could, but he did not succeed; why he has not written about it has a million different reasons, and he would have written about it, if he had not believed that their common friend Paulus would explain it better. He is trying to rectify everything and hopes that he can forgive him.*

Ad Ioannem Rocetum.<sup>1</sup>

Quid censes causae fuisse, quod tuas res mihi a te familiariter hactenus commendas non perfecerim? An putas me tui et tuorum fuisse immemorem? Non profecto videris bene de me sentire, si in eam de me venisti opinionem, nam nihil unquam in  
5 vita mihi videtur esse suavius, nihil delectabilius, quam me amicorum inservire commodis, quorum in numerum tu iampridem merito es adscriptus. Quam primum enim te novi, et mores, consuetudo, vitae conditio, doctrinaque mihi innotuerunt, mox ad te amandum mirum in modum sum accensus ita, ut omnes, quas potui scivique vias, pertentaverim, quibus tibi gratificari moremque gerere possem, sed quod tuis rebus  
10 tam subito commodare non potuerim, et ad te de illorum statu non scripserim, multae et pernecessariae fuerunt causae; quas ad te omnes perscripsissem, Amicorum Optime, ni existimassem hunc Paulum<sup>2</sup> tuum et meum familiarem et commodius et latius illas explicare posse. Hunc igitur ad te certas ob res, tum meas, tum suas proprias profecturum maiore, qua possum, tibi commendatione commendo, et de manu,  
15 uti aiunt, in manum trado. Quem si me vis afficere beneficio, ornes, quantum poteris, ornabis autem, si tua eum complexus fueris humanitate et benevolentia, tibi certo persuadens nihil tam magni te posse conferre in hominem, quod non iamdudum sit meritis. Quod ipsum quoque tibi ego omni officio cumulatissime sum resarciturus. Pergratum igitur mihi feceris, si intellectis rationibus, ob quas tua negotia hactenus  
20 dilata sunt, me apud te habueris excusatum, et ipsum etiam Paulum amore tuo et humanitate dignum putaveris. Vale et, si quando dabitur a rebus publicis tibi otium scribendi, neminem patiari ad me sine tuis litteris venire.

Bruxellis XXVI. Octobris MDXXXI.

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180,14 de... 15 manum] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* IV,V,29: "De manu in manum", see GRANT 2006, 161.

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180 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.



Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 27 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 160.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 163–164.

*He wishes to know what Oláh thinks of Jan Dantyszek. Oláh does not usually share his views about those he loves, but now he will make an exception. Dantyszek is an educated, experienced man, who is especially well-versed in literature, and his skills as an orator are of great use to their era.*

Ad amicum.

Animi mei iudicium cupis a me intelligere, quid de moribus, ingenio, doctrina et eruditione Ioannis Dantisci<sup>1</sup> oratoris Poloni sentiam. Licet, non sit mei instituti, naturae et consuetudinis aliorum vel mores, vel ingenia, vel eruditionem diiudicare, et de his etiam apud eos, qui mihi intima sunt familiaritate iuncti, iudicium meum proferre. 5 Tamen ut tuae cupiditati, quae visa est ardentissima, propter mutuam, qua iuncti sumus, amicitiam, si non in omni saltem in aliqua parte satisfacerem, non gravatus sum, quantum meum fert iudicium aliquid de illius viri scriptis ad te scribere. Doctus est, eruditus vir et experientiae plurimae, qui iam a puero et deditus fuerit optimis 10 artibus et versatus a multis annis in multarum arduarumque rerum regis sui tractatione, nihilque videtur in eo posse desiderari, quod ad bonas litteras, maxime vero ad ipsas Musas amoeniores pertineat, perpetuo tamen filo orationis non undequaque est illis viris, qui eloquentia sua nonnihil frugis huic aetati nostrae attulerunt, comparandus. Quem tamen si continuaverit, et tantum huic quoque tribuerit laboris et temporis, quantum ipsis Musis, non paucos ea quoque dictione praestabit. Habes quod 15 petisti, fac id boni consules. Vale.

Bruxellae XXVII. Octobris anno MDXXXI.

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Brussels, 29 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 205.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 164.

*Since his last letters he has received news that King John I is sending Brodarics here to see the Emperor. If that is the case, he is very happy, but he is afraid lest his arrival cause more sadness for him than joy.*

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181 <sup>1</sup> Jan Dantyszek.

*Although they had been friends for a long time, now according to their status they should be enemies and should barely meet each other.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Antonium baronem.

Post eas litteras,<sup>1</sup> quas ad te proxime dederam, venit fama Brodericum<sup>2</sup> nostrum huc venire, nam ad caesarem a Ioanne suo missum.<sup>3</sup> Id si ita est, non possum non laetari, eum, quem iamdudum vidisse concupieram, ad nos appropinquare, verum hoc  
5 unum vereor, ne adventus ipsius plus mihi adferat tristitiae, quam voluptatis. Nam familiaritate, ut scis, non vulgari olim iuncti eramus, tamen ut nunc est hominum conditio et mores principumque nostrorum status, amici inimicorum loco sunt tenendi, et si bonae inter tuos principes vis esse famae, vix datur locus et conditio, ut talem amicum invisere possis. Nam ut principes sese inter se voluntate seiunctos esse  
10 sciunt, sic volunt subditos suos conversatione mutua procul abesse. Tamen nihilominus si fieri poterit et principis mei benevolentia permiserit, curabo, ut eum amicum, quem iam olim tantopere desideravi, invisam. Vale et me habe commendatum.

Bruxellae 29. Octobris 1531.

## 183

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 30 October 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 160–161.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 165.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 215.

*His soul has never been in such turmoil before. Here all avenues are closed for good, talented, and virtuous people, so that he does not know what status he could acquire. What evil spirit has chased him here, he should have stayed home instead, satisfied with the rest of his possessions.*

Ad amicum.

Scis me non saepe tecum in rebus seriis esse iocatum. Crede igitur mihi me vix unquam fuisse animo perturbatiore, quam nunc. Ita omnes viae bonis viris ingenioque, doctrina et virtute excellentibus in tanta omnium rerum adversitate praeclusae  
5 esse videntur, ut nescias, quo ingenio, quave virtute te eruere et aliquem quietum tibi statum comparare possis. Nescio quis κακοδαίμων<sup>1</sup> me in hanc detruserat provinciam, satius mihi erat me meis reliquiis bonorum domi esse contentum, quam nescio,

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182,3 huc] *O add. sup. l.*

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182<sup>1</sup> Ep. 178. and Ep. 179. | <sup>2</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know Brodarics' legation to France more closely, see KASZA 2015, 92. 183<sup>1</sup> 'evil spirit'.

ob quam spem pretiosaque mei principis verba huc venisse, sed transeant haec, si Deus quispiam liberarit, non facile me in talem rursus navem intrudam. Vale.

Bruxellae XXX. Octobris anno MDXXXI.

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178 179 182 **184** 187

Giovanni Antonio da Burgio to Miklós Oláh  
London, 8 November 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 205–207.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 165–167.

1. Receiving Oláh's letters was great joy for him; he thought he had forgotten about him. He is happy that Oláh has stayed in the Queen's service, he is sad to hear about Hungary's destruction, especially because he does not see its end, and he is afraid that the Hungarians will join the Turks, and that will not end well.  
2. He has heard about Brodarics that last year he visited the most Christian King as a legate. When he was in Paris, he heard that he was going to arrive there as well, but they unintentionally missed each other. As far as he knows, he will go to Hungary through England. Later he received a letter from him from Paris, in which he reproached him for avoiding him, which he has replied to. As far as he knows, he has gone to Venice, but he does not know what has happened to him since then.

Ioannes Antonius baro Burgii Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi, secretario Mariae serenissimae.

[1.] Gratissimae mihi fuere litterae tuae, mi Nicolae Suavissime, tum quod ex iis intellexi te optime valere, tum quod ostendis benevolentiam et amorem tuum erga me eundem esse post adversam fortunam, qui et solebat esse in prospera, quod etsi multis documentis fueras testatus, idque sic fore mihi persuaseram. Tamen nescio quo modo ob cessationem tuarum litterarum suspicatus fuerim te penitus mei esse oblitum. Est propterea, quod tibi et mihi congratuler, non solum quod audiam te in obsequiis serenissimae reginae nostrae constantissime perstitisse, sed etiam quod amicitia sic arctissime amplexaris, quod haud scio si ex gente nostra de uno vel altero, te excepto, vere mihi liceat praedicare.

Calamitates provinciae nostrae<sup>1</sup> ita iniquo et tristi animo tuli, quod paene ad solum auditum consternatus sum, augetque dolorem meum, quod non video, quem finem sint calamitates illae habiturae, urget enim atrocissimus hostis, qui simulato

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184,6 Tamen] *corr:* ex Tu 9 reginae] *O add. sup. l.* 10 de uno] *O corr:* ex denuo

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184 <sup>1</sup> Hungary, although he was not Hungarian. Brodarics mentioned that Burgio was considered to be Sicilian (Székelys) not Sicilian, see KASZA 2012, 100: “Dominus baro ita a nostris omnibus amatur, ut eum non in illa Sicilia, quae pars Italiae esse censetur, sed in hac, quae pars Hungariae est, quam et ipsam eodem nomine appellamus, natum esse reputemus et pro vero ac puro Hungaro habeamus.”

15 nomine pacis et suppetiarum ferendarum causa id animo voluit, id tendit, optat et  
agit, ut vires provincialium conterantur et ad nihilum reducantur, suae vero ita in  
provinciam firmentur et stabiliantur, ut cum ei visum fuerit, parvo labore parvoque  
negotio totam provinciam sibi ipsi vindicet et supponat, ad quae nisi maturius, quam  
solent, principes Christiani respexerint, sentient postmodum, quantum incommodi,  
20 quantumque detrimenti, ut levius dicam, inde ad rempublicam Christianam perveniet.  
Nosti gentem bellicosam, nosti novarum rerum cupidam, et forte laboris tollerantem  
esse gentem nostram, quae si se ad Turcicam potentiam adiunget, ut timeo fore, cum  
senserit se pro neglecta et derelicta haberi, vereorque quod non erit nobis de Hunga-  
ria controversia, sed pro Italia, pro religione, pro orbis imperio decertandum, idque et  
25 si iam pridem ita fore cognoverim, tamen hoc tempore et sentio, et praedicere non  
desisto. Ubique terrarum, ubique gentium sim, quod eo libentiori animo facio, quod  
scio hoc idem domino meo esse persuasum, de his omnibus sanctissimus princeps et  
gregis dominici pastor admonet principes, excitat, urget, orat, supplicat, ut tandem ad  
commune periculum respiciant, animumque intendant, ac consulant mature, ne respu-  
blica Christiana aliquid detrimenti capiat, sed nescio quo fato, vel potius divina pro-  
30 videntia aures omnium ad salutare preces et admonitiones pontificis ita obsurdere,  
ut callum induxerint. Quapropter solum id nobis restat, quod in extremis miseriis  
evenire solet, ut lugentes divinum auxilium imploremus.

[2.] De Broderico<sup>2</sup> nostro hoc possum dicere me audivisse ipsum oratorem egisse  
35 apud Christianissimum regem anno superiori, mihiq̄ue contigit, cum essem Parisiis,  
ut pridie ipse appelleret Parisios, quam et ego Parisiis recederem. Fateor me intelle-  
xisse adventum suum ante meum discessum, sed ut est civitas magna, mihiq̄ue meis-  
que incognita non potui hominem invenire, cupiebam maximopere hominem conve-  
nire et colloqui. Idque contigit, quod ipse ex hospitio, in quod primum diverterat,  
40 migraverat, eratque hospiti incognitum, quonam secundo loco divertisset, sed cum  
mihi hospes suus affirmasset, eum parare reditum in Hungariam per Angliam, mihi  
facile persuasit, quod cernebam nullam aliam viam sibi tutiorem fore, quam si in  
Angliam transmearet, hinc postea in Prussiam se transmitteret et inde per Poloniam  
in Hungariam. Sed me opinio haec fefellit, exspectavi hominem diu, sed frustra, mihi  
45 post aliquot dies litterae suae sunt allatae, Parisiis datae, per quas mecum conquere-  
batur, quasi congressum suum vitare voluissem, ad quas litteras rescripsi, purgans me  
amice, ut soleo. Audivi postea ipsum Venetias<sup>3</sup> pervenisse, nec, quid inde postea  
egerit, mihi cognitum est.

Ceterum, mi Nicolae, est, quod me, ut soles, ames, et saepissime ad me scribas,  
50 non patiar a te neque amore neque diligentia in scribendo superari, etsi soleas esse et

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20 Christianam] *del. ex* Christianam inde

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<sup>2</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>3</sup> According to his letters, Brodarics was in Venice on 31 January 1530, see KASZA 2012, 258–260.

benevolentissimus et diligentissimus, vide, quid me cogit amor polliceri, et forsitan polliceor, quae praestare non possum, sed si vincam, volo bono animo sis, si te in hoc genere vincam, tua erit haec victoria, cum ob istos tuos candidos et ingenuos mores ita sis amabilis, ut studeant omnes te in amore superare, et ita sis diligentiae studio- 55  
sus, quos, si quis cupiat te esse diligentiores, ob hoc ipsum eum diligas et amplexaris. Serenissimae reginae obsequium meum cupio per te commendari, ut intelligat nullam rem mihi esse ita maximam, quam ego libenti animo non effundam, modo cognoscam in rem maiestatis suae ac familiarium suorum fore. Dominae Lucretiae<sup>4</sup> commendari cupio. Dominum Balium<sup>5</sup> ceterosque conservos nostros meo nomine salutato. Tuque saluberrime valeto in plures annos. 60

Londonii VIII. Novembris anno a Christo nato 1531.

## 185

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 20 November 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 186.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 167–168.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 213.

*He is sending Oláh a book as a gift. He is glad that a patron who is educated himself has arrived here. He is offering his services in exchange for Oláh's support. From Oláh's letter he immediately understood why both Erasmus and Jespersen have praised him. Oláh should continue with his Greek studies, he will help him in it with books if he can.*

Rutgerus Rescius<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Felicibus plane avibus misi tibi chartarum munusculum, quod tametsi vile omnino sit, et nihil nisi charticeum esset, talem tamen patronum et amicum mihi conciliavit, cui nullum aureum quantumvis magnum donarium comparari possit. Utinam quicquid est chartarum supellectilis apud me, sic extrudere possim, bene profecto 5  
tunc ageretur cum rebus meis. Gaudeo igitur mirum in modum, non tantum mei, sed

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185,3 charticeum] *O corr.* ex chartarum | tamen] *O del.* ex tamen mihi

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<sup>4</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). | <sup>5</sup> Lord Bailleul. His wife, Lady Bailleul or Lady Perseresserin was Queen Mary's lady-in-waiting while she was living in Innsbruck. The Bailleul family came with Queen Mary to Hungary, and after Mohács, the family accompanied her back to the Netherlands, see RÉTHELYI 2007, 1200–1201, and HEISS 1971, 423–424. 185 <sup>1</sup> Rutger Ressen or Rutgerus Rescius (1497–1545) humanist, Professor of Greek at the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven. His press produced many editions of the Greek Fathers of the Church as well as classics, e.g. Homer and Xenophon, see ERBE–BIETENHOLZ 1987b.

et omnium studiosorum causa, nobis talem apud principem<sup>2</sup> harum regionum obve-  
nisse patronum, qui non tantum fautor sit litterarum ac litteratorum, sed ipse etiam  
litteratissimus. Conservet nobis Deus hunc ipsum diu incolumem. Habeo ego gratiam  
10 magnam Dominationi Tuae, quod tam benigne officium ac patrocinium tuum mihi  
obtuleris. Ego vicissim obsequium meum offero et addico tibi, quo uteris in quavis  
re, quae per me fieri potest, semper paratissimo. Ex litteris tuis plane intelligo esse  
verissima, quae dominus Erasmus de te litteris editis testatus est, quaeque magnus  
Iacobus<sup>3</sup> et quidam alii de te praedixerunt. Perge sedulo in studio litterarum Graeca-  
15 rum, ego quicquid mea officinola suppeditaverit librorum, tibi donabo. Iacobus tuus  
novit, quicquid a me excussum est, iniunge ei, ut mihi significet, quid tibi ex ipsis  
arrideat, illico ad te transmittetur. Bene vale, Olae colende. Raptim.

Lovanii XII. Kalendas Decembris 1531.

186

Caspar Ursinus Velius to Miklós Oláh  
Innsbruck, 21 November 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 180–181.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 168–169.

*1. It is not Oláh's fault that he has not sent the likeness of Velius; he will not be sad even if it has been lost. He has finished his book about King Louis II, only the list of participants for the battle of Mohács is missing, and he will send it to the Queen after that has been added. He will send his poem, which is being printed now, to Oláh. 2. His wife does not wish to leave Vienna, and there is discord between them; the following year is going to be full of plague and war. László Macedóniai sends his regards, and Logau is studying in Padua.*

Ursinus Velius Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae serenissimae.

[1.] Non est, quod accusem officium tuum, cum et ipse cessator fuerim et in  
scribendo ad Maiestatem Tuam piger. Effigies quominus missa fuerit, non per te  
stetit. Verum vel negligentia accidit illorum, qui se missuros polliciti sunt, vel penu-  
5 ria hominum certorum, quibus perferenda tuto committeretur. Scribam vero ad illos  
denuo, sed neque magnopere dolebo, si perierit εἰκόων<sup>1</sup> cum et mihi aliquando sit  
occidendum.

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<sup>2</sup>Queen Mary as Governor of the Netherlands. | <sup>3</sup>Jakob Jespersen of Aarhus (†1549?) enrolled at the University of Leuven, at the Collegium Trilingue, where Rutger Ressen was among his teachers. He became Oláh's Greek teacher, and he accompanied him to Austria and Hungary around 1539. He left Hungary in 1541 at the latest and lived in the Netherlands until his death. For more see SCHWARZ LAUSTEN 1986. 186<sup>1</sup> 'effigy'.

*De clade Ungariae et Ludovici regis interitu optimi et innocentissimi principis libellum*<sup>2</sup> mature absolvi, nomina nostrorum quorundam in illo praelio occisorum mihi desunt, et captivorum, quibus insertis nihil aliud addam, nec minuam. Quem 10 mittam ad serenissimam dominam reginam brevem, sed tamen multa complexum libellum meum. Tua Dominatio interea perget, ut solita est, me illius maiestati etiam atque etiam commendare. *Austriae epistolam*<sup>3</sup> illam, quae nunc Augustae<sup>4</sup> excuditur, propediem absolutam istuc mittam.

[2.] Uxor Vienna non potest abstrahi, ne metu quidem pestilentiae,<sup>5</sup> illic iam 15 aperta incendia, hactenus enim scintillas sparsit molientis.<sup>6</sup> Venit huc nuper Hieronimus Lasky<sup>7</sup> cum rege bis aut ad summum ter arcano collocutus. Pestilentem annum et bellicosum omnes augurantur futurum. Nimirum duplici bello concutietur Germania, intestino cum Lutheranis, externo cum Turcis, utroque exitioso. Resalutant Tuam 20 Dominationem praepositus et episcopus Macedonia.<sup>8</sup> Bene vale. Logus<sup>9</sup> Paduae inter litteratos et philosophos suavissimam vitam degit, ego etiam adhuc cum iactura rei familiaris aulae parum feliciter haereo, procul domo, uxore, liberis et libris. Iterum valeat Dominatio Tua Magnifica, cui me totum dedo.

Insprug die XXI. Novembris XXXI.

184 **187**

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Brussels, 23 November 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 161–162.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 169–170.

1. He was happy that Burgio has responded and that he is well. If everyone understood what is going on in Hungary as well as Burgio does, they would be organizing its defense together. He remembers that the Austrians did not believe it either that danger was looming until it had arrived to their neighbors. 2. Brodarics was going to come to the Emperor with Ferenc Frangepán and Ludovico Gritti, but then they turned back, and they may come for the January assembly. On Sunday the Emperor will travel to the assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

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186,9 libellum] *O add. sup. l.* | nostrorum] *O corr. ex nostro* 10 minuam] *O corr. ex recusabo* | Quem] *O corr. ex Qui* 17 ad] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 173. Note 4. | <sup>3</sup> *Querela Austriae sive epistola ad reliquam Germaniam*, see Ep. 173. Note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Augsburg. | <sup>5</sup> Oláh also wrote on this plague epidemic, see Ep. 131. | <sup>6</sup> Ursinus often quarreled with his wife. According his letters, he seems to have committed suicide because of his wife's infidelity, see SZEBELÉDI 2015, 195. | <sup>7</sup> Hieronymus Łaski. | <sup>8</sup> László Macedóniai. | <sup>9</sup> Georg von Logau.

Ad Anthonium baronem Siculum.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Non parvo sum affectus gaudio, te ad me litteras rescripsisse. Primum quod  
tuam valetudinem prosperam ex tuis litteris intellexi, tum quod aperte cognoverim,  
5 quae haberent et si intelligerent, quantum in Hungaria aut conservanda aut amittenda  
positum esset reliquae Christianitati ponderis aut momenti, profecto conari aut omni-  
bus suadere, non disisterent et pedibus et manibus, ut ad illius defensionem conserva-  
tionemque quisque accurreret, sed surdis videmur fabulam narrare, cum Hungariae  
calamitatem depraedicamus. Nesciunt, enim non experti sunt, illarum terrarum mo-  
10 mentum, hostium vires, sed experientur revera, dum hostis fores pulsabit. Memini  
ego Austriacos quoque olim non credidisse querelas nostras, dum ad eos, ut alios  
vicinos legationes frequentes pro auxilio nostris rebus petendo mitteremus, et nostra  
pericula imminetia illis depraedicaremus. At paulo post non modo non crediderunt,  
quae prius nihili faciebant, sed etiam cum suo et Viennae magno malo experti fuere.  
15 Quare vereor, ne idem superioribus Germanis nunc surdis brevi contingat, sed haec  
ipsi viderint. Nihil mihi gratius accidere potest, quam scire si qua in re tibi inservire  
possim. Fac igitur, ut si quid e re tua sit meae facultati conveniens, non mihi parcas.  
Ut enim aliis omnibus libenter inservire sum a puero assuetus, sic tibi maxime volo, a  
quo in Hungaria beneficio sum affectus.

[2.] Brodericus<sup>2</sup> noster post meas litteras nuper ad te datas dicebatur huc venturus  
orator a vaivoda cum comite de Frangepanibus monacho<sup>3</sup> et Grithi<sup>4</sup> ad caesarem et  
conventum imperialem, qui celebrari in mense Septembri Spira<sup>5</sup> debebat. Nunc  
tamen audio eos retraxisse pedem, constitisseque in aliqua civitatum Germanicarum  
et exspectare conventum Ratisbonensem<sup>6</sup> imperialem, qui ad mensem Ianuarium  
25 futurum est celebrandus. Rem, quam mihi praecipis, conficiam et si quando erit  
tabellarius, cui meas ad te dem litteras, non patiar meum officium scribendi deside-  
rari. Sed vereor, ne meis tibi magnis in rebus occupato aliquando sim molestior,  
quam tamen molestiam amor et benevolentia tua singularis, qua me es semper prose-  
cutus, facile, ut spero, superabit. Reginae meae etsi es satis commendatus, tamen ut  
30 iussisti meum apud eam feci officium. Nova hic pauca sunt.

Caesar die Saturni<sup>7</sup> futura profecturus est hinc Tornacum,<sup>8</sup> celebraturusque ibi  
comitia Ordinis Velleris Aurei,<sup>9</sup> fortasse illis confectis etiam cum rege Gallorum<sup>10</sup>  
conventurus. Regina pariter eo proficiscetur. Redeatne caesar huc postea, an eo ex

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187,4 alii quoque] *O mut.* ex quoque alii 6 omnibus...7 disisterent] *O mut.* ex suadere non desisterent  
omnibus 11 alios] *O add. sup. l.* 15 Quare] *O corr.* ex Quod | contingat] *O corr.* ex contingas 19 sum  
affectus] *O corr.* ex affector 20 venturus] *O del.* ex venturus missus

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187 <sup>1</sup> Burgio returned to Sicily in 1529. | <sup>2</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>3</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>4</sup> Ludovico Gritti.  
<sup>5</sup> Speyer. | <sup>6</sup> Regensburg. | <sup>7</sup> 26 November. | <sup>8</sup> Tournai. | <sup>9</sup> The Order of the Golden Fleece is a Roman  
Catholic order. This was the 20<sup>th</sup> assembly, held on 3 December, 1531. | <sup>10</sup> King Frances I.



loco proficiscatur in Germaniam superiorem, nemo est, qui certo sciat, res et negotiorum status eius profectionem moderabuntur. Me tibi commendo et te bene valere 35 cupio.

Bruxellae XXIII. Novembris anno MDXXXI.

188

Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
Šintava, 6 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 397–399.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 170–172; ERDÉLYI 2005, 318–322.

*1. Oláh is accusing him of not having answered, even though he always answers and is always happy for him. They can only get rid of the misfortunes with the Emperor's help, the problem has exactly been that no outside help has ever arrived. King John I's followers would also gladly switch sides if their safety was guaranteed. That is also why they have announced an assembly for 1 January in Kenese. 2. Some are also making promises in the Sultan's and King John I's name that with the exception of Belgrade, the country may also get its border castles back, if they accepted John as king. King Ferdinand I has also called an assembly in Linz for 1 January, so that they can discuss the Hungarian affairs, but they do not know who beside the Chancellor is going to go there. He does not know if the Emperor will be going to the Regensburg Imperial Diet or negotiate with King Francis I. 3. Oláh writes that he would be happy to return home, but there is no peace and safety at home. This is true, and if there are no changes, they will be able to keep looting with impunity. Oláh can count on him, and in return he asks that he recommend him to the queen, for whose brother he has done many services before..*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Reverende Domine, Amice nobis Honorande, salutem et commendationem. Nudiustertius redditae nobis sunt litterae Dominationis Vestrae Reverendae de XXIII. Octobris datae,<sup>1</sup> in quibus inter cetera scribit nos ad priores litteras suas nihil respondisse. Profecto quantum nobis occurrit, nullas litteras Dominationis Vestrae 5 Reverendae adeo negleximus, ut non aliquid rescripsissemus. Nolumus enim eo adduci, ut litteras Dominationis Vestrae quisquam nobis minus gratas fuisse dicat, fuerunt enim pergratissimae, tum eo nomine, quod velut e peregrino orbe ad nos allatae sunt, tum maxime quod a tali loco profectae nihil contemnendae rei continebant. Est enim Dominatio Vestra apud reginalem maiestatem paene ad latum, continua 10 autem est maiestas reginalis cum sacra caesarea maiestate, fratre suo, unde nostra et omnium Hungarorum spes hactenus pendit, ut nisi illius ope ab his malis, quae iam pridem nos premunt, vel potius iam attriverunt, liberari posse credamus, hinc Dominatio Vestra aestimet, an litterae suae apud nos viles esse potuerunt.

188 <sup>1</sup> We do not know the letter referred to by Oláh.

15 Sed ut nostra iam attingamus, communis omnium lamentatio est spe externi auxi-  
lii in hanc miseriam regnum hoc pervenisse, cum verbo ampla et magnifica promissa  
sint, effectus vero nullus sequeretur. Nemo est enim, cui non imminens tempestas  
tam potentissimi hostis formidini sit, et quem non perterreat, salutisque admoneat.  
Credat Dominatio Vestra Hungaros etiam eos, qui sub Ioannis ditione sunt, cupidis-  
20 sime velle adhaerere, indeque stare, ubi salutis spem viderent. Mallent autem extrema  
quaeque tentare, quam ut Turcae ditioni subiciantur. Confugerent quidem ad maiesta-  
tem regiam dominum nostrum clementissimum universi, si modo certis argumentis  
ac re ipsa salutem sibi possent polliceri, quoniam verbis, litteris ac promissis se cre-  
dere non audent, cum toties sub magna spe, quae verbis offerebatur, in maxima peri-  
25 cula incidissent. Negant amplius verbis ac pollicitacionibus se commissuros, ob id  
conventum indixerunt ad Kalendas Ianuarias in villam quandam Kenese<sup>2</sup> prope la-  
cum Balatini:<sup>3</sup> huc dominos ac militares et nobiles quosque convocant, quo commu-  
nibus consiliis de salute (amissis enim rebus et fortunis, vita tantum restat) et incolu-  
mitate tractent statuanteque, quid potissimum in hoc rerum aestu sequantur. Et quan-  
30 tum nobis intelligi datur, hoc agitur, ut quando destitutos omnium auxilio ac protec-  
tione se vident, sique salutem nulla ratione sperare possint, vel saltem id agant, ut  
vita quamdiu possit, protrahatur, ne ipsi primi intereant aliis otiose spectantibus.

[2.] Nec desunt tamen, qui non modo salutem et incolunitatem, verum etiam  
castrorum finitimorum omnium praeter Nandoralbam<sup>4</sup> restitutionem polliceantur,  
35 modo Hungari in concordiam redeant et Ioannem principem recognoscant, hoc et  
imperatoris Turcarum et Ioannis nomine ubique spargitur, putant autem Ioannem  
medio Gritti<sup>5</sup> posse efficere, ut arces illae Hungaris restituantur. Haec in quantum ab  
aliis didicimus, Dominationi Vestrae scribimus. Convocat et princeps noster praeci-  
puos quosque subditos ad se Lyncium<sup>6</sup> ad festum Circumcisionis Domini,<sup>7</sup> ut de  
40 rebus Hungaricis tractet, sed praeter dominum cancellarium<sup>8</sup> qui venturi sint, ignora-  
mus, forte vix quisquam alius aderit. Nos certe nescimus, an cesarea maiestas ad  
imperiale dietam Ratisbonam<sup>9</sup> se conferat, vel regem Franciae<sup>10</sup> conveniat, sed nisi  
maiestas regia aliter rebus suis provideat, brevi de rebus nostris actum erit. Veremur  
autem, ne et hi Hungari, quos habet, deficiant. Nec alia causa arbitramur paucissimos  
45 ex his, quos vocavit, ad maiestatem suam venturos, quam quod imminet illis et existi-  
mationis et rerum omnium iactura.

[3.] Praeterea quod Dominatio Vestra ostendit in litteris suis placere sibi reditum  
in patriam, sed deesse locum, ubi commode esse liceret, quae sola causa a redeundo  
dehortaretur, fatemur et nos idem, verum etiamsi commodum aliquem locum Domi-  
50 natio Vestra videretur habere, adeo hic omnia confusa sunt adeo intuta omnia, ut vix  
ullam commoditatem et quietem uspiam Dominationem Vestram tutam futuram

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<sup>2</sup> Balatonkenese. | <sup>3</sup> Lake Balaton. | <sup>4</sup> Belgrade. | <sup>5</sup> Ludovico Gritti. | <sup>6</sup> Linz. | <sup>7</sup> 1 January. Thurzó wrote almost the same sentences to King Ferdinand I on 24 November, see ERDÉLYI 2005, 300. | <sup>8</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>9</sup> Imperial Diet in Regensburg. | <sup>10</sup> King Frances I.

putem, quoad haec rerum facies manebit. Omnes omnium res praedae sunt expositae. Impune omnia ex illorum arbitrio geruntur, qui violentiores sunt, et ex raptu vivunt, ut ex tam atroci ac diuturna oppressione nihil quam mendicitas sit paene omnibus speranda. Cum interim nullum his malis remedium appareat. Nihilominus quantum in nobis erit, quicquid pro Dominatione Vestra facere poterimus, in nullo sumus defuturi. Dominationem Vestram rogamus, commendet nos ac servitia nostra maiestati reginali. Nos profecto maiestatis suae fratribus multa servivimus, sed tot servitiorum nostrorum nullum hactenus fructum aut commodum sensimus.

Praeterea Dominatio Vestra frequentius ad nos scribat, rogamus. Non defuturam materiam arbitramur, inter tot principum negotia hoc ea ratione petimus, quod speramus forte nonnihil Dominationis Vestrae de his scripturam, quae ad salutem huius afflicti regni pertinerent, poterit Dominatio Vestra quotiescumque voluerit litteras dare per futaros<sup>11</sup> commodissime, qui istic quoque non longe a Dominatione Vestra homines suos habent. Inde ex Augusta<sup>12</sup> litterae ad nos dirigentur. Vestram bene valere cupimus.

Ex arce nostra Sempthe sexto die Decembris 1531.

## 189

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Tournai, 10 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 164–165.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 172–174.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 215–216.

1. How difficult life at court is! He was just contemplating dedicating himself a little to literature in Brussels, in the city that he was already starting to get used to, when the order came that he has to travel to Tournai in the entourage of the Emperor and the Queen. He tried to object, but the Queen has ordered him to do so. So he reluctantly traveled to Tournai, which, although it is the most famous city of Flanders, is not as pretty as they say it is. 2. Every day there was some kind of splendor, on Sunday they gathered in the cathedral, the following day they performed the sacrifice with the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, on the fourth day there was jousting at the agora. He wants to go back to Brussels, where he can better budget his small amount of money.

Ad amicum.

[1.] Di boni, quae est curialium molestia, qui labor, quae omnium malorum patientia! Si omnem aetatem cuiuspian in curia versantis diligenter perquirere velis,

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188,58 sed... 59 nostrorum] *del. ex sed tot servitiorum nostrorum sed tot servitiorum nostrorum*

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<sup>11</sup> Hungarian *futár* in plural accusativ, meaning ‘messengers’. | <sup>12</sup> Augsburg.

5 nullum spero te diem reperire posse, quae non plena sit miseriarum. Dum quieturum  
te credis et bonis aut studiis aut rebus aliis operam daturum, tunc oriuntur impedi-  
menta quamplurima, quae te a bono proposito disturbent, et animi tui deliberationem  
mirum in modum impediunt. Non possum negare hominem in curia plerumque ma-  
gna consequi solere, magnis affici et praemiis et honoribus, tamen libertas ipsa, quae  
10 opertet, et quod plurimum abhorret a veris studiis. Deliberaram mecum hisce diebus  
Bruxellae, cui civitati iam assuetus eram, otio me operam daturum litterario, et mole-  
stiam temporis, quam ex patriae meae periculo maximam et paene intollerabilem  
accepi, ut cumque fieri posset devorare. Idque cum facere vellem, caesar paravit  
profectionem Tornacum,<sup>1</sup> cum quo et regina eo venit. Equidem licet ex meo instituto  
15 plurima sim usus excusatione, ut me ab hoc labore liberare possem et Bruxellae  
manere. Tamen regina voluit, mihi que iussit, ut eam sequerer. Ego ut in omnibus  
aliis rebus semper reginae oboedivi mandatis, sic ne nunc quoque servitiis eius dees-  
sem, nolens licet tamen coactus sum huc Tornacum venire. Quod oppidum nomina-  
tissimum licet sit inter alia Flandriae oppida Galliae finitima, non tamen tam pulchra  
20 et decora visa est, quam prius fama conceperamus.

[2.] Caesar ut cives honorare ornareque propter eorum in eum veterem fidem et  
merita videretur, nullum hactenus praetermisit hic diem, quo non aliquid ederet spec-  
taculi. Tertio statim, postquam ingressi sumus, die dominica nempe festum Divi  
Andreae<sup>2</sup> sequenti ingressus est ecclesiam cathedralem cum magna pompa, insigni-  
25 bus et habitu rubro Ordinis Velleris Gedeonis<sup>3</sup> indutus. Quem praecedebant duode-  
cem ex ordine dominorum et comitum similem gestantes habitum, missaque die eo  
sollemniter peracta, secundo die inferiae celebratae sunt his, qui sunt ex eo ordine  
demortui. Qui ad numerum sese extendunt vigintiquattuor. Cui caesar cum suis in  
habitu pulchro interfuit, sub offertorio secretarius caesaris lingua sua Gallica, ut  
30 dicebatur disertissimus et facundus prolixam habuit de laudibus maiorum caesaris  
orationem. In qua enumeravit eos quoque, qui fuissent authores et postea commilitio-  
nes huius ordinis. Tertio deinde die caesar cum superstitibus fratribus eiusdem ordi-  
nis habitum ferens album ingressus est iterum ecclesiam maiorem, in qua in agendis  
divinis rebus magna erat omnium ordinum frequentia. Quarto die celebrati sunt in  
35 civitatis theatro<sup>4</sup> lusus hastarum, qui dicuntur rumpere lanceas. Nunc exspectatur, ut  
nomina eorum, qui in locum demortuorum fratrum electi sunt, pronuntientur. Caesar  
diebus singulis cum militibus eius ordinis est in consilio. Nam illorum arbitrio eligi  
novi debent, nondum tamen aliquid ab eis est conclusum.

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189,15 ut] *O(?) del. ex ut ad 16 mihi que] O corr. ex mique*

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189 <sup>1</sup> Tournai, see Ep. 187. Cap. 2. | <sup>2</sup> Sunday following 30 November, i.e. 3 December. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 187. Note 9. | <sup>4</sup> In contemporary texts, it means a marketplace for the representation of a king or a prince, see Kovács 2008, 210.

Ego ut non libenter ad hanc civitatem veni, ita magno aestuo desiderio regrediendi Bruxellas, non ut istic quoque meliorem animi quietem habeam, sed quod 40 videor istic commodius me expensis, quae tenues nunc mihi sunt, parcere posse. Vale, Amicorum Optime.

Tornaci decima Decembris anno Domini MDXXXI.

190 210

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 11 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 228–229.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 174–175; ALLEN 1938, 399–403.

*In English:* ESTES–FANTAZZI 2017, 251–252.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 636–637.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 159–160; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 101–103.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 84–85.

1. He never doubted Oláh's goodwill, and if he is not receiving any letters from such good friends, he still trusts them. Felix Rex has left Augsburg, and he said that Oláh would be writing, but he has not received anything since then, something must have come up. 2. He has recommended Lieven Algoet to the Queen's attention, Lieven would like to serve her, even though he is better suited for secretarial tasks. 3. Erasmus' foot does not hurt any more, now his stomach hurts instead. He often thinks that he should return to Brabantia, and he was much relieved that Zwingli and Oecolampadius are dead.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi.

[1.] Ego vero de Olai mei in me singulari benevolentia nunquam dubitavi, nec mei moris est officio litterarum metiri amicitiam. Scribunt et, qui parum benevolunt, Erasmo. A tui similibus amicis, ut gratissimum est venire litteras, ita facile patior non venire, videlicet de animo illorum securus. Polyphemus<sup>1</sup> Augustam<sup>2</sup> relicturus per- 5 scripsit ad me, quo in statu esset; quo locorum se contulerit, nescio. Pollicitus est se significaturum, sed hactenus non fecit. Extorserat litteras ab amicis quasi recta ad me profecturus, nec venit. Litteras commiserat cuidam Dominicano<sup>3</sup> Ulmae, quae tamen bona quapiam fortuna, per Dominicum mihi redditae sunt. Polyphemus significarat te quoque scripturum, sed nihil est redditum ab Olao. Suspicio te pollicitum scribere, 10 sed aliquid incidisse, quo minus factum sit, quod erat in animo.

[2.] Verum hic, mi Nicolae, nihil est, quod excuses, persuasissimum habeto istud tam candidum ingenium nusquam caesare in officio, quoties usus est. Dum mea in te officia verbis exaggeras, non recedis a candore tuo genuino. Quod si quid egregium

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190 <sup>1</sup> Felix Rex. | <sup>2</sup> Augsburg. | <sup>3</sup> Allen could not identify him, conceivably he is Dominicus de Mussis, see ALLEN 1938, 399.

15 de te meritus essem, in praesentia nihil aliud ab te possim petere, nisi ut pergas Olaus  
esse. Hoc enim nomen omnia amicitiae officia semel complectitur, quemadmodum  
ille uno adverbio regaliter putabat omnia contineri. Levinum<sup>4</sup> meum reginae Mariae  
commendavi, in cuius familiam ille miro quodam affectu cupit adscribi, nec satis  
20 ambit, mihi ob ingenium ac litteras videtur ad secretarium munus appositior.

[3.] Pedis cruciatus me intra triduum reliquit, sed successit stomachi proluvium,  
quod tamen Deus bene cessit. Ceterum dum per salutatores non licet servire corpu-  
sculo, recidi in aliud malum, quod et ipsum me statim reliquit, postea stomachus  
meliuscule coepit habere, quam habuerat antea. Spero has aedes posthac mihi futuras  
25 aliquanto prosperiores.

Ad te non scripsi saepius, quod incertus essem an etiam num in reginae famulatio  
viveras, nam Levini litterae mihi sero redditae sunt. Non semel cogitavi de Brabantia  
repetenda, sed amici quidam fuerunt authores, ut hic tantisper haererem, donec istic  
res per caesarem essent compositae. Hic magno metu liberati sumus, extinctis duobus  
30 ecclesiasticis, Zvinglio et Oecolampadio,<sup>5</sup> quorum interitus incredibilem plerisque  
attulit animorum mutationem. Haec est nimirum Dei manus excelsa, quae utinam  
quod coepit, perficiat ad sui nominis gloriam. Bene vale.

Datum Friburgi XI. die Decembris anno 1531.

## 191

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 15 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 165–166.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 176–177.

*1. They have safely returned from Tournai, where the Emperor had the new members of the Order of the Golden Fleece elected. When they were leaving the city, he saw that the Queen wanted to hunt, so he rode ahead and did the four-day journey in one and a half days. 2. Now he has some time to do something, but he is anxious, he is alternating between hope and fear for the fate of his homeland. Even if King Ferdinand I and King John I make peace, it will not be beneficial for them, and he will be facing a very bitter fate, far*

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190,27 Levini] *corr:* ex Levinae

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<sup>4</sup>Lieven Algoet of Ghent or Livinus Panagathus (†1547) entered the service of Erasmus at Leuven in 1519. “From 1531 Erasmus spared no effort to secure him a place in the entourage of Mary of Habsburg, recommending him to (...) Nicolaus Olahus, who did in fact appoint him his secretary.” Erasmus’ letter to Queen Mary of Habsburg, see ALLEN 1938, 400–401. For more on his life, see BIERLAIRE 1985. | <sup>5</sup>Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) and Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531) were Helvetic reformers.

*from his homeland and his friends. He does not know if he made the right decision when he trusted the Queen to come here, and he awaits his friend's advice.*

Ad amicum.

[1.] Felicibus avibus reversi ex Tornaco<sup>1</sup> sumus, civitate non undequaque inter alias Flandriae civitates inferiore, tum propter sui munitionem situsque bonitatem, tum propter arcis, quae in ea est, insignem fortitudinem. Dum istic eramus, pigebat nos diu istic esse ob aëris intemperiem et magnam pluviarum vim ac tempestatem. Et vix exspectabamus reditum, qui ideo dilatus fuit diebus aliquot, quod caesar erat occupatus in creandis novis in locum demortuorum militibus Velleris Gedeonis.<sup>2</sup> Ego dum egressi sumus urbem, reginam ad duo vel tria comitatus sum equitando miliaria, postea vero cum viderem eam aucupiis et aliis rebus venatoriis deditam esse,<sup>3</sup> pertaesus tantae morae praeveni eam recta huc Bruxellas reversus, illudque itineris, quod regina quattuor confecit diebus, uno et medio transegi.

[2.] Nunc licet in otio aliquando hic agam, tamen non parum sollicitor de rebus meis Hungaricis. Interque spem et metum pendeo. Spem habeo aliquam, ut aliquando pacem in Hungaria simus habituri. Metuo autem, ne etiam pace secuta non parum incommodi nobis accidat, propterea quod alienas secuti simus partes. Nam pacem aliter fieri despero, quam si cum Ioanne fuerit concordatum et ei regnum Hungariae relictum. Quod si fiet nobis, qui regem hunc nostrum secuti sumus, parum commodi haec pacificatio est allatura. Me autem hic in externa patria perseverare et aliorum exspectare opes, etiam favente mihi regina, acerbissimum esse videtur, maxime cum amicis caream et procul a patria, sanguine et necessitudine iunctos mihi videre non possim. Neque enim et ipse ferreus sum, qui non movear amicorum et propinquorum necessitudine, utrum igitur consilium mihi eligendum sit, an fortunaene exponendum, vel manendum in tenui conditione, fretus promissione et benivolentia reginae non satis constituere possum. Tu, qui iam ob aetatem grandem multa et vidisti et fecisti et expertus es, fac me tui consilii participem. Et si quid ad rem meam facere iudicaris, cures ut id sciam celeriter. Scio te mei semper curam habuisse, quam maximam perficias, ut nunc quoque experiar tuam mihi non defuisse operam. Vale.

Bruxellis XV. Decembris MDXXXI.

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191,21 Neque...22 necessitudine] Cf. Cic. *In Cat.* IV,3: "Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear horumque omnium lacrumis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis."

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191 <sup>1</sup> Tournai, for his destination see Ep. 187. and Ep. 189. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 187. Note 9. | <sup>3</sup> On Queen Mary's passion for hunting see Ep. 67. Note 1., and KERKHOFF 2005, 144–146.

Arnold van Bergheick to Miklós Oláh  
Enghien, 23 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 179–180.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 177–178.

1. *He cannot express how happy he is for their luck that good literature, which seems to be dying out in this age, has returned.* 2. *He should go ahead and use his Greek grammars and tables, and Jakob Jespersen will also help him. Theodorus Gaza is often useless, he should rather pay attention to Jakob. If Oláh stays here for a long time, he will often write to him, and he will send him Hesiod's Works and Days, which he has translated word for word.*

Arnoldus Oridryus<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao secretario etc.

[1.] Serenissimae Hungarorum reginae Primario, eidemque longe omnium Oculatissimo Consuli ac Domino meo, Domino Nicolao Olao τὴν θεοῦ φιλίαν καὶ πάντοτε εὐπράττειν!<sup>2</sup> Dicit non facile poterit, ne ab ipsis quidem musis, Ornatissime Consul, 5 quam unice quamquam impense gratuler seculi nostri felicitati, cui non modo bonae litterae, prius extinctae, ab orco vindicatae, quasi postliminio restitutae sunt, non modo sanctissimae leges, utpote sumptuariae et de subveniendis pauperibus, hoc est nudo et famenti Christo, vestra ope revixerunt, verum etiam cui tot tam eruditi, tam opulenti, tam omni virtutum genere praestantissimi heroes caelitum evidenti benignitate obvenerunt. Neque semel dubito, quin Deus optimus maximus ceteris illa tristi clade occubentibus, te quasi carum quendam unionem reipublicae nostrae reservaverit, a qua hactenus tui similes, hoc est, tum pii, tum eruditi magnis votis permulti desiderati sunt, ut scilicet non innocentes solum, sed et litterati habeant suae quoque 10 industriae confugium et asylum.

[2.] Quamobrem etsi non fuisset id Dominationi Tuae pollicitus, ut scilicet eam subinde litteris meis liceret interpellare, tamen ultro etiam id tentassem, praesertim huc toties instigatus, optimi eiusdemque non sane illitterati clientis tui Iacobi Iaspari Dani<sup>3</sup> amicissimis colloquiis, et iam communis iste nobiscum litterarum amor plane persuasit, ut aliquando litteratissimo principi meo aut gratularer feliciter graecissanti 20 aut gratificarer de omnibus bene mereri parato. Utere rudimentis nostris illis Graecanicis, ac praescriptas ob oculos coniugationum, formationum, contractionum tabulas introspicere per otium. Nimium otiosus est persaepe Theodorus Gaza<sup>4</sup> et rem nimis

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192,3 τὴν] *corr.* ex τοῦ

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192<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 144. Note 1. | <sup>2</sup> '(sends) God's love and much success for the future'. The opening salutation of the letter is missing a verb. | <sup>3</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>4</sup> Theodorus Gaza (ca. 1398–ca. 1475) was a Greek humanist and Aristotle's translator.



obscure prosequitur. Ipsi vero in libello nostro docemus et consulimus et paene citra grammaticen facimus grammaticos. Graeci in plerisque cum Latinis conveniunt. Quid hic necessum est onerare Latinum lectorem taediosis praeceptis iisdem otiosis? 25 Habes tecum Iasparum, qui rem omnem facile expediverit, si et me per otium aliquando adesse liceret, tribus horis facile rem omnem commonstraverim. Quod si te nostris, quod spero, regionibus haerere per fata detur, agam frequenter litteris, missurus etiam munusculi loco Haesiodi opusculum, cui titulum inscripsit ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι<sup>5</sup> per me versum de verbo ad verbum, quo sit fructus uberior graecissanti, si modo 30 per otium rescripserit Dominationi Tuae sibi officioi nostri non displicere humilitatem. Bene vale. Angiae e nostro litterario ludo, quem velim commendatum habeas, si casus inciderit.

Anno 1531. Ysis Nataliciis.

### 193

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Brussels, 26 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 166–169.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 179–182.

1. He believes the King had foreseen what difficulties would await the German affairs unless he intervened in time. Although the Swiss are stunned that they have lost their leaders, and although the Turks have also been beaten by the Persians, as soon as the Christian forces will seem to be weakening, they will attack. The King has set his mind to gathering the German princes. Their great hope is that the Emperor will bring help for Christianity. 2. If we consider Hungary's situation, it has been six years that King Louis II has been dead, and during this time it is not only that the country has not been defended, but it has also fallen prey to external and internal enemies. He knows well that the Hungarians have sent envoys to all Imperial Diets to urge cooperation, but in vain. All this burden is on the King's shoulders, and there is nobody to take it over. It is more important for his brother to resolve the German dissension, or at least to ease it. 3. But who can make peace among so many denominations and rifts? In the meantime the Turks will come, as the scouts have already reported, and they will crush them. Hungary's only chance is, if its remaining possessions are not looted but concentrated against the Turks. King John I would need to be pacified somehow, and so by driving out the Turks he would make peace, and Hungary could revive again. Thus, the King should remind his brother to either make peace at home and resist the enemy, or together with King Ferdinand I he should make peace with King John I, ensuring a quiet place for him.

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29 ἡμέραι] corr. ex ἡμέρα

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<sup>5</sup> *Works and Days* by Hesiod. We do not know his translation.

Ad regem Ferdinandum.

[1.] Paucis ante diebus satis te perspexisse arbitror, Rex Serenissime, quibus  
difficultatibus res Germanica sese involverit, et quantum mali brevi, ni mature subve-  
niatur, exsurgat, non minimam perniciem toti Christianitati allaturum. Licet Helvetii  
5 nunc valde attriti esse videantur,<sup>1</sup> et illa execrabilis haeresis, quae illorum animos  
mirum in modum occuparat de illorum medio extrusa, immo potius exsecta capite et  
authore illius interfecto esse iudicetur. Non tamen usque adeo rebus prosperis est  
confidendum, ut accepta modica victoria statim quieti nos dedamus rempublicam  
Christianam et negotium fidei derelicturi. Nam si id fecerimus, nihil est profecto,  
10 quod hostis fidei nostrae sacrosanctae adversum Tuam Maiestatem non moliatur,  
fractus videtur esse viribus a Persis, et non minima clade affectus, omnibusque fere  
suis viribus attritus, ubi tamen viderint Christianorum vires languescere, Tuamque  
Maiestatem otio esse deditam, reliquos Germaniae principes rebus domesticis occu-  
pato, et quemque proprio studere commodo quieti et otio, exsurget mox proculdu-  
15 bio, fractas suas vires recolliget, excitabit ac imparatos aliisque deditus rebus invadet.  
Cui suae voluntati non deesse possunt facultates, quas habere dicitur maximas, multis  
regnis brevi tempore suae ditioni subactis, non suorum oboedientia, quae in regno  
parando magni est momenti. Mox ubi res Christianas vel torpentes vel rerum suarum  
minus sollicitas viderit, volueritque accurret, et Tuae Maiestati aliisque principibus  
20 Germaniae non modo negotium facesset, sed etiam maximam incredibilemque adfe-  
ret rerum turbationem.

Non parva nunc est omnium spes caesarem optimum maximum fratrem tuum  
dum est in Germania, rebus omnibus pro eo officio, quo Christianitati ex debito  
obstrictus est, tibi et Christianitati, pedibus et manibus subventurum. Idque eum tum  
25 ex facultate, tum ex prudentia et rerum gerendarum dexteritate facile posse facere,  
tamen cum longius absit ab hostibus et non parum etiam in Hispaniis suis moderan-  
dis curam habere debeat, non tam accurate fortasse, quam licitum esset, rebus his  
Germanicis intendet animum, maxime cum te his Germaniae rebus administrandis  
praefecerit et eam curam tuis humeris imposuerit, tamen eam scio ipsius esse in te  
30 fraternam affectionem, eum in Christianas res amorem et tam memorem etiam sui  
officii, ut tibi assistat rebus omnibus, quibus a se fieri possit te auxilietur, non facul-  
tati, non capiti, sanguini, et si fortuna ita ferat, vitae suae sit parciturus, quin omnia,  
quae adeo voles exspectasque et quae Christianitatis res exposcant, diligenter accura-  
teque sit exsequiturus.

[2.] Verum si Hungariae statum, in quo illa misera et afflicta regio iamdiu versa-  
tur, nunc bene considero, eadem et caesaris et aliorum principum Christianorum  
provisionem et praesidium aegre exspectare posse videtur, sextus iam annus agitur  
interitus Ludovici regis.<sup>2</sup> Ab eo tempore non modo non defensa Hungaria, sed ab

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193 <sup>1</sup> For the death of Zwingli and Oecolampadius, see Ep. 190. Cap. 3. | <sup>2</sup> King Louis II died on 29 August, 1526 in Mohács.

externis et internis hostibus multis magnisque affecta est cladibus, calamitatibus et  
periculis, adeo ut etiam breve quodlibet tempus ad illius defensionem designatum 40  
longissimum esse videatur. Imploratum est his praeteritis omnibus annis finitimorum  
Hungariae principum praesidia. Missae frequentes nostratium legationes, ut Tua  
Maiestas optime novit, ad conventus imperiales. Nihil a nostris praetermissum, quod  
alios ad commiserationem excitandos, et etiam non modo nostrae Hungariae immi-  
nentem, sed etiam futuram Christianitati calamitatem commemorandam pertinuerit. 45  
Sed, ut experti sumus, frustra a nostris insudatum est, frustra aliorum opes imploratae  
in hanc horam, licet promissa praecesserint multa, tamen nihil ad nostri tutelam est  
factum. Quibus tu rebus, Rex Serenissime, ut usus es frequenter, non parum fuisti  
conturbatus, quippe cuius res in Hungaria vel defendenda vel hostium insultibus  
relinquenda ageretur. 50

Quid tamen non modo turbatione tui, sed etiam frequenti apud principes sollicita-  
tione profeceris, licet omnes videant sentiantque, tamen tu ipse omnium melius et  
scis et expertus es. Nam tanto oneri ferendo solus es suppositus. Nullius facultas tibi  
suppeditatur, non praesto sunt, qui partem oneris tui allevent et tibi succurrant. Cae-  
sar frater tuus unus omnium tum vinculo iunctus, non deesse visus est rebus tuis, 55  
neque deerit, ut dicit, sed si quid tibi in rebus Hungaricis opitulari velit, prius compo-  
nenda ei est Germaniae dissensio, principes in concordiam revocandi, haereses, si  
non tollendae, saltem mitigandae. Quantum autem id facere sit negotii et quantae  
difficultatis, vix explicari potest. Quis enim, per Deum immortalem, tantam animo-  
rum diversitatem, tot sectas et schismata, tam multos principes, tum privatarum rem- 60  
rum, tum publicarum causa dissentientes in unionem revocare possit. Nisi Dei spiri-  
tus, qui omnia hominibus etiam impossibilia plerumque perfecit, mutuam concor-  
diam inspiraverit, frustra laboratum iri in his rebus pacificandis arbitror.

[3.] Quis enim locus fieri potest pacis statuendae tot sectis et schismatis inter  
principes imperii firmas iam radices agentibus? Divinae est virtutis et non humanae 65  
hoc malum exstirpare. Nam etsi caesar potentissimus sit, prudens, omniaque ex alto  
faciat statuatque consilio, tamen late patet imperium Germanicum, in quo multi, ut  
scis, Serenissime Princeps, sunt principes plurimas et arces et civitates munitas ha-  
bentes. Qui si ab eorum secta et proposito iam firmato averti cogentur, multum opus  
erit, multo longove tempore, quo suis bonis arcibus et civitatibus exuantur. Quae illis 70  
non solum iuramento, sed etiam firmis praesidiis ita sunt obnoxiae, ut ab illis segre-  
gari vix vel cum magna difficultate possint. Interea autem dum haec caesar non modo  
perfecerit, sed saltem incipere poterit, Turca adventurus est, ut multi iam exploratores  
retulerunt, et quicquid iam a multis annis animo concepit, facile perficere poterit.  
Quo enim modo caesar principibus imperii eum non sequentibus obviare illi sine 75  
magno et suo et suorum detrimento valeat, non satis cogitare possum. Tu vero, Rex  
Serenissime, etsi omnibus viribus, studio, consilio et prudentia totus in hoc sis, ut  
hostibus illis si non resistere, aut saltem aliquid obicere possis obstaculi, quo ab  
irruptione ditionis tuae contineri possint, tamen sine caesare, sine aliis imperii princi-  
pibus impar esse, bona venia dictum sit, videris tanti hostis viribus. 80

Haec cum ita sint, quid sperandum sit nobis boni, vix satis non modo intelligere, sed ne sperare quidem possum. Una videretur esse spes Hungariae conservandae, si privatis commodis, quae magnam plerumque adducunt inter principes animi alienationem, in partem nunc sepositis bonae concordiae et paci studueritis. Tuque id acci-  
85 peres, quod aequum rectumque esset, et Ioannem aliquo modo contentum reddere curares, hac unica ni fallor brevissimaque via futurum existimarem, ut et Turcarum causam ad Hungariam irrumpendi adimeretis, et facile illum aliquibus modis domi contineretis, et vobis ipsis securitatem, pacem et tranquillitatem perpetuam facile parare possetis, et Hungaria, nobilissimum regnum refloresceret, et quodammodo a  
90 tot malis et oppressionibus pristinas suas vires, decorem, amplitudinem et dignitatem esset recuperatura. Si enim hoc modo vel relinquetur vel prorogabitur res Hungarica, etiamsi Turca domi suae se continuerit, Hungaria internis et tuis et Ioannis factionibus est in extremum periculum prolapsura. Tuum igitur est, Rex Inclite, tot periculis providere, et caesarem fratrem tuum admonere, ut pace in imperio confecta vel hosti-  
95 bus resistat, vel id si fieri non posse viderit, pacem tecum una cum Ioanne statuat, firmetque ac illi, si acceptare velit, aliquem locum designare debeat, ubi ab Hungaria excitanda vacuus habeatur. Haec si feceris, non videberis, Serenissime Rex, inconsulte res curasse Hungaricas. Vale.

Bruxellae XXVI. Decembris MDXXXI.

173 194

Miklós Oláh to Caspar Ursinus Velius  
Brussels, 26 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 169.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 182.

*He was happy that he has received his letter in which he explains himself. He is not angry with him for only writing rarely because he knows that he is occupied with their common cause, i.e. writing the history of the Hungarians.*

Ad Ursinum Velium historicum regis Ferdinandi.

Gaudeo te meam epistolam, qua me expurgaram, accepisse, plus autem laetor te officio esse functum et ad me rescripsisse, cessatorem licet te esse scribas. Qui ad me a longo tempore, praeter unicas litteras non dederis, non videris tamen esse cessator, 5 cum in rebus nostris communibus, Hungaricis describendis<sup>1</sup> sis et fueris versatus.

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194,1 historicum...Ferdinandi] *O add. in marg.* 2 epistolam] *O del. ex expurgaram tibi*

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194<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 173. Notes 4, and 5.

Unicas licet ad me privatim dederis litteras, tamen quicquid operae et sudoris in rebus nostris publicis posteritati tradendis praestitisti, id mihi uni a te praestitum arbitror. Noli igitur te apud me hominem tibi amicum purgare, modo rerum Hungaricarum non obliviscare. Nihil erit, quod tibi non sum condonaturus, etiamsi toto anno ad me nihil scripseris. Vale.

10

Bruxellae XXVI. Decembris MDXXXI.

195

Miklós Oláh to a friend [called Joannes]  
Brussels, 26 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 169.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 183.

*What does his friend think of Oláh now that he has learned what is going on between Paulus Toletanus and him, and what its cause is? He believes that he does not judge him for it, and that he does not object. Oláh has written him about it so that he can better understand what is happening, and if he wishes to get rid of this great inconvenience, to offer his help.*

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Quid mihi, Frater Amantissime, licere censebis, cum causam, quae inter me et Paulum Toletanum<sup>2</sup> a multis iam temporibus non sine rerum mearum iactura agitur, unde et quibus ex causis orta sit, cognoveris? Non arbitror te futurum talem, qui re bene intellecta meos cogitatus meaque acta reprehendas. Scio te aequi esse observantissimum ut amantissimum, et nihil, quod aequitati contrarium sit, admissurum. Tuis consiliis, tuo iudicio, aestimationi et voluntati me et mea omnia negotia committo, quae qualia sint, quos iam processus habuerint, quae intercesserint inter nos media, et quibus me ille conditionibus oraverit, omnia haec ex scriptis, quae de omnibus nostris mutuis rationibus confecta sunt, optime cognoscere potes. Ea enim haec voluntate ad te misimus, ut interea dum adveniret tempus remissionis, te ex eis facilius informare posses.

Quare, mi Ioannes Amicorum Optime, si vis me maxima liberare molestia, si prospicere rei meae familiari, si saluti, vitae et bonae fortunae consulere cupis, pro nostra amicitia et imprimis tua aequitate et iustitia, qua mirum in modum ceteris praestas, fac ut rem ipsam bene perpendas et paratum beneque instructum te praesta

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6 dederis] *O corr.* ex dederim

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195 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Probably Pál Tordai. In 1522, he was Canon of Alba Iulia, in 1525, Archdeacon of Chapter in Hunedoara, in 1529, Deputy Bishop of Alba Iulia. See HARSÁNYI 1938, 276, and BOPP 1891, 118–121.

ad rei cognitionem, ut dum postea tempus aderit remissionis, possis causam tamdiu inter nos pendentem cognoscere, et utrique nostrum, quod aequum erit, pronuntiare, gratius nihil hoc mihi erit.

20      Bruxellae XXVI. Decembris MDXXXI.

196

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Brussels, 30 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 169–170.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 183–184.

1. *He cannot understand why Kálnai has stayed at home for so long. If Kálnai has stayed at home because the tasks at home make him happy, and he can also study at the same time, Oláh cannot fault his decision, even though he thinks Kálnai was born to work for the common good. However, if it is the inconveniences of the court that are holding him back, he should believe him when he says that he would have many partners in enduring those. 2. Kálnai's absence is the most difficult to endure, he should visit him if he can, or he will go next time, as long as they can meet.*

Ad Calnay.

[1.] Quibus rebus adductus domi maneat tamdiu, non modo scire, sed ne cogitare quidem possum. Si domestico otio delectaris, aut alicui rei privatae deditus es, aut ideo abes, ne videas cum magno dolore, quod alii nequaquam aspicere in curia pos-  
5 sunt, partim laudare, partim tuum propositum vituperare possum. Nam si occupatus es re domestica, ea occupatio et iucunda est, et non parum utilitatis homini plerum-  
que afferre consuevit. Si vero otium te delectat patrium, idque seiunctum est a bonis studiis, non possum non reprehendere tuum consilium, qui natus sis ad aliquid agen-  
dum dignum viro bono et profecturo reipublicae. At vero si moveris curiae molestiis,  
10 mihi crede, multos habes huius rei socios, qui aequae ut tu his, quos quotidie inviti vident, maxime excruciantur. Verum ut nunc est et tempus et conditio hominum, omnia cum moderatione et patientia sunt tolleranda.

[2.] Quare tua, mi Calnay, absentia, etsi potest esse multis molesta, mihi tamen, mihi crede, est molestissima, qui tibi tuaeque amicitiae iam olim a puero fuerim as-  
15 suetus, et tu item singulari in me fueris observantia semper et coniunctione. Nihil ergo hoc tempore esse mihi tua absentia acerbius, quam tanto fero iniquiore animo, quo minor est bonorum in curia virorum copia et pauci sunt, quibus cum familiariter vivere possim. Non parum igitur mihi afferes voluptatis et laetitiae, si me quamprim-  
20 labo propius te, ut commode convenire possimus. Tuum negotium, de quo nuper ad

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195,17 remissionis] *corr.* ex remisionis

me scripseras,<sup>1</sup> fuit mihi et est cordi, non secus illius curam habeo diligentem, quantum mea est facultas ac mearum rerum. Sed quo sit in statu, intelliges a meo homine, qui has meas tibi reddet. Idem ille alia quoque de tuis aliis et meis rebus tibi loquetur, quae cum acceperis, fac quod e re utriusque nostrum fore arbitratus fueris. Id te prudenter fecisse putabo. Vale et si congressus noster tardius processerit, quam putarem, 25 scribe ad me aliquid de tuis tuorumque rebus.

Bruxellae XXX. Decembris anno a Christo nato MDXXXI.

## 197

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 30 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 170.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 184–185.

*It was of great comfort to him that he has learned from him that he has many faithful friends with them, who have not forgotten about the old friendship. He hopes that he can reciprocate this some day.*

Ad amicum.

Ex multis meis doloribus hoc unum mihi magnae fuit consolationi, quod intellexerim me adhuc apud vos habere amicos fidos, qui meae veteris amicitiae meminerint, et non passi sint se ingratitude vitio, quo nihil reprehensibilis esse potest, notari. Utinam a Deo optimo maximo tempus aliquando opportunum, quo vicissim in 5 eos amicos meos, qui nunc acceptorum beneficiorum sunt memores, gratus esse possim. Certe si quid erit, curabo, ut me bonum eorum et amicum et fratrem cognoscant. Vale.

Bruxellae XXX. Decembris MDXXXI.

## 198

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Joannes  
Brussels, 31 December 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 170–171.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 185.

*If Johannes is asking why Oláh was silent for such a long time, well, it was not without cause. Oláh would have had what to write about, but he could not do it due to the great pain. If he did not write, it was*

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196 <sup>1</sup> We do not know the letter Kálnai is referring to.

*because he was anxious due to his situation and the issues surrounding him, and he did not want to report about these. If that was a mistake, he should forgive him, he will write more during more favorable times.*

Ad Ioannem amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Quaeris causam, Amicorum Optime, cur tamdiu praeter naturam consuetudinem-  
que meam siluerim et te non fecerim rerum mearum participem. Non equidem hoc  
sine causa est a me factum. Nam etsi multis de rebus tum meis tum tuis erat mihi ad  
5 te scribendum, cuius in me amorem ac benivolentiam iampridem optime cognove-  
ram, tamen omnes meas rationes scribendi ita obstruxerant haec molestissima tem-  
pora et iniqua rerum mearum vitaeque meae conditio, ut sine maximo dolore ad te  
scribere, etiamsi maxime voluissem, non potuerim. Quod ipsum vitare cupiens et  
meis quodammodo parcens doloribus fui tamdiu scribendo negligens, non quod tui  
10 non meminissem, et nostrae consuetudinis iucundissimae, iam olim sanctissimae, a  
nobis mutuo observatae fuissem oblitus, sed quod scribendo et tibi molestus esse  
nolui meam iniquam vivendi conditionem commemorando, et meum dolorem, quem  
recordatus meae pristinae et praesentis sortis accipere potuissem, refricare nolui.

Si quid ergo est a me erratum, et tu aliquid de me es suspicatus adversi, fac et  
15 hanc deponere suspicionem, et mihi ignosce. Si quae post haec tempora consequentur  
felicitiora, non admittam, ut meam scribendi operam desiderare possis, faciamque ut  
quod a me praetermissum est, et crebritate et prolixitate meorum scriptorum repen-  
dam, maxime si tibi meam operam scribendi gratam esse cognovero. Vale et me, ut  
soles, ama.

20 Bruxellae XXXI. Decembris anno Domini MDXXXI.

## 199

Miklós Oláh to another friend  
[?], 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 162.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 185–186.

*After he received his friend's letter the other day, he could decide quite well what he should do and how he should evaluate him, although his improper actions have touched him, and he thought he should correct them, but in the end the goodwill he feels toward him has won. However, his friend should be careful lest he drive everyone away with his insolence, namely nobody can help him as much as he himself. It is up to him which route he chooses. Oláh's advice is that if a lion's skin is not enough, he should add a fox's. He will help his friend Johannes, as recommended.*

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198 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.



Ad alium.

Acceptis nuper tuis litteris, quid de te nobis faciendum sit et quem in statum collocandus sis, ut aliquid et videre et consequi possis, satis nobiscum constituimus; varie licet animum nostrum de tuis factis perversis movebant, et pro his, ut disceres, te emendare cogitabamus, tamen nostra in te et alios benignitas vicit animi tui perversitatem. Nisi igitur adversari nobis malueris et tua facta nobis opponere, habebimus quantum in nobis erit rationem tuae promotionis. Cura igitur et enitere, ne tu ipse animum nostrum bonum scilicet et benevolum a te alienes vel procacitate tua immodica, vel exprobatore servitorum tuorum nobis praestitorum. Nemo magis quam tu tibi et prodesse poterit et obesse, utramque viam in manibus habes tuis, utrum electurus sis, tui erit arbitrii. Consulo tibi, si exuvium, ut dicitur, leonis non sufficiet, addas tibi et vulpinum, id est omnibus rationibus enitere, ut meam in te benivolentiam et animum liberalem a te sponte tua non repellas.

Quod Ioannem<sup>1</sup> tuum consobrinum nobis commendas, faciemus tuis permoti servitiis, quod e re et utilitate ipsius fore arbitrabitur. Non perdit operam suam et impensam, modo nobis fideliter obsequi curet, maxime cum multis animi dotibus eum conspicuum esse cognoverimus.

Datum MDXXXI.

## 200

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
[?], [1531?]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 162.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 187.

*He does not deserve to receive a response to his friend's complaints, even if he set aside all his reasons, one would still remain: that his friend was so cruel to him, who is far away, that he has not responded to a single one of his letters.*

Ad amicum.

Non est integrum me tuis respondere querelis, omissis aliis iustis causis hisque multis rationibus ob hanc praecipue unam rem, quod tam inhumanus, ne dicam su-

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199,1 Ad alium] O(?) del. ex alium amicum

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199,11 si... 12 vulpinum] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* III,V,81: "Si leonina pellis non satis est, vulpina addenda [...] Si leonis exuvium non sufficit, adde vulpinum", see GRANT 2005, 114, and MACPHAIL 2014, 82.

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199<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

perbus per haec tempora, quibus a te abfui, in me extitisti, ut licet multis a me sis  
5 provocatus litteris, tu tamen ne unicas quidem ad me remittere curaveris. Vale.<sup>1</sup>

## 201

Miklós Oláh to someone  
Brussels, 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 162–163.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 186–187.

*He wonders, is the promise his friend made when he visited still valid. Is this humanity, which within a short period of time becomes worse than any monster? When Oláh was in Augsburg, a common friend revealed his friend's true nature, but he did not want to believe him. He should thus stop being cruel to his friends, he should be like that to his enemies; in this way namely not only his enemies but also his friends will despise him.*

Ad quendam.

Eane est tua promissio, quam mihi abeunti fecisti? Ea humanitas, qua te alios  
vincere praedicabas, ut brevi hoc tempore omnem humanitatem exueres et omni  
belua crudelissima sis deterior. O te miserum, miserabili facie tuos perversissimos  
5 mores obtegentem, hisne moribus credis tibi homines fore benevolos? Amicus noster  
quidam communis, dum simul eramus Augustae,<sup>1</sup> mihi haec de te praedicabat expli-  
cabatque omnem fere animi tui affectum. Miram tuam naturam detegebat, credere  
tamen illi tunc nolui, maluique tuae voci muliebri fidem adhibere, quam illius boni  
viri verbis vera de te referentibus.

10 Desine igitur tam inhumanus et rigidus erga amicos tuos esse, morem hunc tuum  
silvestrem in eos exerce, qui te exosi sunt, non qui amarunt et amant. Nam si in hac  
tua natura permanseris, et tam superbe quam hactenus tacueris, omni belua eris infe-  
rior et abominabilior, contemnerisque non ab inimicis solum, sed amicis quoque,  
quos in odium tui vocaveris. Quare si sapiens, consule rebus tuis. Tempus iam est te id  
15 facere. Vale.

Bruxellae XXXI.

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200 <sup>1</sup> We do not know the precise date of this letter, but its location in the manuscript suggests the year  
1531. 201 <sup>1</sup> Augsburg.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus baro Siculus  
Brussels, 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 163.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 187.

*If Paulus manages his affairs so that Oláh does not know about it, he does not mind, it releases him from a great burden, him, who helps his friends so frequently; Paulus should continue, Oláh is not angry as long as Paulus does not burden him again.*

Ad Paulum baronem Siculum.<sup>1</sup>

Quando rem omnem tuam ita agis, ut nescire me velis, non multum sum cupidus res tuas intelligere, simul etiam me magno levas onere, qui alioqui solitus sum amicorum meorum negotiis non parum tribuere laboris, curae et sollicitudinis. Quare perge, ut coepisti, et rem tuam communica his, quibus velis. Non id aequo animo 5 ferre gravabor, et tam aequo animo, ut aliquid etiam sim tibi libenter condonaturus, dummodo a rebus tuis curandis me liberares, nihilque mihi oneris imponas. Vale.

Bruxellae MDXXXI.

Arnold van Bergheick to Miklós Oláh  
Enghien, [1531?]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 179.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 187–188.

*A shepherd neighbor wishes to greet Oláh and has asked to do so in three words. He has the writing in his hands, i.e. the Emperor's law passed the other day about educating the poor; the only way to win over God.*

Arnoldus Oridryus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario etc. reginae serenissimae.

Cum pastor hic affinis meus decreverat Dominationi Tuae salutare, cum ad hoc officio et ipse quoque gestirem, iussit, ut hoc litteris agerem, idque tribus, quod

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203,4 tribus...5 verbis] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* III,VII,50: "tribus verbis", see GRANT 2006, 246, and Plaut. *Mil. glor.* 1020: "brevin an longinquo sermoni? / tribus verbis", etc.

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202<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

5 aiunt, verbis. Ut enim me ludus domesticus, ita te publicae salutis studium (ut opinor)  
vix tuum esse sinit, et est iam mihi in manibus volumen aliquod Sathanae et Euclio-  
nibus<sup>1</sup> nostris non admodum gratum, quo pluribus persuadere conor, id quod verissi-  
mum est, optimi imperatoris nuper de educandis pauperibus latam legem, multo  
10 omnium sanctissimam, rem unam, qua hac rerum humanarum calamitate Deum  
potissimum demeruerimus. Bene vale. Angiae.<sup>2</sup>

## 204

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Brussels, 11 January 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 58–60.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 188–190.

1. He thanks him for helping Újlaki even while he is away. The loss of Újlaki's only brother has shocked him as well, will Újlaki please accept his condolences. But we are all mortal, and our only consolation can be that nobody can be rich enough to avoid death. They should therefore thank God for being able to experience both joy and sadness. 2. He is happy that Márk Pemfflinger and Miklós Apaffy are well. He wishes that this waiting would already end; they have high expectations for the Regensburg Imperial Assembly, i.e. that Hungarian affairs will be discussed there. He believes that often even what seems certain is not, so even the envoys of Łaski and King John I could do good. 3. He congratulates on the child of his friend from Oradea. How could one be godless when he was conceived with holy beginnings: the child might even become a prophet. When he returns, he will bring a map of this land. He sends his regards to Pemfflinger and Apaffy; he will write them soon. He does not know anything about his affairs at home, Újlaki should inform him if he can.

Nicolaus Olaus Francisco Vylaky praeposito Poseniensi, secretario et consiliario Ferdinandi regis Romanorum.

[1.] Proximis diebus redditae sunt mihi tuae litterae<sup>1</sup> cum litteris regiis, quas in negotio Bartholomaei<sup>2</sup> mei opera tua expediendas summis rogaveram precibus. Ha-  
5 beo tibi gratias cumulatas, qui in rebus absentium tuorum fratrum tam diligentem te semper praestes, quam in praesentium. Si quae unquam dabitur occasio tibi gratificandi, meis rursus omnibus viribus faciam, ut vicem rependam officii et fraternitatis et gratitudinis.

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203,5 te] O(?) del. ex te et 6 esse] O(?) del. ex esse te 7 gratum] O corr. ex gratiam 204,7 meis rursus]  
O mut. ex rursus meis

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203 <sup>1</sup> Euclio is a fictitious character in the play *Aulularia* by Plautus. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know the precise date of this letter, but its location in the manuscript suggests the year 1531. 204 <sup>1</sup> We do not know the letter Oláh is referring to. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Casus miserandus fratris tui unici tam mihi gravis fuit, quam alicuius ex meis  
mihi arctissima iunctis fraternitate. Nam ex meipso possum diiudicare, quantum tibi 10  
attulerit moeroris huius unici fratris amissio, qui meorum clade simili afflictus sum et  
dolore et acerbitate. Et etiam alioqui si boni viri esse velimus, alter alterius condolare  
debet calamitati. Sed posteaquam mortales omnes simus, et omnibus in horas subiecti  
periculis, quicquid Deus voluerit, vel potius in nos permiserit aut boni aut adversi,  
aequo ferre debemus animo. Idque magnae debet nobis esse consolationi, neminem 15  
esse neque tam potentem neque tam divitem, qui dum vivit huius vitae incommoda,  
postremo mortem vitare possit. Cum igitur totius vitae humanae cursus ita a Deo  
optimo maximo sit institutus, ut nunc laeta nunc tristia experiamur, gratiae sunt ei  
agenda, quicquid aut boni aut mali nobis obvenerit, omniaque illius providentiae  
tribuenda. Quod si fecerimus, dolor et animi nostri molestia non parum sedabitur. 20

[2.] Marcum Pemfflyngerum<sup>3</sup> et Nicolaum Apaffy<sup>4</sup> salvos esse gaudeo, utinam  
fortuna ita tulisset, ut ambos maxime vero Pemfflyngerum videre potuissem, credo  
eos quoque, ut omnes nos non parum esse pertaesos morae liberationis nostrae et tam  
diuturnae exspectationis, quae utinam iam iam habitura sit finem; qui nisi caesaris ad  
conventum Ratisbonensem<sup>5</sup> profectione et rerum Hungaricarum diligenti istic tracta- 25  
tione sequatur, nescio, postea an tam facile res Hungarica transigi possit. Verum quid  
ego de his rebus praesagio, quae tibi notiores esse debent. At ego quoque nonnihilo  
de his coniectari possum, multa iam et videns et expertus de huius temporis hominum  
moribus constituerat caesar novo huius mensis die hinc abire, sed profectionem distu- 30  
lit ad diem sedecimum, an ab eo quoque ad longiorem differat diem, nescio. Video  
enim saepe etiam certa mutari, vellem Lasky<sup>6</sup> et alii oratores apud vaivodam aliquid  
boni facerent, ne miserum regnum Hungariae magis ac magis nostra aetate in pericu-  
lum laberetur. Nisi igitur ut repetam priora, praesentia caesaris aliquid boni Ratisbo-  
nae concludatur, in absentia postea illius vix aliquid egregii secuturum confido. 35

[3.] Waradiensis<sup>7</sup> τῆ εικόνη<sup>8</sup> vive gratulor. Credo infantulum hunc relaturum 35  
parentes suos. Quis enim ex sacris initiatis irreligiosus procreari potest? Si enim bene  
recorder, mater dicebatur ex coenobio Augustam<sup>9</sup> venisse, fieri itaque nequaquam

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12 alter alterius] *O mut. ex alterius alter* 28 hominum...29 moribus] *O mut. ex hominibus* 31 apud] *O add. sup. l.* 32 in...33 laberetur] *O add. et mut. ex collaberetur* 34 egregii] *O mut. ex boni* 35 εικόνη] *corr. ex εικόνη* 36 irreligiosus] *O corr. ex irreligiosus* 37 mater...ex] *O mut. et add. ex illa dicebatur*

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<sup>3</sup> Márk Pemfflinger (†1537) was Count of Sibiu (*comes Cibiensis*), Royal Judge (*iudex curiae regiae*) of Sibiu, and brother of János Pemfflinger, merchant and Royal Judge of Buda. After János' death Márk became guardian of his nephews Sebestyén, István, and Kristóf. For more on Márk and the other Pemfflingers, see KUBINYI 1978, and V. KOVÁCS 1971, 652. | <sup>4</sup> Miklós (III) Apaffy († before 1535), see JAKÓ 1990, 580. | <sup>5</sup> Imperial Assembly in Regensburg. | <sup>6</sup> Hieronymus Łaski. | <sup>7</sup> The Bishop of Oradea was László Macedóniai. According to this sentence, he had a child. | <sup>8</sup> 'to the effigy'. | <sup>9</sup> Augsburg, but it is not clear why she came to Augsburg.

poterit, quin ex hoc infantulo magnus quispiam exurgat ὁ προφήτης<sup>10</sup> tam sacris orto  
parentibus. Mearum non est virium τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῶν,<sup>11</sup> ut scribis, imitari posse, sed  
40 curabo ne frustra consenuisse videar; haec ioco. Dum auxilio Dei reversus fuero,  
feram tibi huius patriae tabellam imagine pictam, si non spirantem at spiranti aliqua  
ex parte similem. Saluta meo nomine Marcum Pemfflyngerum et Nicolaum Apaffy,  
si fata mihi restiterunt, quominus cum eis praesens esse potuerim (quod maxime  
45 voluissem), brevi tamen litteris apud eos agam. De rebus meis Hungaricis ne iotam  
quidem scio, et in magna sum anxietate, si quid tu vel intellexisti vel adhuc intelli-  
gere de his poteris, rogo fac me certiozem. Dum Ratisbonae aliquid boni finiatur,  
puto me hic mansurum, precaborque Deum, ut principes interea reipublicae nostrae  
Hungaricae utilia istic et tractent et finiant. Commenda servitia mea maiestati regiae  
fidelia.  
50 Bruxellae undecima Ianuarii 1532.

205

Miklós Oláh to Paulus Brabantius  
Brussels, 13 January 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 171–172.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 190–191.

*1. Oláh has always known what benevolence Paulus has had towards him. Oláh can hardly talk about the situation in Hungary, it is so miserable. The main cause of the confusion is that they do not have a leader who will make sure to protect them; it would have been enough to elect one king instead of two, which has only led to dissent. Discord will bring down even a great state, agreement will make even a small state great. 2. He does not know what to write, whom to trust, where to flee. God must have sent this punishment because of their sins, but it looks to him as though they are not only not being cleansed through them, they are even becoming worse.*

Ad Paulum Brabantium.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Acceptis litteris tuis, licet neque antea quicquam de tuo in me animo bene-  
volo dubitabam, quippe mihi multos iam annos satis perspecto; tamen visus sum  
rursus in eam incidere cogitationem, ut te mei etiam absentis esse memorem certo  
5 intelligerem, et dum usus mihi esset te me eodem, quo prius semper prosecuturum

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39 θυσίαν ...] *corr.* ex θησίαν αὐτῶν | ut scribis] *O add. sup. l.* 41 aliqua] *O mut. ex magica* 48 tractent]  
*O corr.* ex tractant

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<sup>10</sup> ‘the prophet’. | <sup>11</sup> ‘their sacrifice’ that is ‘their nuptials’. The mixup of the letters *v* and *η* could be explained by their contemporary use, i.e. both were pronounced as *i*. 205 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

amore et benivolentia. Res nostra communis Hungarica, patriae periculum et direptio rerum, bonorumque eorum, qui partem regis sequuntur, quam mihi acerba sit, vix explicare possum. Nam quantum ea res afferat rei publicae nostrae damni et incommodi, neminem esse puto, qui nesciat. Omnis rerum turbatio ex eo pendere videtur, quod principem nobis deesse video, cui nostra salus et defensio curae esset, propterea 10 devenimus in praesentem hanc calamitatem, quia defuit nostrae salutis propugnator. Nostra iustitia coargui ex hoc potuit, quod in initio rerum nostrarum non satis consulte rebus nostris providimus, satius erat nos unum regem delegisse, et illius paruisse voluntati, quam divisos fuisse, ut in hanc deveniremus calamitatem, verificataque est in malis ea sententia, qua scivimus rempublicam discordia dilabi magnam, 15 concordia vero parvam augeri et locupletari.

[2.] Quid tibi scripturus sim, nescio, vereor, ne magnum aliquod, ni Deus rebus nostris mature providerit, passuri simus detrimentum. Nam statu nostro praesenti durante vix nos et regnum nostrum diutius stare posse spero, ita sunt omnia non modo plena periculis, sed et labefactata et immutata. Quam igitur simus spem habituri rebus hoc modo durantibus, nescio, quandoquidem non est, quo nos vertamus, 20 cuiusque praesidium his rebus nostris adversis imploremus, nec qui nos defendat et cuius autoritate salvi esse possemus. Deus hanc punitionem merito propter scelera nostra immisit, ut acceptis aliquibus peccatorum nostrorum poenis meliores redamur, sed video nihil nobis profuisse neque meliores nos divina factos austeritate, 25 sed potius in interitum nostrum Indies deteriores sumus, ob quam rem divina nobis imploranda est clementia, ut gratia sua nos illustret, quo poenitentiam reatum nostrorum agentes vitam nostram perversam renovemus, et ipsius afflati gratia in meliorem frugem transmutemus. Ita fiet, ut vitam nostram emendant res nostrae meliores sint futurae, regnique nostramque pacem simus habituri. Si quid esset novi, 30 facerem te de eo certiolem, sed scribendo longior esse non possum. Bene vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae XIII. Ianuarii MDXXXII.

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 18 January 1531

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 172.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 191–192.

*If Oláh understands him well, he is angry with him for not having written for a long time and having forgotten about his duties as a friend. Anger does not fit such a clever and well-read person. If his friend still chooses this path, nobody will accuse him, but he should think it through again if being so ungrateful behoooves him. He should thus keep his benevolence towards Oláh, he does not believe it anyway that he has changed this much.*

Ad amicum.

Quantum ex tuis comprehendere me licuit litteris, videris mihi subirasci, quod  
tandiu nullas ad te dederim litteras et quasi cessator evaserim tuique et officiorum  
tuorum in me collatorum penitus immemor. Irasci licet et primis animi affectibus  
5 commoveri humanae esse arbitror conditionis, sed viro prudenti, multisque lectioni-  
bus ac doctrinis ornato sine rationabili causa alteri succenseri, maxime cum nulla sit  
ratio, a me unquam erga te praestita, cur merito irasci possis, minime convenit. Si hac  
ratione vis effugere, quin in posterum eam, quam consuevisti, in me conferas bene-  
volentiam, et huius indignationis tuae causa susceptae velis meam amicitiam re-  
10 spuere, id quidem facere poteris, nemine te nunc cum omnium sis maximus reprehende-  
nte; sed iterum atque iterum cogita, an te id facere conveniat, et hac te in hominem  
tibi amicum uti ingratitude.

Quare si vis me eum de ceteroque esse, qui fuerim antea semper, hoc est tibi  
amicissimum tuique nominis observantissimum, fac leniorem erga me te praebeas, et  
15 ostende declaraque nihil in te reperiri posse, quod te tuosque mores ab humanitatis  
officio avocare possit. Non est tuae naturae bonam fortunam, quae nunc tibi accidet  
te efferre posse, et illa elatiore te esse animo, quam antea erga amicos fueris, maxime  
de te benemeritos, ut omnes cognoscant tui te non factum esse tui dissimilem, et  
mores tuos cum fortuna non mutavisse. Id si feceris, mihique non succenseberis, ac  
20 solita tua in me et tuos usus fueris humanitate, crede mihi, non parum tibi honorique  
tuo consulens. Vale et me ama.

Bruxellis XVIII. Ianuarii MDXXXII.



Jan van Campen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 4 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 363–365.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 192–193.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 50–51.

1. *He lacks the erudition Oláh ascribes to him, but he usually talks too much and often about vanities – Oláh should forgive him for this. He had spent many hours studying the holy languages when Luther and Melancthon appeared, whose books the Emperor allowed him to read in order to engage in a debate with them.* 2. *He will start with the Book of Daniel because both he and others have requested it, and for this he will consult Jews in Germany, especially one who is currently with the Patriarch of Aquileia, with whom he will spend a few months now.*

Ioannis Campensis<sup>1</sup> ad Nicolaum Olaum secretarium et consiliarium serenissimae reginae responsio.

[1.] Ingenii felicitatem, Vir modis omnibus Ornatissime, et summam eruditionem, quam tribuis, adeo in me non agnosco, ut sciam illam a me abesse quam longissime. Quod de meis laboribus tam multum effutiverim, praeter morem meum in causa 5 dominus ille Hispanus,<sup>2</sup> qui audierat, nescio a quo, mihi nonnihl fuisse contentionis cum theologis Lovaniensibus, quod quia falsum erat, volui sinistram illam suspicionem ex animo illius delere penitus, quare multa dixi, quae quamvis vera erant, nonnihl tamen et inter dicendum et finito colloquio multo me magis futilitatis meae poenituit. Tuum ergo erit dominum mi ignoscere, si quid amplius quam oportuit mihi 10 imprudenter tum exciderit. Nunquam potui iurare in verbis hominis alicuius, sacram litterarum scriptores semper excipio, quare cum conflictationibus illis theologiacis, quas scholasticas vocant, multis annis paene detritus essem; vidi in illis multa quidem esse non penitus contemnenda, sed quae ad intelligentiam genuinam sacram litterarum facerent, admodum pauca, quare animum adieci ad linguas illas de- 15 scendas, quibus sacratissimorum bibliorum auctores in conscribendis illis usi essent. Haec cum tentarem, subito extitit Lutherus et illo doctior Philippus Melancthon, quorum libros quatenus licuit per imperatorem, non alia de causa legi, et cum doctioribus me de dogmatis illorum disserui, quam ut rem intelligerem, et si quando usu veniret cum ratione utriusque parti respondere possem eisdem illis scripturis, quibus 20

207,14 genuinam] *corr.* ex geminam 20 possem] *corr.* ex posse

207<sup>1</sup> Jan van Campen of Kampen (1491–1538) studied at the University of Leuven, then became Professor of Hebrew at the Collegium Trilingue. In November 1531 he resigned his academic chair and entered the service of Jan Dantyszek. For more see BIETENHOLZ 1985a. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.

sua asserere conaretur, cuius rei me adeo nondum poenituit, ut optarim illos, qui sedandis huius temporis tumultibus adhibentur, eandem libertatem in iudicando servare, et non potius affectibus propriis indulgere, verum haec hactenus.

[2.] In Daniele<sup>3</sup> et aliis multis, quia et tu et alii multi me orant, praestabo, quod  
25 potero, nec ullam praetermittam occasionem, quo id possum certius; consulam Iudaeos, qui in Germania sunt plurimi, sed unus est omnium, qui his proximis annis mille vixerunt doctissimus Elias<sup>4</sup> natione Germanus, sed qui tota fere vita sua versatus in Italia, nunc autem est in familia reverendissimi patriarchae Aquilegiaensis<sup>5</sup> apud Venetos. Apud illum, si mihi contingere potuerit, mensibus aliquot versari  
30 beatissimum me iudicabo. Vale, Domine mi, si non ingratum fore tibi iudicavero, scribam saepe, quocumque pervenero, candorem enim tuum amo vehementer. Dominus Iacobus Danus<sup>6</sup> offert operam suam in conscribendo carmine, quo opusculum hoc psalmodum laudetur; habeo profecto gratias illi, sunt alii, qui et scripserunt et scribere iterum cupiunt, verum ego si efficere potuero, ne Dantisci<sup>7</sup> quidem carmen  
35 libello adscribi patiar. Iterum vale.

Lovanii 4. Februarii 1532.

207 **208**

Miklós Oláh to Jan van Campen  
Brussels, 10 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 362–363.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 193–194.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 51–53.

*1. The other day they were musing with Dantyszek about Campen's great talent, which he has acquired through much work. He could not tell from their friendly conversations what kind of a person he is as much as from his translations from Hebrew into Latin. When he had a copy made for him and the Queen, he could not rest until he had read it through, and then he read it again. He has compared the old translation with his version, and the two cannot even be compared. 2. He should thus continue with the work and remember that God has given him this talent so that he can use it for the good of the Holy Church. Everyone evaluates the Book of Daniel according to their own taste; maybe because it is a mystical text, and it does not have a good translation. Therefore, he is asking him to translate it using his great expertise of the Hebrew language, the result will be dear to everyone.*

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30 tibi] *O add. sup. l.* 31 pervenero] *corr: ex perverso*

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<sup>3</sup> The Book of Daniel in the Old Testament. | <sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>5</sup> Marco II Grimani (†1544) was Patriarch of Aquileia between 1529–1533. | <sup>6</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>7</sup> Jan Dantyszek.

Nicolaus Olaus Ioanni Campensi salutem.

[1.] Cum nuper, mi Campensis Doctissime, satiati prandio Dantisci<sup>1</sup> nostri una commentaremur, licet et doctis et humanissimis sermonibus tuis nihil aliud de te suspicari potueram, quam admirabilem quandam felicitatem ingenii tui in te esse sitam, non parvo tuo, ut tu ipse dicebas,<sup>2</sup> labore partam. Tamen ex familiaribus illis 5 collocutionibus, qui inter nos tunc primum notitiam et amicitiam contrahentes mutuo conferebantur, non tantum tunc te potui aestimare, qui vir esses, qua virtute, doctrina, eruditione, quibusve ingenii dotibus praeditus, quam postea ex tua ecclesiasticis ex Haebreo in Latinum versione; cuius tu cum mihi vel reginae potius meae copiam 10 fecisses, quiescere non potui, donec eum ingenii tui foetum statim summo cum desiderio legerim et relegerim. Mirum, quam mihi placuisti, et quam tua eruditio singularis magnae fuerit mihi admirationi. Contuli veterem translationem tuae novae lucubrationi, quantum sol cetera sidera, tantum tua haec translatio veteres illas praestare videbatur. Si ita, ut coepisti, sacras litteras illustrare perrexeris, non parum ab orbe 15 universo Christiano promereberis, omnisque posteritas se tibi multum debere profitebitur.

[2.] Quare, mi Campensis, laborem hunc tuum et utilem et salutiferum persequere, labor iste non te defatiget, sed memineris Deum optimum maximum ideo te hac ingenii et doctrinae felicitate ornasse, ut primum ecclesiae suae sanctae, tum 20 bonis quibusvis omnibus tui observantibus lucubrationibus tuis ornamento et decori sis futurus. Danielem,<sup>3</sup> scis, quam maxime in suam quisque trahere conetur sententiam. Id fieri puto, tum mysteriis in eo absconditis, tum etiam quod non versus sit ea sinceritate et claritate, qua tu alios codices sacros vertere feliciter es aggressus. Quare non parum amicitiae nostrae nascenti tribues, si meo rogatu eum Latinitate donaris. 25 Labor is tibi, homini docto et clarissimo ac Hebraicae linguae peritissimo, ut opinor, non admodum difficilis, non mihi solum, sed omnibus etiam aliis sacrarum litterarum studiosis futurus erit et iucundus et gratissimus. Vale et me ama.

Bruxellae 10. Februarii 1532.

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208,4 felicitatem] *O corr.* ex facilitatem 17 utilem] *corr.* ex utile 25 ac...peritissimo] *O add. in marg.*

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208 <sup>1</sup> Jan Dantyszczek. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 207. Cap. 1. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 207. Note 3.

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Joannes  
Brussels, 10 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 172–173.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 195.

*It has been a year since they left Krems. Some were happy to come, some were sad. Many came because they were expecting freedom and pleasures; he came because of the danger to his homeland and his own losses. But how much inconvenience he has had to endure! The distancing of his friends as well as the hardships abroad have made him particularly sad. It was primarily his loyalty to the queen that has brought him here: Maybe God will not abandon him in exchange for his services.*

Ad amicum Ioannem.<sup>1</sup>

Si bene recordor, praeteritique temporis memoria recte mihi succurrit, annus hodie est nos ex Crempsio Lincium versus cum regina iter arripuisse.<sup>2</sup> Deus bone cum quanta nonnullorum laetitia, et quanta rursus aliquorum tristitia. Erant multi  
5 nostrum, quibus hoc iter minime placebat, qui cogitatione futura metiebantur pericula, et in quas miserias, si regna caperent externa, deventuri essent. Rursus laetabantur aliqui, quibus deliciae erant in votis, et qui voluptatibus illecti suis studebant rebus, ac magnopere exoptabant ad haec venire loca, in quibus summam putabant esse et libertatem et voluptatem; me vero ultra res omnes alias maxime movebat  
10 patriae periculum, rerum mearum iactura, quam ex nostrorum hominum malitia fueram perpressus, deinde externarum regionum desuetudo, quae ultra omnes alias res maximam mihi iniiciebat molestiam. Nam animo iampridem praevidebam, quanta futura esset in regione externa amicorum iniquitas, quam molestum mihi insueto mores aliorum, postremo quam intollerabilis apud incognitas gentes facultatum ex-  
15 iquitas; haec cum mihi omnia obversarentur, animo solito eram tristior mirabanturque non pauci me tam perturbato esse animo. Cum autem causam aut nollent aut nescirent cogitare, nescio, quid de me suspicabantur, postea animus constans devicit omnes meas perturbationes, putavique quamcumque in fortunam me sors detruderet, aequo ferendum id esse animo. Sic quasi animus obduruisset ad omnem casum constanti  
20 animo perferendum. Incitabat me praeterea mea in reginam meam fides iampridem suscepta, quae maxima fuit causa, ut huc venirem rebus meis Hungaricis in magno relictis discrimine. Malui igitur fidei et officio meo suscepto satisfacere, quam meorum commodorum aliquam habere rationem, arbitrabar Deum me pro meis in principem<sup>3</sup> nostram officiis non derelicturum, reginam etiam, si grata esset, meorum servi-

209 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 142. on 13 February, 1531: “Decima huius mensis die commisimus nos ex Cremsio itineri.” | <sup>3</sup> Rare use as a female noun, probably for Queen Mary of Hungary.

tiorum rationem habituram. Habes rationem mei consilii, quod tibi notum reddere 25  
volui.

Bruxellae X. Februarii MDXXXII.

190 **210** 216

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 12 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 229–230.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 196–197; ALLEN 1938, 431–432.

*In English:* ESTES–FANTAZZI 2017, 302–304.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 638–640.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 161–162; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 103–105.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 87–89.

*1. Erasmus understands Lieven Algoet's affair from his letter: Oláh is happy to hear that he has recovered from his leg pain and wishes Erasmus was also living in his homeland. Although it is true that wherever he lives, he always brings glory to his homeland, many here are missing him, and he must realize that he cannot really come up with any reasons for staying away. 2. He says he has bought a new house in Freiburg im Breisgau, but that should not be an obstacle to his return. Oláh cannot see any reasons here that could keep him away, and he has never missed an opportunity to praise and support Erasmus; his friends are missing him, and he would have everything here to be able to dedicate himself to literature. Zwingli and his have died as well, all honest men rejoice.*

Nicolai Olai ad Erasmum Roterodamum responsio.

[1.] Levin<sup>1</sup> negotium quo in statu sit, ex illius litteris intelliges, curabo, quantum in me erit, tum tua motus voluntate, tum ipsius moribus bonis et indole non contemnenda, ut voti sui compos aliquando reddatur. Te a pedis cruciatu et etiam aliis corporis molestiis, quam patiebaris in praesentia liberatum esse et gaudeo et laetor.<sup>2</sup> 5  
Cupio vehementer, ut Deus optimus maximus hac optata te diu frui patiatur incolumitate, sed qua possis patria tua relicta, sub aëre externo felicitate et prosperitate uti corporis non satis cogitare possum. Alii pedibus et manibus nituntur, ut in patria, ubi nati sunt et educati et in qua omnibus ornati sunt bonis et commodis, vitam agere possint quietam, et quod eis inest aut virtutis aut doctrinae, ea solum ornare decorare- 10  
que patriam. Tu ut libere meoque more tecum agam, mi Erasme, a multis iam temporibus secus fecisse videris.

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210,6 diu] *O add. sup. l.*

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210 <sup>1</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 190. Cap. 3.

Nam etsi ubicumque egeris, non minori fueris patriae tuae ornamento et decori propter insignes tuas virtutes et animi dotes, quam si totam hic egisses tuam aetatem.  
15 Tamen videtur conqueri de te quodammodo patria a te nihil accepisse ornamenti et beneficii, cum eam deserueris, eamque tua non ornaris praesentia. At in promptu multas habes causas, cur tamdiu abfueris, et tuos cives tua privaris praesentia. Non infitior te nonnullas fortassis habere hactenus potuisse. Sed cum nihil iam hic videam magni impedimenti, quod hominem ab honesto otio abstrahere posset, et quod non  
20 arrideat homini praeclaro, non iudico esse consentaneum te diutius abesse, praesertim cum serenissimam reginam meam habeas tuae virtutis et doctrinae, ut ego intelligo, amantem et omni erga te affectam benevolentia. Candorem et sinceritatem in amicos animi mei litteris tuis probare videris, eo igitur, quo me videris laudare candore,<sup>3</sup> haec ad te scribo, qui optaverim semper meos amicos non alios in me esse, quam  
25 qualis ego in eos sim.

[2.] Scribis te aedes emisse Friburgi novas, attamen non semel te cogitavisse de Brabantia tua repetenda, sed amicos quosdam tuos fuisse authores, ut tantisper istic haereres, dum res per caesarem Carolum hic sopirent? Aedes te a proposito retinere non debent. Nam illae non cum tuo damno emptorem habere, ut opinor, poterunt,  
30 quandocumque eas venales feceris. Nec video hic ullas esse res tam turbidas et molestas, quae te deterrere a reditu possent. Caesar compositis his, quae debuit et potuit, alia omnia in reginae reliquit potestate. Obtuli meam tibi etiam antea operam, qua liberum est, quantulumcumque sit, te uti modo tuam intelligam voluntatem, non dubito, si propositum est tibi redeundi, quin tibi in ea re possim obsecundare et commodare.  
35 Nam etiam non admonitus a te, et dum alibi et dum hic fuimus, non semel feci de te illi, cur oportuit, mentionem. Nihilque est a me praetermissum, quod ad te ornandum promovendumque pertinuit. Quod si quando daretur facultas, verbis potius, quam nunc litteris explicare tibi malletm.

Quare si amici te amantis vis audire consilium, cogita patriam tuam invisere. In  
40 qua ultra patriae ipsius amorem et principem te benevolentia prosequentem, multosque habes amicos, ut nihil hic esse video ad tuam quietem, tranquillitatem et otium litterarium tibi defuturum, nisi forte Franciscanos et Dominicanos metuas. Nemo est ex his, qui superis tibi faventibus sua loquacitate obesse possit. Quorum impudentem impudentiam tum aliis multis hic tibi obsequundantibus rebus, tum tua praesentia  
45 facile reprimes. Zvingliana et Oecolampadiana peste vos istic liberatos esse,<sup>4</sup> non ego solum, sed omnes boni laetantur. Utinam aliis quoque persecutoribus ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν πηρῶν<sup>5</sup> liberaretur. Minus esse bonis viris taedii et laboris. Vale et, si quid habes

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13 egeris] *O mut. ex fueris* 18 nonnullas...habere] *O mut. ex habuisse nonnullas fortassis habuisse*  
31 quae!] *O corr. ex ut* 33 voluntatem] *O(?) del. ex voluntatem et* 35 alibi] *O corr. ex a* 37 verbis  
potius] *O mut. ex nam verbis* 41 habes...nihil] *O mut. ex quos habes nihil* 42 tibi] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 190. Cap. 2. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 190. Note 5. | <sup>5</sup> 'congregation of the lame'.

animo, vel potius ad quod tempus te huc exspectem, fac me certio-rem. Meam sinceritatem et libertatem scribendi, si ea te turbaverit mihi condonabis. Ea enim apud amicos sinceros uti sum solitus. Vale et me ama et rescribe.

50

Bruxellae 12. Februarii anno 1532.

## 211

Miklós Oláh to Jan Dantyszek  
Brussels, 18 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 173–174.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 197–198. SKOLIMOWSKA–TURSKA 2010, IDL 6245

*Nobody knows better than Dantyszek the troubles that weigh on human life. Although now it seems that he is living in peace, he has had to endure a lot to be able to get here. But he has always accepted his fate, and his spirit has never faltered. And although he comes from a noble family, he has contributed a lot with his greatness, so he should rejoice!*

Ad Ioannem episcopum.

Quantis curis, anxietatibus, sollicitudinibus et periculis humanis sit subiecta conditio humana, neminem esse arbitror, qui te melius et cognoverit et sciat. Nam etsi Deo res tuas felicitante in quieto nunc positus sis statu, et nulli nunc subiectus esse videaris periculo, tamen antequam ad hoc pervenires loci, ut securus tutusque esse posses, multa passus es incommoda, calamitates et, si id tua venia dici poterit, pericula. Quantis a pueritia variis in locis, regnis, inter diversas nationes iactatus sis turbinibus, et quae pericula adiveris, non est nunc mei instituti ea referre. Tu ipse eorum es et conscius et testis. Lucem luci addere hac mea commemoratione viderer, hoc unum tuae virtutis maximum fuit testimonium te in multis fortunae varietatibus non succubuisse, sed constantem semper gessisse animum, nonque fractum tempestatum ac periculorum procellis. Quod autem tuum praesentem statum consecutus sis, virtute duce et Deo volente non miror. Nam multi alii quoque tibi omnibus rebus inferiores, sive largitionibus sive favoribus magnum plerumque statum sunt consecuti. Tu multo magis omnibus praeditus virtutibus dignus eras, qui hoc honore, quo nunc frueris, ornareris, nimirum Deus optimus maximus suo primum gregi tibi que curaeque tuae subiecto bene perspexisse videtur, qui te pastorem tam vigilem, tam pium, tam bonis omnibus decorum illis praeficere dignatus est, deinde tu tuis virtutibus, non minimum familiae tuae decoris comparasti. Nam etsi ex antiqua ortus eras familia, omni honore et dignitate etiam alioqui ornata, tamen tua hac amplitudine non parum illi adiecisti et decoris et ornamenti. Quare non est, quod tristeris, sed est, cur

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211,11 non] *O add. sup. l.*

maxime laeteris, tu tua virtute sola eo honoris provectum esse, ut aliis praesis, multis bonis viris prosis, tuisque sis ornamento. Vale.

Bruxellae XVIII. Februarii MDXXXII.

212

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Brussels, 18 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 174.

*Published:* IPOLVI 1875, 198–199.

*He hears that the Hungarians want a third king, they do not want to obey either King Ferdinand I or King John I, and they want to accomplish all this by St. George's day. This misfortune should end at last, God will have mercy. Thurzó understands the situation better than anyone; but Oláh wrote to him about it because he did not want to go back on his promise.*

Ad Turzonem.

Miram omnino rem audio nostros Hungaros fractos tam diuturnis malis ac calamitatibus, velleque tertium regem deligere, et nec Ferdinando nostro, nec Ioanni parere, constituisse autem ad eam rem perficiendam festum Beati Georgii.<sup>1</sup> Faxit  
5 Deus, ut iam tandem finis malorum imponatur, et felicia consequantur tempora. Non est in Dei clementia desperandum, puniat licet nos ad tempus pro nostris sceleribus et omnibus modis vocet ad resipiscentiam. Tamen ad postremum nostri miserebitur, ut enim est iustus, sic et pius et misericors. Non igitur deferet nos, modo spem certam in eius locemus bonitate, et certa illi fidamus mente. Credo te magis esse rerum nostrarum  
10 conscium, quam alium, propterea a te potius haec intelligere debere, quam ego tibi declarare. Tamen nolui ego quoque deesse meo officio, quod tibi sum pollicitus. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae XVIII. Februarii MDXXXII.

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212,6 desperandum] *O corr.* ex sperandum

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212 <sup>1</sup> In Hungary, we celebrate this feast on 24 instead of 23 April.



Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 19 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 174–175.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 199.

*He has always valued their friendship, when he had the opportunity, he aimed at making his wishes come true, even if sometimes he got into trouble for it. But God has preserved him throughout, which he attributes to always having respected friendship. If he has made any mistakes, Szalaházy should forgive him.*

Ad episcopum Agriensem.

Quanti tuam semper fecerim aestimarimque amicitiam, tu ipse es testis optimus. Nunquam arbitror a te mihi aliquid esse demandatum, quod non libenter praestiterim, vel si facultatem habuerim, omnibus viribus adnitus fuerim, ut voto tuo potireris; ob quam rem saepe in magnam deveni calamitatem, mearumque rerum turbationem et 5 iacturam, verum ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγιστος<sup>1</sup> verae amicitiae custos et servator me semper a periculis praeservavit, nec unquam est passus me in calamitatem aliquam magnam dilabi. Quod non aliam ob causam τὸν αὐτόν<sup>2</sup> mihi concessisse arbitror, quam propter veram amicitiam per me pie et religiose cultam. Quare si quid a me aliquando est 10 erratum, aut si minus satisfactum amicitiae nostrae communi, id precor, mihi condona, et putato non ex aliqua causa id a me esse neglectum, sed quod impotens forte fuerim ad ea perficienda, quae e re tua erant, post hoc curabo diligentius res tuas exsequi. Vale et me ama.

Bruxellae XVIII. Februarii anno MDXXXII.

Caspar Ursinus Velius to Miklós Oláh  
Innsbruck, 23 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 378–380.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 302–303.

*1. Although he had gone where they have not even heard the name Pannonia, he was right to do so because at least he lives well and is in touch with the times. He also tried to stay away from the rattling of guns and the claws of the plague, which has been rampant in Vienna for three years now. 2. As he is aware, he is raising the King's children: he is proud that he is raising Maximilian, little princess Elisabeth is making wonderful progress for her age and gender, she has learned to read in Latin, Italian, and*

213 <sup>1</sup> 'the greatest god'. | <sup>2</sup> 'the same'.

German in seven months, but the smaller children are also developing well. 3. He has found a man with whom he can send his letters, he should receive him kindly, and he should recommend him to the attention of Queen Mary and others as well. He would have sent his book about King Louis II, which he completed two years ago, only the list of participants at the battle of Mohács is missing.

Caspar Ursinus Velius Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Reverende Domine Maior Benefice et Observande! Mirum, ni iam ex Pannonio plane factus sis Belga aut Flandrius, nec magnopere labores ubi et cuius ditionis sit illud, quod reliquisti Sirmium<sup>1</sup> ac deliciae olim nostrae, regia Buda. Nam eo concessisti, ubi nec Pannoniae nomen, atque agis tu quidem meo iudicio sapienter, ut quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter te dicas, et servis temporari. Id quod ipse quoque hisce tristissimis temporibus facere studui, procul ut abessem ab armorum strepitu, a saevitia hostium teterrimorum et pestilentia, quae Viennae tam altae egit radices, ut iam tertium in annum violenter per capita tam nobilia quam ignota grassetur. 10 Quamvis magis quidem huius causa negotii ac provinciae potius, quam suscepi, huc me contulerim.

[2.] Haud enim ignoras docendi liberos suos a rege mihi laborem iniunctum,<sup>2</sup> cuius quidem hactenus non poenitet neque piget, cum bonum regi etiam ipsi patri operae pretium videat fecisse, si quidem rex Maximilianus<sup>3</sup> ex quo coepit erudiri, 15 satis belle profecerit. Porro regina Elisabeta<sup>4</sup> supra aetatis captum et sexus illius mirabiles progressus fecerit, cum intra hosce proximos septem menses Latine, Italice, etiam Germanice legere didicerit, ac multa memoriae mandarit. Reliqui minores natu<sup>5</sup> aliquanto intervallo subsequuntur, nimirum ob aetatis imbecillitatem, qui propterea indulgentius sunt habendi, donec coaluerint, quamquam sua sponte ad optima 20 quaeque videantur ferri, immo vero tantum valet in eis natura et educatio, ut ex animo haec scribo vel accedente mediocri doctrina ad summum pervenire ac parvo negotio expoliri possint, recte ut scripserit ille poeta ingeniosus: caesaribus virtus contigit ante diem, iam enim adhuc infantes iaciunt igniculos summae virtutis, et vim ingenii mirificam prae se ferunt.

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214,4 ac...eo] Verg. *Aen.* III,56–57: “quid non mortalia pectora cogis, / auri sacra fames!”  
22 caesaribus...23 diem] Ovid. *Ars. amat.* I,184: “Caesaribus virtus contigit ante diem”.

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214 <sup>1</sup> Sirmium was a city in the Roman province of Pannonia and became the capital of Pannonia Inferior. It is a metonym for Hungary. | <sup>2</sup> He was *Praeceptor* of the King’s children from 1531, see NEUBER 2011, 523. | <sup>3</sup> Later King Maximilian II (1527–1576), was King of Bohemia, Germany, Hungary, and finally Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. | <sup>4</sup> Elisabeth of Austria (1526–1545) was the first child of King Ferdinand I, later the wife of King Sigismund II August of Poland. | <sup>5</sup> Princess Anna (1528–1590), Prince Ferdinand, later Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria (1529–1595), and Princess Mary of Habsburg (1531–1581).

[3.] Atque haec quidem de liberiis regiis libere, ac vere nactus hominem, cui recte 25  
litteras darem. Is civis est ex nobilibus Rhagusinius Hieronimus Gradeus,<sup>6</sup> qui prop-  
ter negotia, quae istic habet ac apud Britannos ad vos properat. Quem tu hominem,  
quaeso, quantum potes, adiuva atque ei commodas apud illustrissimam et praeclaris-  
simam reginam, singularis et unici exempli feminam principem atque apud alios,  
quorum opera gratiaque indiguerit; nil enim, nisi rectum orabit, ut spero, et aequum. 30  
Dedissem et huic *Libellum de Ludovici regis interitu*<sup>7</sup> meum iam, quem ante bien-  
nium absolvi, verum desunt adhuc nomina captivorum et caesorum in illo conflictu,  
mittam aliquando tandem. Tua magnificentia me inclytae ac serenissimae dominae  
reginae diligenter commendabit. Bene vale.

Aeniponte die XXIII. Februarii 1532.<sup>8</sup>

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## 215

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 25 February 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 187–188.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 199–200.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 213–215.

*1. Imperial Councilor Guido will be coming to Leuven soon, he has asked him to bring three books by Adriaan van Baerland. Once they have finished with the audience, he recommends Oláh to talk to him. 2. Conrad Wackers and several friends of Erasmus claim that Lieven Algoet did not make a good impression on Erasmus when he learned who is supporting him and what letters Driedo has written even to Ressen, even though it was Erasmus who encouraged Driedo to publish his works; Lieven Algoet could have warned him, he could have remembered that he was Ressen's student, but everyone is so ungrateful. He is sending St. Basil's Homilies, which he will soon read in public at Erasmus' request.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae.

[1.] Guido<sup>1</sup> caesareae maiestatis secretarius ad tempus Lovanii habitaturus in gratiam meam scripsit litteras ad dominum audientiarium, quem confidit brevi expe- diturum privilegium nostrum. Petimus autem id solum in tres libros<sup>2</sup> Adriani Bar-

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214,35 1532] *corr. ex* 1533

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<sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>7</sup> See Ep. 173. Note 4. | <sup>8</sup> In the manuscript we find the year 1533, but based on the context, we have to revise it for 1532. In this letter, Ursinus asks Oláh to send a list of the participants and victims of the battle of Mohács, which request was honored by Oláh in his letter on 10 March, 1532 (Ep. 219.), see WACZULIK 1937, 56. 215 <sup>1</sup> Probably Grudius, or Nicolaas Everarts, who was Royal Secretary to Emperor Charles V, see LEIJENHORST 1986a, 139. | <sup>2</sup> See *Historica Hadriani Barlandi rhetoris Lovaniensis*, Coloniae, Sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri, 1603, 13–65.

5 landi<sup>3</sup> rhetoris academiae Lovaniensis<sup>4</sup> *De rebus gestis ducum Brabantiae*<sup>5</sup> et in  
eiusdem librum *De ducibus Venetorum*,<sup>6</sup> quod opus praeter primum quaternionem  
totum absolutum est. Ipse secretarius dominus Guido conscriptam formulam privile-  
gii mittit domino audientiaro; si per negotia tua vacaverit, Domine Olac, rogo, non  
graveris domino audientiaro loqui, ut eo citius negotium conficiatur. Theologi ipsi  
10 sollicitabant pro privilegio suo.

[2.] Dominus Mirbricanus,<sup>7</sup> praeses quondam collegii nostri, Conradus Gocle-  
nius<sup>8</sup> ac alii summi amici domini Erasmi asserunt Levinum<sup>9</sup> parum gratiae initurum  
apud dominum Erasmum, cum rescierit, qualem patronum ac defensorem nominis  
ipsius se Levinus praestiterit, qualesque litteras de libris dominus Turnout<sup>10</sup> et ad me  
15 scripserit, cum ipse Erasmus non semel praedictum dominum Turnout hortatus sit ad  
operum suorum editionem, quemadmodum videre est in opere epistolarum ipsius.  
Certe poterat Levinus me amice monere. Quid opus erat statim sic in me invehi ac  
debachari, quid non mortalia pectora cogis auri sacra fames! Debat esse memor,  
quod fuerit aliquando discipulus meus, quodque ipse a me privatim etiam ac gratis sit  
20 institutus, cum alii discipuli bonam mihi mercedem persolverent. Profecto verissimus  
est ille senarius versus Ἐπιλανθάνονται πάντες οἱ παθόντες εὖ, καὶ κακὸν φέρουσιν  
καρπὸν οἱ κακοὶ φίλοι.<sup>11</sup> Verum cum et iuvenis et homo humano more egerit, libenter  
et ipse homo illi ignosco. Velim tamen deinceps circumspectius agat et eo usque  
suspendat iudicium, donec partem alteram audierit. Mitto tibi Basilii<sup>12</sup> ὁμιλίαν<sup>13</sup> non  
25 illepidam, quam rogatu domini Erasmi brevi sum hic publice praelecturus. Cum  
primum Barlandi opus absolutum fuerit, transvolabit ad te. Bene vale.

Lovanii V. Kalendae Martii anno 1532.

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215,14 ad] *add.*

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215,21 Ἐπιλανθάνονται...εὖ] Menandros *Sententiae* Maxims Nr. 170. or linea 243. | καὶ...22 φίλοι  
Menandros *Sententiae* Maxims Nr. 292. or linea 412.

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<sup>3</sup> Adriaan van Baerland (1486–1538) was a Dutch historian and elected Professor of eloquence (*rhetor publicus*) at the Collegium Trilingue in 1526, see LEIJENHORST 1985a. | <sup>4</sup> Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, see VOCHT 1955. | <sup>5</sup> *Hist. Hadr.*, 107–232, see Note 2. | <sup>6</sup> *Hist. Hadr.*, 66–106, see Note 2. | <sup>7</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>8</sup> Conrad Wackers (†1539) Latinized his alternative surname, Gockelen, to Goclenius. He studied at the University of Cologne and at the University of Leuven, then he became private teacher. He was one of the best friends of Erasmus and was admired as a teacher for educating a whole generation of Latin scholars, who dedicated many poems to him. For more see TOURNOY–THOEN 1985. | <sup>9</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>10</sup> Jan Driedo of Turnhout (ca. 1480–1535) was Professor of theology at the University of Leuven, see GUNDERSON–BIETENHOLZ 1985. | <sup>11</sup> ‘All men forget a good turn they’ve been done’ and ‘The crop that bad friends bear is bad as they’ Ressen combined two sentences by Menandros (Nr. 243., and Nr. 412). See JAEKEL 1964, 46 and 56, and Nr. 170 and 292, see EDMOND 1961, 916–917, and 926–927. | <sup>12</sup> Basil of Caesarea, also called St. Basil the Great (ca. 330–379). | <sup>13</sup> ‘homily’, i.e. Basil’s commentary on the Bible.

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 27 February [1532]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 232–234.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 200–202; ALLEN 1938, 441–442.

*In English:* ESTES–FANTAZZI 2017, 318–321.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 640–642.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 163–165; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 105–108.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 89–91.

1. He thanks Oláh for having helped Lieven Algoet. When he had told Jean Le Sauvage that he should not expect obedience from him, he approved, but then later he complained why he was not sitting by his door every day. He has not received his remuneration from the Emperor either, and his income from Coutrai was embezzled by Pierre Barbier, even though he would have trusted him with his life. He negotiated in Leuven with some people, but he is not saying anything about it. In any case, he either had to go or endure misery in order to accomplish what they wanted him to do. 2. There (i.e. in Leuven) he does not have any friends who are trustworthy, except for Wackers; in Brabant dumb monks reign, who have made him out to be the enemy. He has responded to the slanderous work of Albertus Pius and has received a response under Scaliger's name in return, but he knows that was written by Pius as well. 3. He knows well how much benevolence Queen Mary has towards him. His health is not good, he is afraid that his body will not be able to take the cold weather of that region. He can only sell the house at a loss. He is expecting the printer from Frankfurt am Main. Zwingli's followers have calmed down.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olaho secretario serenissimae Reginae.

[1.] In litteris tuis, mi Olahe, exosculatus sum istud pectus tuum longe candidissimum. Quod Levino<sup>1</sup> adfueris, mihi magnopere gratum est spero fore, ut tuis monitis adiutus dignum se praestet cum aula tam celebri, tum cordatissimae reginae famulatio.

Patria de me queri non potest, cui an ornamento sim, nescio, certe illa mihi non multum attulit nec ornamenti nec emolumenti. A Sylvagio<sup>2</sup> pertractus comtempse fortunam Anglicam, ei cum praefatus essem, ne quid a me exspectaret obsequiorum, atque ille vocem meam approbasset, post questus est de me, quod non quotidie obsiderem fores ipsius pransurus aut caenaturus cum eo, immo saepe illo ad duodecimam usque horam exspectato famelicus aut asperrima hieme noctu domum rediturus, quod id temporis nec tutum erat per Hispanos. Ex caesaris pensione non recepi, nisi pro sesqui anno absentis. Teruntius<sup>3</sup> numeratus non est, licet caesar ex Hispaniis bis scrip-

216 <sup>1</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>2</sup> Jean Le Sauvage (1455–1518) was a henchman, and a patron of Erasmus in England, and Chancellor of King Henry VIII, see V. KOVÁCS 642. | <sup>3</sup> *Triuncius* or *terunciolus* means 'penny'.

serit dominae Margaretae amitae, ut mihi extra ordinem satisfaceret. Pensionem e  
15 praebenda Curtracensi<sup>4</sup> mira impudentia intercipit Petrus Barbirius<sup>5</sup> decanus Torna-  
censis,<sup>6</sup> theologus et talis amicus, ut non dubitaturus fuerim illi decem vitas credere,  
si decem habuissem. Lovanii quomodo tractatus sim a quibusdam, nunc non referam.  
Aut abeundum erat, aut exercenda carnificina, quam moliebantur in humeros meos  
detrudere.<sup>7</sup>

20 [2.] De aula tamen non queror, cuius favori hoc debeo, quod libri mei istic exusti  
non sunt. Nec istic ullum habeo vere sincerum amicum praeter unum Conradum  
Goclenium,<sup>8</sup> cum in Anglia repererim amicos et prudenter et constanter benevolos.  
Regnant istic monachi, praesertim in Brabantia, quo genere hominum nihil stolidius,  
nihil immitius. Hi me fingunt hostem, quod admonuerim, quibus in rebus sit vera  
25 pietas. At illi mallent populum nihil omnino sapere, sed illis mea praesentia imponet  
silentium, immo potius excitabit clamorem, armati sunt horribilibus edictis. Vidi  
edictum Antverpiae excussum. Aleander archiepiscopus Brundusinus<sup>9</sup> olim nihil non  
molitus est, ut me perderet, nec dubito, quin hoc idem nunc agat, utcunque dissimu-  
lat.

30 Straverunt pulchre viam, ad id quod moliuntur. Exiit volumen Alberti Pii<sup>10</sup> egre-  
gie stolidum, sed tamen claritudo nominis me gravat. Successerunt censurae Sorboni-  
cae magno theologorum dedecore, sed tamen apud plerosque facultatis titulus onerat  
me invidia, cum res non agatur per facultatem, sed per delirum decanum ac Bed-  
dam<sup>11</sup> hominem simpliciter furiosum. Pio et facultati respondi, secutus est Parisiis  
35 alius libellus conficto titulo Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri,<sup>12</sup> totus scatens tot mendaciis  
insignibus, tot furiosis conviciis, ut nec ipsa vanitas possit mentiri impudentius, nec  
ulla furiarum stomachari furiosius. Stilus totus tam arguit Aleandrum autorem, quam  
ipsa hominis facies; utrumque mihi notissimum est.

[3.] Reginae Mariae tum singularis prudentia, tum pietas praedicatur ab omnibus,  
40 nec me clam est illam benevolo esse animo, quo sane nomine plurimam illi debeo  
gratiam. Sed illa modo gubernaculis admota est, ac multis eget, caesar autem, ut  
audio, demessa segete reliquit illi spicilegium. Mea autem valetudo talis est, ut non  
solum ad nullum obsequium, sed ne ad coniunctum quidem sit accomoda. Aegre

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<sup>4</sup>“Erasmus’ imperial pension and the Coutrai prebend both date from 1516”, see ALLEN 1938, 441.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Barbier (†1551 or 1552) was Chaplain and Secretary to Chancellor Jean Le Sauvage, see BIETEN-  
HOLZ 1985d. | <sup>6</sup> Tournai. | <sup>7</sup> Schleicher considers this sentence the proof of Erasmus’ confidence in Oláh,  
see SCHLEICHER 1941, 41. | <sup>8</sup> Conrad Wackers. | <sup>9</sup> Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542) was an Italian  
Cardinal and Archbishop of Brindisi between 1524–1541. | <sup>10</sup> Albertus Pius, the Prince of Carpi pub-  
lished his *Responsio paraenetica* in Paris in 1529, see Erasmus’ letters: Ep. 2328 in ALLEN 1934,  
447–451, and Ep. 2329 in ALLEN 1934, 451–455. | <sup>11</sup> Noël Béda (c.1470–1537), an inveterate critic of  
Erasmus, see FARGE 1985. | <sup>12</sup> Giulio Cesare della Scala or Julius Caesar Scaliger (1485–1558) was an  
Italian scholar and physician.

vitam tueor domi manens.<sup>13</sup> Ipse caesar in Hispaniis non potuit monachis furentibus  
silentium imponere, itaque vereor, ut istic possit id regina verum, ut haec sint ex 45  
animi sententia, metuo ne corpusculum hoc attenuatissimum caelum istius regionis  
ferre non possit et frigidum et ventosum.

Aedes non revendam sine damno centum et quinque florenorum. Tamen hoc  
facile negligam. Exspectabo reditum typographorum e Franckfordia. A Paschate<sup>14</sup>  
fortasse mittam alterum e famulis, qui mihi certa renuntiet, quique nidum apparet 50  
adventuro, si statuero repetere patriam. Interim obsecro, ut illustrissimae reginae  
favorem ita, ut soles, pergas alere. Zvinglianos<sup>15</sup> habemus paulo mitiores, sed vereor,  
ne recrudescat malum. Oecolampadius iam habet sui cessorem,<sup>16</sup> vidua illius mari-  
tum. Quid agant Tigurini,<sup>17</sup> nescio.

Non est, mi Olahe, quod depreceris audaciae veniam, tua candidissima libertas 55  
mihi gratissima est, ut quae declaret animum absque fuco benevolum. Respondi  
censuris Sorbonicis, sed moderatissime. Exitum exspecto. Litteras tuas ac Levini<sup>18</sup>  
accepi quarto Kalendas<sup>19</sup> Martias per quendam, quem huc ob eam solam causam  
magnus veredariorum magister iuxta Spiram<sup>20</sup> emandarat.

Haec scripsi postridie, hoc est III. Kalendas Martii.<sup>21</sup> Bene vale. Friburgi Bisgoae. 60

192 217

Miklós Oláh to Arnold van Bergheick  
Brussels, 2 March 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 335–336.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 202–204.

*1. He received Bergheick's letter not long after he had returned home from Tournai, from which the love and benevolence Bergheick has for him is clear to him. He cannot even decide if he admires him more for his humanity or for his erudition, since he possesses both. He has not responded before because there were few messengers, and the Queen is very busy, which Jespersen can also attest to. If this was a mistake, he is asking Bergheick to forgive him, he will try to write more frequently. 2. The Greek grammar that Bergheick sent is of great use to him, the only problem is that due to his tasks at the court he rarely has time to focus on literature.*

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216,44 domi manens] ALLEN 1938, 442 *corr.* ex Dominianus 60 Friburgi Bisgoae] *O add.*

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<sup>13</sup> See Ep. 223. Cap. 1. | <sup>14</sup> 31 March. | <sup>15</sup> The adherents of Ulrich Zwingli, for Zwingli and Oecolampadius see Ep. 190. Note 5. | <sup>16</sup> Oswald Myconius (1488–1552) was a Helvetic Protestant theologian, see ALLEN 1938, 442. | <sup>17</sup> One of the four divisions of the Helvetii in Caesar's *De bello Gallico*. | <sup>18</sup> Lieven Algoet's letter is not extant. | <sup>19</sup> 26 February. | <sup>20</sup> Speyer. | <sup>21</sup> Based on the context, the letter must have been written in 1532. Allen also published it among the letters of 1532.

Nicolaus Olaus secretarius Arnaldo Oridryo Hangiensi.

[1.] Cum nuper post nostrum ex Tornaco<sup>1</sup> huc reditum aliquantisper, mi Doctissime Oridri, respirassem, redditae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae et elegantes et doctissimae, quibus plane declarasti, quo in me esses amore, humanitate et benevolentia. Nec te temperasti, quin mihi eas tribueres virtutum laudes, quas in me minores esse, quam  
5 tu de me amicissime praedicas, arbitror. Agis tamen tu amantium exemplo, qui etiam eas res, quae fortasse non tam dignae sunt admirationi, tamen ob amorem suspiciunt, reverentur, admirantur, haec tua non in me solum, sed in omnes, ut intelligo, amicos benevolentia et singularis humanitas magnae est mihi voluptati. Nec satis iudicare  
10 possum, an te ex humanitate potius vel ex eruditione singulari admirari incipiam. Quam utramque ita in te sedem habere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex tuis editionibus agnosco, ut indies fias mihi amicior. Verum aliquid fortasse de me suspicari potes, te mihi non adeo esse cordi, ut significo, nam alioqui citius ad te rescripsissem. Nihil est, mi Oridri, quod te tarda haec rescriptio movere vel me non amico  
15 in te esse animo declarare posset. Nam non rescripsi hactenus tum propter tabellionum raritatem, tum propter mea et reginae meae pleraque negotia, cuius rei optimus testis esse poterit Danus,<sup>2</sup> qui indies meas videt occupationes. Boni igitur consule, si tardius ad te rescripserim, quam vel tuus in me amor, vel meum in te officium exprocebat. Si quid est hac re erratum, crebrioribus meis ad te litteris posthac resarciam,  
20 modo tabellarios ad te profecturos nancisci possim.

[2.] Tua illa Graecae grammatices editione, etiamsi non hortareris, ut facis amicissime, tamen pro meo commodo uterer quam libentissime. Nam ipse quoque facile diiudico, quantum Graecissare incipientibus hac tua foetura praestiteris adiumenti. Arbitror fore, ut labor, quem illi legendae impartiero, non mihi inutilis sit futurus.  
25 Hoc tamen magno mihi est dolori me tum per aulica negotia, tum per varias patriae meae calamitates, quae indies ad me afferuntur, ab hoc otio honesto litterario plerumque avocari. Verum ita me temperabo, eumque constituam in me animum, ut deinceps nullae aut publicae privataeque occupationes, aut aliae quaecumque bonis litteris res adversariae me a tuis et aliorum tractandis abstrahere possint. Perge igitur,  
30 Oridri, bonarum litterarum studiosis rem facere tuis lucubrationibus et utilem et gratam et necessariam. Hoc facto bonorum in te amorem benevolentiamque concitabis. Et praeterea te reddes posteritati memorabilem. Me vero ob insignem doctrinam et eruditionem habebis tui amantissimum et inter tuos nemini benevolentia erga te cedentem. Vale meque ama.

35 Bruxellae secunda Martii 1532.

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217,7 sunt] *O corr. ex essent* 17 qui] *O add. sup. l.* 27 me<sup>1</sup>] *del. ex me me* 31 Hoc...concitabis] *O add. in marg.*

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217 <sup>1</sup> Tournai. | <sup>2</sup> Jakob Jespersen.



Miklós Oláh to Joannes Rocenus  
[Brussels], 2 March 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 175.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 204–205.

*His soul was overcome with sadness when he learned about the loss of Rocenus' relatives, then he learned from his letter that his daughter was just born – and suddenly all his sadness was gone: this child has arrived to ease the longing after those who had been lost. He wishes to know, how he is? His soul has never been in so much confusion before, partly because of the loss, partly because he has been abroad this long, and because the Queen's intentions keep changing every day.*

Ad Ioannem Rocenum.<sup>1</sup>

Desedit maestitia paulisper mei animi nuper ex tuorum morte non vulgariter concepta, quae tibi explicare vix possum, quam me multos dies acriter torserat ita, ut parum abfuerit, quin in aliquod malum prolapsus fuerim et corporis detrimentum. Postea et ex tuis litteris, et ex amicorum nostrorum communium verbis, qui a te 5 venerant, accepi te Deum prole praeclarissima beasse, qua in lucem edita omnem animi dolorem te deposuisse. Mox magnum quoque mihi accessit gaudium, quod vetere mea extrusa tristitia animum meum totum exhilararet, cogitabam enim mecum me nihil proficere tuis rebus, nihil et demortuis adferre solatii, etiam si dies perpetuos maerore agerem, contra naturae meae multum officere, si maestissime vivens continua vexarem animum meum anxietate, denique hanc tuam prolem nunc editam fore, quae amissorum tuorum desiderium a te repelleret. Hac cogitatione visus sum recreari, et meum omnem conceptum dolorem, nescio, in quam laetitiam mutare, praesertim cum te idem fecisse tum ex tuis litteris, tum ex tuorum sermonibus intellexerim. Quare scias me tuum fore amicum et laetarum et adversarum rerum commu- 10 nione, nec te tuarum rerum varietate nimis moveri decet. Nam ego propter eam, qua coniuncti sumus familiaritatem, quicquid in re tua praestare potero, non committam, ut meus a te labor, cura et sollicitudo aliquando desideretur. Scire fortasse cupis, quomodo valeam, qua rerum mearum uter prosperitate. Mallem profecto me laetiora tibi de me scribere posse, sed cum ita res exigat, ut non possim, nisi quae vera sunt, 20 ad te scribere, faciam, quod cupis. Sum non in minima animi perturbatione. Quaeris quomobrem? Propter rerum mearum amissionem, et quod tamdiu absum a patria inter

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218,16 te] *O del. ex te minus* | varietate] *O corr. ex varietati* | Nam ego] *O mut. ex qua me* 20 exigat] *O mut. ex tulerit*

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218 <sup>1</sup> We do not know exactly who he is. He might be Johannes Rocetus, see Ep. 180, or John Fisher (Johannes Rofferius) Ep. 123, and Ep. 124.

nationes exteras, denique quod nescio, an Dei voluntate vel quo meo infortunio reginae animum quotidie video mutari. Vale.

25 II. Martii MDXXXII.<sup>2</sup>

214 219

Miklós Oláh to Caspar Ursinus Velius  
Brussels, 10 March 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 336–340.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 205–209.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 219–222.

*The other day the Queen went on a four-day hunt to ease her spiritual troubles. On the other hand, he had the Queen's permission to go to the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven, which is only four miles away, so as Queen Mary is hunting for boar, he will be hunting for Greek pronunciation and attend readings again. He has missed Hieronymus Gradeus, but next time he will try to please him. Ursinus says he has almost become a Belgian, he wishes the Belgian rivers were like Lethe because then he could forget about the past, and he would not anguish himself about those at home. Maybe he thinks he is not affected by the demise of his loved ones? 2. Two days ago news arrived that the Turkish Sultan wants to make peace with King Ferdinand I. He does not even know if it is Ursinus or the princes he should congratulate for their luck? He was happy to hear the news that he has become the children's tutor, as was the Queen, whom he has also told that Ursinus would soon send them his work on King Louis II. He should have received his portrait by now, and he has also repaid the loan. 3. Since he said he did not know the list of those who had died and participated in the battle of Mohács in 1526, he is sending it to him now. 4. As far as he is concerned, the Queen sent him to the King before the battle, who sent him back with the assignment of accompanying the Queen to Bratislava because it was safer there. When the news arrived that the battle had been lost, the queen pretended to go hunting but went to Bratislava.*

Nicolai Olai ad Gasparem Ursinum Velium historicum et praeceptorem filiorum regis Ferdinandi.

[1.] Cum his diebus regina animi gratia, quem plerumque magnis curarum molibus, ut negotia harum ferunt provinciarum, obrutam habet, ad quadriduum fuisset  
5 venatum profecta. Ego vero accepta illius venia Lovanium insignem Trium Linguarum Academiam<sup>1</sup> distantem hinc quattuor exiguis milliaribus refocillandi animi causa divertissem, ut sicut regina in nemoribus apros ferasque ita ego Lovanii vena-

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219,2 regis Ferdinandi] *O add.*

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<sup>2</sup> The previous letter, Ep. 217. was written that very day in Brussels, and that is the motivation for this dating. 219 <sup>1</sup> Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense.

rer τὴν ἐλληνικὴν ἐκφώνησιν<sup>2</sup> et lectorum publicorum, quibuscum iam pridem non vulgarem contraxi notitiam, renovarem familiaritatem.

Hieronimus Gradeus Rhagusius, quem mihi commendas, interea cum litteris tuis 10  
huc advenerat me frustra quaerens. Ante meum hinc Lovanio reditum regina uno aut  
altero die redierat. Nam non poteram ab amicorum meorum docta familiarique con-  
suetudine subito divelli. Interea ille redditis litteris commendaticis, quas a reverendis-  
simo domino Tridentino<sup>3</sup> ad reginam attulerat, hinc Antverpianam se contulit; cui non  
potui meum, ut amice me admonuisti, officium in rerum suarum initio praestare. 15  
Tunc cum, ut spero, huc redierit, quod nunc a me fieri debuit, resartiam cumulate.  
Scribis ad me ex Pannonio me iam plane factum Belgicum aut Flandrum, et non iam  
curare Syrmium ac delicias nostras veteres, Budam aliaque loca, fecisseque sapienter,  
qui procul ab armis et vitam degerem quietam et inservirem tempori.<sup>4</sup> Utinam, mi  
Ursine, Belgica haec flumina tantam haberent vim, quantam περι τῆς λήθης ποτάμου 20  
τοῦ Ἰδου<sup>5</sup> nostri fabulantur, ut praeteritorum et earum, quae audio, rerum oblivisce-  
rer, minus laborarem. Hic quidem licet ex Pannonio factus fere Belga τῷ θεῷ χάρις<sup>6</sup>  
ex principis mei in me favore hactenus non valde incommode, sed ex animi mei  
sententia vixerim. Putas tamen, mi Ursine, me tam profunda uti posse philosophia, ut  
patriae meae, quae me genuit et aluit, calamitate non movear, non fratrum et propin- 25  
quorum, non amicorum periculis? De quibus fere quotidie etiam huc ex meorum  
litteris fio certior, postremo meis etiam privatis, quas in patria habui, commodis ac  
facultatibus! Haec me movent amantem patriae salutis, amicorum felicitatis, tandem  
etiam meorum emolumentorum. Quantumvis tamen me haec moveant, non tamen ἡ  
μέριμνά τε καὶ ἄθυμία διὰ τὸν τῆς πατρίδος κίνδυνον<sup>7</sup> tam deiectum in me animum 30  
fecit, quo minus omnem fortunam, quaecumque me et meos manet, constanti fortique  
feram animo ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκυῖαν.<sup>8</sup>

[2.] Hoc biduo laeta ex meorum litteris accepi nova, quibus animum constantem  
constantiore reddidi. Caesarem scilicet Turcarum misisse nuntium ad serenissimum  
regem nostrum et petere pacem, ad quam cum sciam regis animum inclinatum esse, 35  
arbitror fore propediem, ut illa confecta, in Hungaria si non tota, at in maiori illius  
parte quietam agere vitam, ac veteres illas nostras delicias revocare possimus, de  
cuius condicionibus, si certi aliquid acceperis, fac me rogo certiore. Antequam tuas  
acceperis litteras, arbitrabar te vel Viennaesse vel aulam ipsam regiam terere.

20 vim] *O corr.* ex vini | λήθης] *corr.* ex λήτης 21 Ἰδου] *corr.* ex Ἰδου 22 θεῷ] *corr.* ex θεῶ  
30 μέριμνά] *corr.* ex μέριμνα | ἄθυμία] *corr.* ex ἀθυμία 31 manet] *O corr.* ex maneret 32 feram animo]  
*O corr.* et del. ex ferrem animo. Tam | ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκυῖαν] *corr.* ex ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκυῖαν  
34 constantiore] *O add. sup. l.* 38 si certij] *O mut ex certis*

<sup>2</sup> 'Greek pronunciation'. | <sup>3</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 214. Cap. 1. | <sup>5</sup> 'about the river Lethe', which was generally known as the river of oblivion. | <sup>6</sup> 'thank God'. | <sup>7</sup> 'concern and anxiety due to the danger threatening his homeland' | <sup>8</sup> 'what fell to my lot'

40 Nunc primum intelligo, quid tibi demandatum sit officii, quidve agas et cures. Nescio, mi Ursine, an tibi primum vel ipsis principibus gratuler, his, quod nacti sint insigni eruditione, virtute et moribus honestissimis τὸν διδάσκαλον,<sup>9</sup> cuius institutis si imbuti fuerint, nihil dubitandum, quin innatam ingenii nobilitatem sint illustraturi, tibi vero quod habeas principes bonae indolis, ac ab optimis rarae virtutis parentibus  
45 progenitos, in quibus eruditionem, mores tuos honestos, virtutem praeclaram effingere, testatosque relinquere possis.

Quos quantum tua opera brevi iam tempore profecerint, declaravi serenissimae reginae meae, quae et mirum in modum gavisa fuit et tuam hanc curam in suos ex fratre nepotes collatam grato clementique a te accepit animo; feci eidem etiam de  
50 libello<sup>10</sup> a te super rebus gestis Ludovici regis conscripto mentionem et, ut ad me scripseras te illum, postquam absolveris ad me missurum; respondit se illum, dum missus fuerit, perlubenter visuram. Praeter haec, ut optasti, tua servitia ei commendavi, quae commendatio ei fuit gratissima. Non permittam etiam posthac, quin tui apud illam faciam sedulo mentionem, dum occasio se obtulerit.

55 Τὸν εἰκόνα σοῦ<sup>11</sup> nescio, an iam acceperis. Ego ut antea ad te scripseram, pecuniam a te acceptam Coloniensi civi illi, mox cum eo appulissem, integram reddideram. Si nondum eam habes, mitte litteras tuas mihi ad illum. Eas ego eo perferendas hinc curabo, illumque admonebo, ut te diutius tua non frustretur imagine. Omnibus fere diebus ex Oeniponte, si voles tibi que otium erit, ad me per magistrum veredarium  
60 rum litteras dare poteris.

[3.] Scribis libelli de rebus gestis Ludovici regis nondum a te absoluti causam fuisse, quod interfectorum et captivorum nomina ignoraveris. Ego si recte memini, pro parte maiori eos tibi connumerare possum:<sup>12</sup> ex praelatis Ladislaus Zalkanus Strigoniensis, Paulus Thomoreus Franciscanus Colocensis archiepiscopi, qui et capitaneus belli post regem fuerat; Franciscus a Peren Waradiensis, Philippus More  
65 Quinqueecclesiensis, Blasius a Pakos Iaurinesis, Ioannes<sup>13</sup> Benedictinus Chanadiensis, Georgius doctor Bosnensis episcopi sunt in conflictu caesi;<sup>14</sup> Simon Zagrabien-  
sis, Stephanus Podnamicius Nitriensis, Stephanus Brodericus Sirmiensis, qui regis

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42 διδάσκαλον] *corr. ex διδάσκαλόν* 49 accepit] *O corr. ex accipit* 53 posthac] *O add. sup. l.* 56 civi] *O add. sup. l.* 68 Sirmiensis] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>9</sup> ‘teacher’ in Sing. Acc. | <sup>10</sup> See Ep. 173. Note 4. | <sup>11</sup> ‘your effigy’. | <sup>12</sup> The list below mirrors the hierarchy, and it is very similar to the list provided by Brodarics in his *Historia verissima...* written in 1528, see KASZA 2015, 176–183. Other similar lists (written in 1526) were found, for example, among the documents of Piotr Tomicki, among Brodarics’ letters, and among the documents of Burgio, see B. SZABÓ 2006, 108–110; KASZA 2012, 143–145, 149–150, 150–154; KALOUS 2007, 611–613; PÉTERFI 2015, 132–138. | <sup>13</sup> Oláh got this name wrong because the Bishop of Csanád was Ferenc Csaholy. | <sup>14</sup> The prelates who died in the battle: László Szalkai, Pál Tomori, Ferenc Perényi, Fülöp Móré, Balázs Paksy, Ferenc Csaholy, György Palinai.

erat cancellarius, evaserunt.<sup>15</sup> Ex comitibus et baronibus Georgius a Zapolya frater germanus minor natu Ioannis regis, comes Scepusiensis, qui collega erat in capitaneatu Pauli Colocensis, Ambrosius Sarkan iudex curiae regiae, Petrus a Corlathkew supremus praefectus curiae, Ioannes Dragffy magister tavernicorum et vexillifer regis, Antonius Paloczy, Franciscus Orzag, Gabriel Pereneus, Nicolaus Tarczay cubiculariorum, Michael Podnamicus aulicorum capitaneus, Andreas Trepka, Stephanus Aczeel.<sup>16</sup> Ex nobilibus primoribus maior fere pars est trucidata; Stephanus Bathoreus comes palatinus Hungariae, Petrus Pereneus, Franciscus Bathyany banus Dalmatiae, Sclavoniae, Croatiae, Emericus Orsag magister cubiculariorum, Franciscus a Homona, Ladislaus More, Petrus ab Erdewd, Andreas Bathoreus, hi omnes partim comites, partim barones evaserunt.<sup>17</sup> Capti erant pauci, et hi quoque fere omnes tandem in loco conflictus sine discrimine trucidati. Ex captis fuit Michael Emreffy<sup>18</sup> equorum regis praefectus postea redemptus, Nicolaus Herczegh<sup>19</sup> per Ibraimum bassa,<sup>20</sup> ut nuntius cum duobus aliis Polonis aulicis regiis remissus, per quem caesar Turcarum reginae nuntiarat, ne tristaretur mariti clade, quem si viveret (tunc enim nemini satis constabat regem occubuisse), vellet in regno Hungariae et relinquere et contra suos omnes hostes tutari ob excelsum illius animum, quod non formidaverit parva manu cum eo tantis copiis et viribus instructo congredi; si mortuus esset, aequo animo regina illius casum ferret. Paulus tunc Agriensis,<sup>21</sup> nunc Strigoniensis non interfuit praelio. Thomas Vesprimiensis<sup>22</sup> nunc vero Agriensis ac Alexius Turzo thesaurarius relictis erant apud reginam.

[4.] Ego vero ante diem conflictus missus eram a regina ad regem, cuius eram pariter et secretarius et consiliarius, ut percontarer a rege, an cum Turcarum copiis, quae numerum ter centum millia hominum excedere dicebantur, pugnam inire vellet etiam eo exiguo exercitu, quem tunc viginti quinque aut circiter millium hominum habebat, aut in locis aliquibus expectaturus esset munitioribus auxilia externa, quae

74 Andreas] *O corr. ex N.* 75 est trucidata] *O corr. ex sunt trucidati* 81 Ibraimum] *O corr. ex Seraleimam(?)* 83 Turcarum] *O corr. ex Turcae* 92 ter...dicebantur] *O mut. ex quater centum millia hominum excedebant*

<sup>15</sup> The prelates who survived the battle: Simon Erdődy, István Podmaniczky, István Brodarics. | <sup>16</sup> The secular people who died in the battle: György Szapolyai, Ambrus Sárkány, Péter Korlátkövi, János Drágffy, Antal Pálóczy, Ferenc Ország, Gábor Perényi, Miklós Tarczay, Mihály Podmaniczky, András Trepka, István Aczél. | <sup>17</sup> These secular people who survived the battle: István Báthori, Péter Perényi, Ferenc Bathyány, Imre Ország, Ferenc Drugeth of Homonna, László Mór, Péter Erdődy, András Báthori. | <sup>18</sup> Mihály Imreffy, sometimes called Mihály Fekete ('Black') was Royal Master of Stables, later Bailiff of Fejér county and Castellán of Buda, see ZÁVODSZKY 1922, 479. | <sup>19</sup> Miklós Herczeg was Royal Chamberlain of Louis II, see HEGEDŰS-PAPP 1991, 181. | <sup>20</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha or Ibrahim, Pasha of Parga (ca.1495–1536) was the first Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, appointed by Sultan Suleiman I, see TURAN 2009. | <sup>21</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>22</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

95 ex Germania, Austria et Bohemia erant promissa, et quae ex Transsylvania quoque  
duce Ioanne<sup>23</sup> vaivoda exspectabantur. Ille me nuntio signifacavit reginae se fortu-  
nam experturum, et non subiturum infamiae hanc notam apud posteritatem, ut hosti-  
iam iam instanti terga dedisset; confisurum in Dei auxilio, cuius clementia parva  
100 olim Hungarorum manus magnum fudisset hostium numerum, in se et Hungarum  
pro delictis punire vellet, ut superior evaderet. Proinde cum belli alea incerta esset,  
rogare reginam uti amantissimam coniugem, ut Posonium veluti locum ei tutiorem  
profisiceretur. Ego reversus a rege ad reginam triduo<sup>24</sup> ante conflictum secutum,  
haec illi retuli omnia. Quae tanto partim amore coniugali in regem, partim tam ma-  
gnanima constansque fuit, ut maluerit omnia perpeti, antequam ipsa fugae signum  
105 prima praeberet, et quam certum haberet post me nuntium de pugnae eventu. Sic  
quarto post meum reditum die supervenit nuntius, quem ad id ordinavimus, qui retulit  
pugnam amissam, hostesque esse superiores. Quo accepto regina se ex Buda non tam  
praebens fugae, quam venationis speciem lento itinire Posonium venit, unde quando  
huc et quibus ex rationibus venerimus, non est tibi incognitum. Vale et me ama.  
110 Bruxellae decima Martii 1532.

## 220

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 22 March 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 187.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 209.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 215.

*He thanks for Oláh's good deeds. A certain physician, whom he had mentioned the other day, suddenly appeared in Brussels to request a letter of recommendation for Oláh, when he was about to leave to hold a lecture. So he will recommend this man with as few words as great his excellence is: his virtue and knowledge make him suitable for recommending him to his attention.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae.

Pro reliquis in me beneficiis tuis ac pro munere tuo, quo hodie me donasti, habeo  
Dominationi Tuae immensas gratias. Medicus ille dominus Hieremias Friverus,<sup>1</sup> de  
quo hodie tibi locutus sum, subito Bruxellam a quibusdam, quorum curam gerit,  
5 vocatus me adiit, ut litteras commendaticias ad te scriberem. Venit ad me, cum iam

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95 promissa] *O mut. ex pollicita* | quoque...96 vaivoda] *O mut. ex duce Ioanne vaivoda quoque*  
96 signifacavit] *O corr. ex significat* 98 confisurum in] *O mut. ex Se confisurum* 102 ante] *O add. sup. l.*  
108 venationis... 110 1532] *O add.*

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<sup>23</sup> King John I. | <sup>24</sup> 27 August. 220 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

mihi ad praelegendum eundum esset, idcirco boni consules, quod hominem multa certe laude dignissimum tam paucis tibi commendaverim, meretur profecto virtus et eruditio illius, ut tibi tuique similibus sit commendatissimus, si quid ei feceris officii, id mihi factum putabo, ac quamvis iam tibi sim devinctissimus ea ipsa re, illi scilicet patrocinando facies me tibi longe devinctiorem. Bene vale.

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Lovanii XXII. Martii anno 1532.

## 221

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 23 March [1532]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 189.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 210.

*He wanted to visit Oláh, but things have come up, so he will rather write why he wanted to see him. He wanted to acquire the privilege for old and new books not yet published here to only go to press with his imprimatur; however, he has not succeeded so far, and so he is requesting Oláh's help. He would need the privilege as soon as Easter. He has just finished Baarlando's book, then theological works are on the agenda, but he does not want his work to be in vain. He sends him books and recommends the messenger to his attention.*

Rutgerus Rescius domino Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario etc. reginae Mariae.

Statueram humanitatem tuam invisere, Domine Observande, sed per occupationes varias hactenus non fuit integrum, neque adhuc est; itaque quam ob causam eram venturus ad te, nunc litteris exponam. Dedi aliquam operam, ut impetrarem privilegium generale ad quosvis novos libros aut veteres antea hic non impressos aut castigatos, ne eos liceret in aliquot annos chalcographis<sup>1</sup> aliis imprimere, postquam ego magnos sumptus in eos imprimendos et recognoscendos fecissem, ad theologicos autem libros aut sacras litteras tractantes non nisi a theologis Lovaniensibus, at iis, quibus hoc commisit caesarea maiestas, approbatos cupiebam privilegium. Ceterum hactenus non potui voto meo potiri. Idcirco confugio ad te, per quem spero me hoc facile impetraturum esse. Usui autem erit mihi hoc privilegium statim a festo Paschae.<sup>2</sup> Nam tunc absolvam tres libros *Historiarum*<sup>3</sup> Barlando<sup>4</sup> Lovaniensis academiae rhetore conscriptos, ac statim post illos exordiar imprimere diversa opera theologica doctoris cuiusdam Lovaniensis, quos ut liceat in publicum edere, ipse theologus impetrabit ex aula. Mihi autem curandum est, ut haec cum privilegio edantur, ne

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221,12 Barlando] *O corr. ex* Barlandi

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221 <sup>1</sup> Word from the end of 15<sup>th</sup>-century, meaning 'printer', see RAMMINGER. | <sup>2</sup> 31 March. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 215. Note 2. | <sup>4</sup> Adriaan van Baerland.

perdam oleum et impensas, si aliae partes sumptibus statim emittentur, quae mihi magnis laboribus ac sumptibus constiterunt. Tua humanitas et facilitas me animarunt, ut haec tam audacter abs te petere ausus sim, si qua in re tibi aut tuis inservire potero, ero semper paratissimus. Libellos, quos nunc ad te dono mitto, rogo ut boni consulas.

20 Cum praelium nostrum maiores protulerit fetus, accipies et ipse maiora dona. Latorum huius epistolae Hadrianum Cordatum,<sup>5</sup> virum probissimum ac eruditissimum mihi quae amicissimum quam possum maxime tibi commendo. Habet quoddam in aula negotii, quod sperat se facile per te posse conficere. Confido pro tuo erga omnes studiosos et doctos amore singulari te illi non defuturum esse. Bene vale.

25 Lovanii postridie Palmarum.<sup>6</sup>

222

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 5 April 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 375.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 211.

*He is trying to send money to Oláh, it will happen as soon as a decision is made about the Miskolc abbey. He cannot and will not forget about them. The Turks are approaching. He is surprised that Lucretia was not sent a letter about Thuróczy's death. Dörgicse is now in Jeromos Horváth's hand.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Curabo propediem, ut pecuniam vobis mittere possim aliquam; fiet id, inquam, favente Deo propediem, ut abbatia vestra<sup>1</sup> nec fratribus, nec cultu divino destituatur, summam adhibebo diligentiam. Et si cognovero ita communibus rebus fore vel uti-  
10 lius vel salutare magis, cogam emigrare Croatos. Maiestati reginali scripsi prolixius de rebus omnibus, quae vel in mentem vel in buccam venerunt. Ego vestri immemor esse nec velim, nec possim, modo non desit occasio. Turcae venturi dicuntur. Apparatus nobis adhuc omnis in exspectatione tantum est, utpote quem optamus magis, quam videre quisquam possit. Dominae Lucretiae<sup>2</sup> commendetis me plurimum. Mi-  
ror, quonam pacto litterae meae ad eam non pervenerint de obitu domini Turoczy;<sup>3</sup>  
10 simul atque cum domino Turzone<sup>4</sup> conveniemus, non deerit vel mea vel ipsius opera,

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222,3 abbatia vestra] *O corr.* ex ecclesia | nec<sup>2</sup>] *O mut.* ex dominio

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<sup>5</sup> Hadrianus Cordatus of Wissekerke (†1538/1539) was Canon of Middelburg, see MYNORS–THOMSON 1979, 145. | <sup>6</sup> We do not know the precise date of this letter, but its location in the manuscript suggests the year 1532. 222 <sup>1</sup> In Tapolca, see Ep. 148. Note 2. | <sup>2</sup> Lucretia Caballis. | <sup>3</sup> Miklós Thuróczy of Szentmihályi. About his death, he wrote another letter to King Ferdinand I on 25 November, 1532, see ÖStA, HHStA, UA AA, Fasc. 21, fol. 146–147. | <sup>4</sup> Elek Thurzó.



ut successorem quempiam virum bonum habeat dominus Turoczy, non tam magistratus, quam caritatis erga Lucretiam. Dergeche<sup>5</sup> habet in potestate Hieronimus,<sup>6</sup> domini Tiniensis<sup>7</sup> nepos, cogere hunc poteram, ut cederet, sed mox arripisset monachus, promittit se soluturum vestros proventus, quos percepit, post induciarum finem, 15 danda erit opera, ut ex Ticonio latro<sup>8</sup> eiici possit, neque enim aliter quiescet unquam vicinia. Valetе perfeliciter.

Posonii quinto die Aprilis 1532.

## 223

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 3 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 234.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 211–212; ALLEN 1941, 18–20.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 643.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 165–166; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 108–109.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 91–92.

1. He has already answered his letter. He is poorly, his Burgundian wine is out, and the cold weather is also wearing him down; he does not know how he could be useful to the Queen in this fragile body. 2. Dantyszek became angry with Jespersen because he is spreading the letter addressed to him everywhere. He recommends Lieven Algoet to Oláh's attention because he was born for literature. He hears Oláh is studying Greek. He also recommends the person who is handing this over to his attention.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao secretario reginae serenissimae.

[1.] Litteras tuas,<sup>1</sup> quibus mihi persuades reditum in Brabantiam, accepi, eisdemque per eundem veredariorum praefectum, qui miserat, respondi.<sup>2</sup> Hic invitus haereo et tamen aedifico. Vix domi latitans retineo languidum, iam iamque fugere meditantem spiritum. Nunc quoniam me defecit vinum Burgundiacum, eoque mutato vino 5 periclitor. Frigusculum aut ventus incommodior me coniicit in lectum. Non video, qua in re serenissimae reginae possim esse usui. Ac vereor, ne, si rediero, per aulam mihi non liceat huius plusquam vitrei corpusculi rationem habere. Studiis immori non gravabor, et tamen sub tali domina liberet, quod superest aevi transigere, cuius vix superest, παλαιστή.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Dörgicse. | <sup>6</sup> Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő or Jeromos Kruzich of Klis was relative of András Tuskanics, Bishop of Knin. In 1531, he could keep Nagyvázsöny because his wife was András Chorón's daughter, see VARGA 2001a, 282. | <sup>7</sup> András Tuskanics (†ca. 1550). | <sup>8</sup> Probably Bálint Török of Enying. 223 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 210. | <sup>2</sup> Ep. 216. | <sup>3</sup> 'as long as a span'.

[2.] Episcopus Culmensis<sup>4</sup> nonnihil succenset Iacobo Dano<sup>5</sup> ob sparsam apud omnes epistolam ad ipsum meam. Levinum<sup>6</sup> meum tibi commendo, cui velim persuadeas, ut ad aliquod vitae genus sese conferat, in quo locus sit exercendo ingenio et eruditioni. Nam ad litteras natus est, et in his non indiligenter versatus, nec infelici-  
15 ter. Audio te quoque ἐλληνίζειν,<sup>7</sup> quam ad rem Levinus tibi possit esse usui. Haec scribo per Gerardum Henricum Amsterdamensem,<sup>8</sup> qui in re medica lauream retulit ex Italia. Eius commendatione nolim te gravari, nec ille quicquam certi petit. Tu, mi Olae, perge tui similis esse, et quoties dabitur opportunitas, tuis litteris nos recrea. Serenissimae reginae precor omnia fausta. Vale.  
20 Friburgi 3. die Maii 1532.

## 224

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Paulus  
Oudenaarde, 7 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 175–176.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 212.

*Paulus' affairs are not doing well, which is not a surprise because although he had warned him, Paulus did not listen. In any case, Oláh cannot be accused of nonchalance, and Paulus should now act quickly.*

Ad amicum Paulum.<sup>1</sup>

Res tuas scio in summo esse discrimine; quas, quoniam me saepius te adhortante, ut sollicitus esses, usque in hunc diem neglexisti, nihil est, quod me accuses. Nam praestiti quidem ego omnem, quam potui, operam ac diligentiam, sed tua potius  
5 intererat, quam mea tuis rebus invigilare. Non potes igitur me iure accusare negligentiae, quod res tua nondum sit perfecta. Si enim per me stetisset, perfecissem proculdubio, ut tua tu potitus esses voluntate. Feci, quantum potui, plus a me desiderare, quam facultas mea praestare poterit, non potes. Haec volui tibi significare, ut quid tibi agendum esset, statueres primo quoque tempore, ne maius patereris periculum.  
10 Vale et me ama.

Aldernardi VII. Maii MDXXXII.

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223,11 Iacobo] *O corr. ex Ioanne*

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<sup>4</sup> Jan Dantyszczek, see VOCHT 1961, 111. | <sup>5</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>6</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>7</sup> ‘studying Greek’.

<sup>8</sup> We do not know him more closely, see ALLEN 1941, 19. 224 <sup>1</sup> We do not know which Paulus he is: Paulus amicus (Ep. 166. and Ep. 167.), Paulus Siculus (Ep. 202.), Paulus Brabantius (Ep. 205.), or neither.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Bruges, 14 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 176.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 212–213.

*He will stop being surprised at what he is doing here if he thinks about Hungary's situation. Not that he had wished to live abroad and prioritize foreign people over his friends, had his affairs not forced him to do so. He knows many people are accusing him of this only because they are not familiar with the circumstances.*

Ad praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem.

Mirari desines, quid hic faciam, si vestrarum rerum Hungaricarum conditionem, equitum nostrorum levis armaturae insolentiam, ne dicam crudelitatem, Turcae adventum plus quam dici potest formidolosum, patriae nostrae ruinam, quam ob principum nostrorum negligentiam patitur, plane animadverteris. Noli existimare me tam cupidum esse exterarum regionum, et tam magno teneri desiderio homines externos videndi, ut illos tibi aliisque amicis meis, denique patriae aequo animo praeponerem, si me non magnae causae, partim praedictae, partim vero antea tibi ex meis litteris satis cognitae ad hoc faciendum et impulissent et cogerent. Non sum nescius plurimos esse, qui hoc meum factum vitio mihi vertant, et malint me etiam in magnis 5 periculis domi esse debere potius cum aliis bonis viris, quam apud nationem externam otiosam agere vitam; tamen si meam conditionem, naturam et facultates considerarint, desinent profecto haec mihi vitio dare.

Brugis XIII. Maii MDXXXII.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Proberus  
Bruges, 18 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 176.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 213.

*The misfortune that has befallen Proberus has caused him great sadness, he wishes he could help. He knows that Proberus has always helped him, so if he has made any mistakes, it was unintentional that he could not do anything for him.*

Ad Ioannem Proberum.<sup>1</sup>

Magnis me affecerunt tua infortunia doloribus, quae non secus me commoverunt propter veterem nostram familiaritatem, quam mea propria. Utinam remedii aliquid tuis rebus adferre potuissem, nihil certe mihi iucundius accidere potuisset. Sed ea  
5 nunc sunt, mi Ioannes, tempora, hae rerum omnium perturbationes, ut etiamsi quis maxime cupiat ac velit, vix aut difficulter possit amicis laborantibus opem ferre. Tuae licet res quemadmodum ab initio multis rerum argumentis facile cognosti, fuerint mihi maximae cordi, et nihil a me unquam praetermissum sit, quod quidem  
10 ipse in non minima positus in praesentia necessitate, ac aliorum indigens auxilio non possum satis cogitare. Quare, si quid a me est praetermissum officii, quod in te conferre debueram, id praetermissum est non mea voluntate, sed quod aliquid facere non potuerim, et tibi minime opitulari. Boni igitur meum animum consules. Vale.

Brugis XVIII. Maii MDXXXII.

227

Miklós Oláh to Iacobus Tuberus  
Bruges, 20 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 239.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 214.

*The complaints Tuberus' servant Johannes brought to him have made him uncomfortable, he can understand this from his friends as well. He will make sure Tuberus cannot complain about him; he has no reason to suffer. He has settled his affairs to the extent possible so that he can have a quiet life in the future; if he is wanting for anything after all this, he can only thank himself for it.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Querelae tuae, quas ad me detulit Ioannes tuus servus; quam molestae mihi fuerint, ex amicis tuis, qui nunc apud me erant, facile intelligere poteris. Quantum autem, ne deinceps de me conqueri possis, praeviderim, si non ita aperte amici tibi  
5 significare potuerunt, at tu ipse intelliges clarius, cum ad me venies. Non est igitur, cur crucieris, aut tuam malam sortem exerceris. Ita est, quantum a me potuit, tuis rebus provisum, ut in posterum, si velis, summam quietem sis habiturus. Ac si quid defuturum tibi erit, nemini id quam tibi adscribere potes. Vale.

Brugis, 20. Maii 1532.

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226,5 hae] *corr.* ex haec 227,4 ne] *O corr.* ex me | de me] *O corr.* ex nisi

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226 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 227 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to a Provost called Jacobus  
Bruges, 20 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 239.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 214.

*He has already heard from many people about the uncorrupted nature of Jacobus' soul, but now that he has read his letter, he finds it so appealing that he feels some kind of love towards Jacobus. It is not a coincidence that everyone loves him since he is so benevolent towards everyone; he should thus continue in this manner, and he should conquer envy with humanity.*

Ad Iacobum praepositum.<sup>1</sup>

Animi tui integritatem ex multis licet argumentis iam pridem cognoverim, tamen proxime ex tuis litteris adeo illa mihi placuit, ut cum litteras tuas legissem, nescio quo pacto novus amor me tui occupaverit. Quis enim, per Deum immortalem, te est in amicos in omni fortuna benevolentior, quis magis amicis, quam tu carus, ita, ut merito ab omnibus et ameris et observeris. Quare, mi Iacobe, perge in tuos amicos esse benevolus, et eos, qui tibi invident, tua munificentia ac humanitate supera, malum bono vincens, ita eris omnibus merito carissimus, et nomen tuum immortalitati commendabis. Vale.

Brugis 20. Maii anno Domini 1532.

10

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Brecius  
Bruges, 23 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 239.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 214–215.

*Brecius has such overwhelming love for him that he is endowing him with things that are not in him at all. If he did not know him since childhood, he may even suspect something bad behind this praise, but since he knows him, he only has gratefulness for him. However, Brecius should make it clear to everyone that nothing has ever been stronger than their friendship.*

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228,3 illa] *O corr.* ex ille 4 occupaverit] *O corr.* ex occupavit

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228<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Ad Ioannem Brecium.<sup>1</sup>

Facis tu quidem, mi Ioannes, ex abundantia quadam amoris erga me tui, ut etiam ea, quae in me minima sunt, minimeque digna admiratione suspiceris et omnibus extollas laudibus. Nisi tuam in me humanitatem iamdiu multis in rebus cognovissem, 5 nescio, an tuam hanc praedicationem meae laudis et virtutis aequo ferre possem animo, sed cum tu ita mihi notus sis iam primum ab ineunte adolescentia, ut nihil sinistri de te possim suspicari, quicquid de me aut laudis aut vituperii a te proficiscetur, grato sum laturus animo. Hoc unum tamen te, mi Ioannes, precor, fac in omnibus tuis actionibus, ut non modo nostri communes amici, sed etiam qui a nobis propter 10 temporis molestiam sunt alieniores, semper cognoscant, nihil amicitia nostra mutua fuisse coniunctius. Quod ego quoque omni conatu praestare curabo, vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Brugis 23. Maii anno Domini 1532.

## 230

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Brecius  
Bruges, 24 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 240.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 216.

*Brecius is asking what he does here among the foreigners, in short: he would rather live back home, among his friends, in peace; nothing would please him more, but the homeland has collapsed, and nothing is certain. He would rather live here for literature than at home in the confusion.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quaeris fortasse, quid hic agam, et cui rei sim deditus inter nationes exteras, quarum et mores et conditiones non noverim; brevibus rem omnem accipe. Equidem mallet, si liceret, quietam agere vitam in patria esse. Nihilque, mihi crede, in hac 5 luce contingere posset iucundius, nullam etenim arbitror esse rem laetiolem et pleniorum voluptatis, quam amicorum et consanguineorum uti consuetudine, sed cum in patria omnia turbata esse videam, et nihil usquam esse tutum, non dico ab hostibus, sed ab internis praedonibus. Hoc quicquid est temporis, malo hic in otio litterario transigere, quam istic in rerum omnium perturbatione. Vale.

10 Brugis 24. Maii 1532.

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229,11 fuisse] *O corr: ex fore*

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229 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 230 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Bruges, 24 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 240–241.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 215.

*He is constantly thinking about what he should do about his affairs, but it is not only that there is nothing he can do, but he does not even have hope, either. He is thinking about the misfortune of the homeland and those who should have looked after his affairs. He would gladly return home if he did not see the current troubles, and it is even possible that it would not be safe for him to return to King John I's jurisdiction, since he had followed Queen Mary. If they had gracious princes, he would not have to be in such a situation; his only hope now is in God.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Cogitanti mihi in horas, quid mihi in rebus meis esset faciendum, non modo nihil est, quod facere possim, sed nec quicquam venit mihi in mentem, adeo rem meam omnem turbatam esse video, ut nihil plus non modo agere, sed ne sperare quidem in posterum possim. Una ex parte periculum patriae obversatur mihi ante oculos, ex alia 5 video me ab his, a quibus deberem, et in quibus propter praeclaras pollicitationes omnis spes mea posita erat, non ita curari, ut aequum esset, meaque exigerent merita. Reverterer perlibenter ad patriam, ni viderem illius praesentaneam calamitatem vel potius ruinam. Accedit, quod nec tutum est me illius Ioannis regis subdere potestati secutus hactenus reginae meae et suorum imperium. Quam ob rem si grati, ut debe- 10 rent, principes essent, et meorum illis et diligenter et fideliter praestitorum servitiorum meminissent, non proculdubio paterentur me hanc pati conditionem, iam satis antea quoque continuis cursitationibus extenuatum. Verum Deo optimo maximo, quod unum extremumque miseris videtur spe refugium, ago habeoque gratias maximas, qui pro meis erratibus me hoc modo emendare voluerit. Spero illius divinam 15 clementiam aliquando mihi propitiam futuram, nonque me perpetuo in his sordibus rebus relicturam. Haec tibi significare volui, ut, quo animo essem, intelligeres. Vale.

Brugis 24. Maii 1532.

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231,11 illis] *corr.* ex illius 15 divinam] *corr.* ex ruinam

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231<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Bruges, 27 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 241.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 216.

*If he understands it well, nothing was more cumbersome for Paulus than getting to Oláh in time. Paulus should not beat himself up about his absence any more; he could not have settled his affairs even if he had been here in person, partly because of his enemies, partly because of the treachery of his friends. He should think about the fact that having stayed away, he did not see the perfidy of the evil ones, and had he seen it, now he would hurt even more.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quantum ex tuis litteris intelligere possum, nihil tibi fuit molestius, quam te in tempore modo potuisse ad nos venire. Nam si ex voto tuo advenisses, sperasses fore, ut omnia tua negotia facile conficere potuisses. Rogo te, ne hac crucieris cogitatione,  
5 nec tua absentia, quominus nobiscum fueris, te exagitet. Nam hi sunt mores hominum, ea conditio et haec impudentia, ut si etiam adfuisses, nihil a te perfectum fuisset propter iniquorum hominum et amicorum tuorum perfidiam. Quare bono sis animo, molestiamque, quam ex tua absentia cepisti, hoc consulere, quod hominum iniquorum turpem perfidiam absens non videris; quam si vidisses, maiorem certe concepis-  
10 ses dolorem. Vale et me, ut soles, ama. Nihil mihi gratius facies, quam si frequenter ad me scripseris.

Brugis 27. Maii anno Domini 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Bruges, 27 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 241.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 216.

*He cannot and will not stay silent about the audacity of his Brabantian and Flemish hosts: they are so crude that they are even skinning their own companions under the guise of hospitality, Peregi can guess what they will do to a foreigner, especially a Hungarian like him, who does not even know their customs. His living expenses are so high that at the inns he almost feels as if he was being skinned.*

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232 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.



Ad Albertum praepositum.

Mallem licet, tamen non possum, mi Alberte, tibi reticere hospitum Brabantiae et Flandriae impudentiam. Qui adeo non modo impudentes, sed quodammodo crudes et efferi sunt homines, ut hospites advenientes etiam suae gentis pro hospitibus excoriant vel, si quod maius est, excruciant. Quid censes eos facere cum externis, maxime 5 mecum Hungaro, qui mores eorum nesciam, pluries me adeo in hospitibus commoverunt, ut igni vel alio, si quod maius esse potest, tormento cruciari viderer. Tormentum autem igne maius esse arbitror, si quando in facultate tenui omnibus tuis consumptis, magnam ad unicam usque cutem te hospes conatur urgere. Vale.

Brugis 27. Maii 1532.

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## 234

### Miklós Oláh to Joannes Staterus Bruges, 31 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 241–242.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 217.

*Staterus is asking what is going to happen; he does not know, everything is so confusing. He has not forgotten about his request and would like to return his favors, but he does not know what to promise. If Staterus cannot adjust to the current situation, nobody can. But unless he is gravely mistaken, he can look after himself.*

Ad Ioannem Staterum.<sup>1</sup>

Quid futurum sit, nescio. Cupis a me cognoscere, quis sit rerum status, quae conditio et negotiorum facies; difficile est rebus omnibus perturbatus proferre, et ea, quae quisque sentiat, libere explicare. Non possem tuae petitionis esse immemor, cuperemque ex animo tibi rebus in omnibus gratificari, sed quid tibi pollicear aut 5 quam spem tribuam, nescio. Tantam video rerum omnium mutationem et varietatem, ut nihil certi audeam tibi non modo polliceri, sed ne significare. Ingenium tuum optime novi non abhorrens ab hominum nostrae aetatis moribus. Si tu te accomodare rebus praesentibus moribusque hominum non poteris, nemo alius meo iudicio poterit. Ni fallor igitur, tu ipse tibi et consulere et providere potes. Quis te tuas res melius 10 novit? Scis, ubi tibi doleat, ubi adhibendum sit remedium? Id cum ita sit, tu tibi subvenias necesse est, frustra aliorum expectamus praesidium, dum nos nobis prodesse possimus. Vale, mei non immemor.

Brugis ultima Maii anno Domini 1532.

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233,2 Mallem] *corr.* ex Nollem

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233 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 31 May 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 376.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 217–218.

1. *He has received the gift, he has read the book and cannot praise it enough; he cannot wait for him to send the finished version. He has already sent the tax from Tapolca to him, but Péter Koczka has captured the messenger. The Bebek brothers have defected to King John I and attacked Tapolca; the famulus of Péter Horváth was killed, the others were captured. 2. He is sending a copy of the letter with which they are enticing the Queen's followers over to their side. He is toiling away with Bálint Török and László Móré for Oláh's estates, but in vain. He will find out the rest from the letter to the Queen.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Litteras vestras<sup>1</sup> una cum munere accepimus; legimus libellum, quantum per occupationes licuit, non possumus non laudare opus pii et eruditi viri, sive is interpres sit, sive paraphrastes. Non dubitamus, quin reliquum quoque perfecit. Rogamus, ut illud quoque quamprimum licuerit, ad nos mittatis. Pensionem abbatiae de Thapolcza<sup>2</sup> dudum vobis misissemus,<sup>3</sup> sed ea pecunia una cum aliis, quae nobis per nuntios civitatum afferebantur, per Koczka<sup>4</sup> intercepta est, qui et hodie nuntios ipsos captos tenet. Dabimus tamen operam, ut eam quamprimum aliunde paremus et vobis mittamus. Emericus et Franciscus Bebek<sup>5</sup> ad Ioannem desciverunt, qui abbatiam de Thapolcza invadentes eam expugnaverunt, famulum Petri Horwat,<sup>6</sup> qui ceteris praeerat, crudeli morte affecerunt, reliquos vero, qui illic fuerunt, captivarunt, hinc orsi praeclara sua facinora homines fortissimi.

[2.] Misimus vobis exemplum litterarum, quibus fideles regiae maiestatis seducere conantur, ostendatis illud serenissimae dominae reginae. Pro bonis Dominationis Vestrae et apud dominum Valentinum Therek<sup>7</sup> et apud dominum Ladislaum More<sup>8</sup> multum laboravimus, sed nihil efficere potuimus, non videntur posse adduci, ut ea remittant, nisi rex cum exercitu veniat. Nostris quoque bonis nihil parcitum est, quae quamvis non sint occupata, tamen ita sunt depraedata et despoliata, ut expedierit ea fuisse occupata. Ceterum suadere Dominationi Vestrae non possumus, ut nunc in his tempestatibus redeat, exspectet per hanc aestatem, quem finem res nostrae sortituras

235,16 videntur] *O(?) del. ex videntur* adhuc 20 exspectet] *corr. ex expectat*

235 <sup>1</sup> The last letter by Oláh to Szalaházy we know of is Ep. 213, but there is no word about a gift or book in it. | <sup>2</sup> About the parish of Miskolc, see Ep. 148. Note 2. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 222. | <sup>4</sup> Péter Koczka. | <sup>5</sup> Imre and Ferenc Bebek, see Ep. 102. Note 1. | <sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>7</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>8</sup> László Móré.

sint. Deinde, si cum bona venia serenissimae dominae regiae fieri poterit, non impro-  
bamus, ut veniat et reginae maiestati serviat, nostra officia non sunt defutura Domi-  
nationi Vestrae, quam bene valere optamus. Quae hic habentur, ex litteris serenissi-  
mae reginae Dominatio Vestra cognoscet.

Posonii ultima Maii 1532.

25

## 236

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Paulus  
Ghent, 23 June 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 242–243.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 218–219.

*He does not know why it is that when he wishes to live happily, a bad feeling about his lost possessions always comes over him. His only consolation is that all is at God's will. He knows well that he is an emotional person and is often upset, namely if he thinks of the things he used to possess, he cannot contain his sadness. He liked it when he reminded him what he has to do and consoled him, and he understood from this that all will be to his advantage.*

Ad amicum Paulum.<sup>1</sup>

Nescio, quo fato meo dicam id saepe apud me fieri, ut cum maxime laete vivere  
vellem, tunc mihi oboriantur de amissis meis rebus quam maximae animi mei mole-  
stiae. Hac tamen una re me consolari sum solitus, quod omnia mea quaecumque  
futura sint prospera aut adversa, divinae voluntati iamdudum commisi. Is sciet, quid  
mecum facere debeat, et in quem statum res meas sit deducturus. Non possum tamen  
non meminisse me hominem natum esse, et multis subiectum animi affectibus, qui  
dum frequentes veniunt in animum meum, non possum me non mirum in modum  
conturbare. Cum enim earum, quas antea habui et quibus usus sum, commodissime  
subit mihi recordatio, et illarum commoditatem praesentium temporum meorum  
calamitati confero, non possum me a magna continere tristitia, sed omnem meam  
spem locavi fixamque habeo in Deo optimo maximo, quem spero mihi ex sua beni-  
gnitate propitium futurum. Tu interea non facies officium ab amicitia nostra alienum,  
si me admoneris, quid opus sit facto, et aliquando consolatus fueris tuis iucundissimis  
litteris rebus omnibus vero, si certiozem feceris de rebus omnibus, quae nunc apud  
vos agantur, ut illis intellectis possim rerum omnium mearum statum in commodum  
meum dirigere. Vale.

Gandavi 23. Iunii 1532.

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236<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 224.

Damiaan van Vissenaken to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 5 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 191.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 219.

*In case Oláh thinks him malicious, he tells him that his brother and other friends have arranged for his daughter's marriage behind his back, and they have convinced him that it will be good both for his daughter and for Lieven Algoet, even though Oláh secretly warned them about Lieven Algoet's morals. The bride is ready. He asks Oláh to remember his affairs.*

Damianus Vissenacus<sup>1</sup> domino Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Ne me hominem malae fidei existimares, Vir Eximie atque Amicorum Optime, tibi exploratum volui filiae meae patruos ceterosque amicos totum matrimonii eius  
5 negotium retorsisse in dorsum meum. Itaque hanc provinciam duram, Deum testor, quam in manu mea esse iam non possum non fateri, mihi soli commiserunt, eam tamen profecto non lubens suscipio, si quidem quemadmodum nosti, si non ex sententia res cesserit, nihil esse mali, quod non eius auctori imprecentur ii, qui inter sese contraxere, tam periculosa res est conflare matrimonium utrique, et tuo Levino,<sup>2</sup>  
10 cuius et mores et virtutes apud me tam sincere praedicasti, et filiae meae utilitati atque commodo fore, sentias, tibi obsequetur, tui Damiani animum vicisti. Geratur itaque mos Olao tum ob sui ipsius prudentiam, tum etiam ob eum animum, quem erga omnes doctos nostrum praecipue Erasmus, atque adeo Erasmicos gerit. Levino itaque tuo, ut ad te, Patrone, redeam, immo tibi in tui tamen Levini usum parata est  
15 uxor. Di bene vortant. Ceterum, cum scio te, cui toto pectore confido apud reginam vestram id posse, quod vis, vel procerum omnium aulae vestrae iudicio tuam humanitatem obtestor, ut mei negotii aliquando memor esse velit. Bene vale et Damianum tuum ama.

Gandavi ocissime V. Iulii 1532.

237 <sup>1</sup> Damiaan van Vissenaken of Tienen († after 1541) was a physician, who resided in Ghent. He married the widow of Antonius Clava and wed his stepdaughter to Lieven Algoet, see NAUWELAERTS 1987.

<sup>2</sup> Lieven Algoet. About the case of Algoet and Vissenaken's step-daughter, see Ep. 243.

Giovanni Antonio da Burgio to Miklós Oláh  
London, 10 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 365–366.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 220–221.

1. *Although they are living in times when they do not have good news for each other, he was very happy to receive Oláh's letter; from which he learned that Oláh is well and that the Emperor is preparing against the Turks. 2. He has received a letter from which he has learned that the Pope is sending his barely 23-year-old nephew as an envoy on the Emperor's side to spy on the Turks, and he is taking 20,000 infantrymen with him. Andrea Doria has acquired many good galleys, with which he can not only defend himself, but he can attack as well. He hears that the Sicilians have also collected money enough for 10,000 men. 3. He does not have any news from Hungary, but he is expecting a letter from Mario one of these days, whom he made head of the Esztergom archdeaconry, but it is possible that he has returned to Italy due to the danger to his homeland, and that is why he has not heard from him.*

Ioannes Anthonius Pulleon baro Burgii orator Apostolicus in Anglia domino Nicolao Olaho secretario reginae Mariae.

[1.] Quamvis ea sint tempora, ut vix aliquid, quod delectet, nuntiare alter alterutri possimus, tamen maxima laetitia me affecere litterae tuae.<sup>1</sup> Cognovi enim ex eis prosperam valetudinem tuam et quonam praesidio praeparet caesar noster contra 5 Turcarum tyrannum se defendere, quae etsi ex aliis intellexeram. Gratissimum tamen fuit ex te etiam intellexisse, tum quia ex te certiora et veriora omnia intelligi posse arbitror, cum serenissimae reginae sis a secretis, tum quia iucundiora solent esse ea, quae ab iis, quos diligas, nuntiantur, quam si eadem ex vulgaribus amicis audias. Est ergo, quod tibi gratias agam. Quae hinc scribenda habeam, haec sunt. 10

[2.] Redditae mihi sunt litterae ex Urbe XXVI die mensis praeteriti datae, ex quibus cognovi sanctissimum dominum nostrum<sup>2</sup> destinavisse legatum de latere ad caesarem in illam expeditionem Turcicam reverendissimum cardinalem de Medicis suae sanctitatis nepotem,<sup>3</sup> iuvenem strenuum et industrium ac prudentem supra aetatem; attingit enim vix tertium et vigesimum. Is secum adducet peditum Italarum et Hispanorum non contemnendam manum, quam dominus marchio de Quasto cogit undique per Italiam, dicunt ad XX millia peditum. Dominum Andream Doriam<sup>4</sup> scribunt etiam coegisse bonum numerum triremum ac navium onerariarum, quarum praesidio

238,1 orator... Anglia] *O add. in marg.* 8 arbitror] *corr. ex arbitrer*

238 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Pope Clement VII. | <sup>3</sup> Giovanni Angelo Medici (1499–1565), the later Pope Pius IV (1559–1565). | <sup>4</sup> Andrea Doria (1466–1560) was an Italian condottiero and admiral of the Republic of Genoa.

putat non solum se posse facillime a Turcica classe defendere, sed si res poposcerit,  
20 ultro eam aggredi; audio et Siculos propria pecunia paravisse ad X millia peditum  
pro custodia et praesidio regni, ad quae omnia si accedent apparatus illi, quos tu  
scribis caesarem cogere, certe nobis sperandum est, quod hoc uno conflictu a tyran-  
nide nobis imminente liberabimur, modo Deus dignetur preces nostras supplicantium  
admittere remque suam adiuvaré, posthabitis sceleribus et impietatibus nostris, ob  
25 quae iure puniremur.

[3.] De Hungaria nihil certi habeo, quod ad te scribam, exspecto propediem litte-  
ras ex meo Mario,<sup>5</sup> qui fuerat M. a secretis, quem te nosse arbitror. Is mea interces-  
sione et opera obtinuerat archidiaconatum Strigoniensem, et ab eo tempore fuit Stri-  
gonii<sup>6</sup> vacans divinis, suo beneficio inserviens prius, ut par erat, eum nunc audio ob  
30 pericula imminencia illi patriae inde recessisse et Italiam pervenisse, a quo exspecto  
propemodum litteras copiosiores, si ex eius litteris aliquid intellexero, quod putem  
tibi non fore ingratum audire, curabo diligentissime tibi perferendum. Interea et  
cupio et opto assidue, me meaque servitia serenissimae reginae commendari, simul et  
accuratissime rogo, quod si cognoveris me maiestati suae inservire posse, ut id mihi  
35 significes, perficiam id sedulo, quantum in me erit. Lucretiae Italiae nostrae meo  
nomine salutes impartias, et tu, ut soles, fraterno amore nos prosequaris, quia nos te  
mirum in modum amamus.

Ex Londino X. Iulii 1532.

237 **239** 241

Miklós Oláh to Damiaan van Vissenaken  
Brussels, 11 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 191–192.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 221–222.

*The relatives have made the right decision by assigning his stepdaughter's case to him; who else could look after her better? He thanks Vissenaken for being frank, and since marriage is for life (unless there is infidelity), they should think about it thoroughly.*

Nicolai Olai ad Damianum Vissenacum responsio.

Non imprudenter, mi Damiane, privignae tuae patruos et consanguineos fecisse  
video, qui rem illius totam in te reiecerint. Quis enim ipsius filiae tuae, cuius mores,  
probitatem et virtutes optime cognovisti, quacum quotidianam habes et conversatio-  
nem et colloquia, futurum statum, quietem, et negotia melius, utilius et consultius,  
5 quam tu curare ordinareque posset! Cuius curam et provisionem, etsi, ut scribis,  
humeris tuis gravem, multis tamen ex causis animo prompto suscipere debes. Tua

<sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>6</sup> Esztergom.

enim, ut coniugis tuae amanitissimae res in illius locatione agitur. Quod mei respectu  
in illius rebus te omnia facturum et paratam Levino,<sup>1</sup> vel mihi in Levini tamen usum  
uxorem<sup>2</sup> scribis, habeo tibi gratias, qui his quoque in rebus declares, quo sis in me 10  
animo. Matrimonium ut perpetuum est, ita consulto tractandum ac perficiendum,  
utpote quod postea viventibus his, qui contrahunt connubium, dirimi divino iure  
nequaquam possit, nisi per adulterium commissum. Scribit itaque ad te ea de re Levi-  
nus, cuius mentem ex litteris suis intelliges. Consulte feceris, Vissenace, si in hoc  
non parvi momenti negotio nihil fuerit actum immaturius et praecipitanter. Tuum 15  
negotium, si quid tibi praestare possum commodi, data occasione curae habebō.  
Solitus sum amicis, quatenus possum, libenter morem gerere, illorumque studere  
emolumentis et ornamentis. Vale et coniugem tuam, privignas et liberos meo nomine  
saluta.

Bruxellae undecima Iulii 1532.

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## 240

Miklós Oláh to Paulus baro Siculus  
Brussels, 19 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 243.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 223.

*How Johannes is, Paulus could learn from Oláh's letter. Without his support, and unless Paulus' friends had favored him to please him, things would not have turned out well. It is clear to him how benevolent Paulus is towards his friends, but even if he had not known him, he would have written to him to let him know that Johannes' affair, for which he has labored so much, is proceeding well.*

Ad Paulum baronem.<sup>1</sup>

Ioannis<sup>2</sup> tui status in quibus sit verseturque conditionibus, non modo ab eo ipso, sed planius ex meis litteris, quam iam pridem ad te dederam, plane intelligere potuisti. Nisi usus fuisset te patrono, et nisi tui respectum amici tui ipsius favissent rebus, nescio profecto, quid commodi consequi potuisset, multis undique adversariis et 5  
aemulis suis rem suam persequentibus. Bono ipsius genio tuoque patrocinio amicorum tuorum ope factum est, ut iam res ipsius securo in statu sit posita, non sitque formidaturus, quin pensione sua iamdudum ei pollicita sit frustraturus. Quam cum in omne futurum temporis habuerint, non modo commode, sed etiam honeste, de futuro suo statu eoque perpetuo providere poterit. Non dubito, quin ipsius virtus, fides, et in 10

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239,11 perficiendum] *O mut. ex perseverandum* 13 nisi...commissum] *O add. in marg.*

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239 <sup>1</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 237. Note 1. 240 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 202.

<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely, but he is probably Giovanni Antonio da Burgio.

amicos caritas sit tibi iam a multis annis satis perspecta, hae tanti fiunt ab hominibus, ut si illis pensio sua debita accesserit, facile futurae suae vitae provideri poterit. Quare etsi te prius quoque haec intellexisse non fuerim nescius, tamen erat mihi voluntas, ut de his ego quoque pauca ad te scriberem, ut scires, Ioannis tui negotium,  
15 pro quo tantopere laborabas omnem movens, ut dicunt, lapidem idem securum pervenisse ad portum. Vale, meique memineris.

Bruxellae 19. Iulii 1532.

239 **241** 242

Damiaan van Vissenaken to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 22 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 192.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 223–224.

*Lactantius did not suspect false believers by accident; he feels the same way. The gods should ruin Jakob Jespersen, along with his follies. He has engaged his daughter to Lieven Algoet, and the day of the wedding has been set for 6 August, for which they have invited Oláh as well. He is sending him the New Testament.*

Damianus Vissenacus Nicolao Olao secretario etc. reginae Mariae.

Non imprudenter mihi Lactantius ille Firmianus<sup>1</sup> fecisse videtur, Olae Clarissime, qui nihil unquam tam suspectum habuit, quam false religiosos<sup>2</sup> atque adeo ipsa fata, quae profecto nemo unquam magis despere magisque traducere debet, atque ego.  
5 Sed quorsum haec, inquires? Certe alias tecum profusius, iam animi turbo cetera eructare non patitur, nisi hoc unum, videlicet Iacobum Danum<sup>3</sup> tuum (citra offensam dixerim) me relegare in Acharontis<sup>4</sup> abyssum, quem diideaeque omnes perdant cum sua confidentia atque scurrilitate, eundemque apud nos tesseram fregisse<sup>5</sup> tibi persuadeas. De Levino<sup>6</sup> nostro, quo tibi obsequium meum adversum te apertius declararem,  
10 non potui non abstinere, suae voluptati obtemperans, quin sponsorem agens ipsi adolenscenti, profecto vel tuo iudicio haud mediocribus honoribus dignissimo, filiam meam desponderem. Itaque illum tibi iam sponsum remitto ad nos brevi rediturum, si promissis stare noluerit, neque vulgo esse fabulam, nam nuptiarum dies Augusti

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240,15 omnem...lapidem] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,IV,30: "Omnem movere lapidem", MYNORS 1982, 340–341.

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241 <sup>1</sup> Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius (ca. 250–ca. 325) was an early Christian author and an advisor of Emperor Constantine I. | <sup>2</sup> Lact. *Divinarum Institutionum Libri*, Liber 1: De falsa religione.

<sup>3</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>4</sup> In Ancient Greek mythology, Acheron river was known as the "river of woe".

<sup>5</sup> 'to break up the alliance'. | <sup>6</sup> Lieven Algoet.



sextus constitutus est, quem tu decorare tua praesentia ne dedigneris etiam atque etiam obtestamur.

15

Ex museo nostro XI. Kalendas Augusti Gandavi 1532.

Novum Testamentum dono mittimus, quod tibi gratum fore mihi persuadeo.

241 **242**

Miklós Oláh to Damiaan van Vissenaken  
Brussels, 25 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 192–193.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 224.

*He does not think that Jespersen is a false believer, although it is true that they have laughed a lot about his hood in Cornelis de Schepper's words, but he is a good man. He would not have thought that Lieven Algoet would be engaged so quickly, but he hopes he will be happy. It would have been better not to rush it, since he knows how unbreakable the ties of marriage are. He does not know yet if he can make it to the wedding. He thanks for the New Testament, but he can only accept it if it is a loan, or if he can pay for it.*

Nicolai Olai ad Damianum Vissenacum responsio.

Falsos religiosos, mi Vissenace, fugere curato.<sup>1</sup> Nec immerito Lactantium Firmianum de his scripsisse putato. Solent enim plerumque fieri exitiales et sub praetextu religionis virus alunt. Quid enim hi in alios non perpetrare audent cum τὴν ψυχὴν σου<sup>2</sup> falsa religione pergunt subvertere, sed talem non puto esse meum Danum,<sup>3</sup> 5 quem tu insimulas, de cuius licet saepe luserimus cuculla ex verbis Scepperi<sup>4</sup> iocosis, tamen honestum et ipse se et ego eum puto hominem alienumque ab omni turpissimo crimine. Levinum<sup>5</sup> sponsum tam cito fieri non putassem, quod tamen felix faustumque sit. Maluissem, ut et vos et ipse maturius rem perpendissetis, nec tam cito amori imtempestius dedissetis locum. Scis, quam indissolubilis sit matrimonii ἡ φυλακή,<sup>6</sup> 10 Deus secundet factum. De mea ad nuptias profectioe quid facere et possim et va-

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241,14 dedigneris] *O corr.* ex digneris      15 obtestamur] *O del.* ex obtestamur ocissime  
242,10 indissolubilis] *O corr.* ex dissolubilis | matrimonii] *O corr.* ex matrimonium

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242,3 sub...4 alunt] Cf.: Innocent III, *Serm. comm. II*: “qui veris falsa miscentes, sub praetextu religionis virus nequitiae diffundunt in simplices”, see MIGNE 1855, 605.

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242 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 241. | <sup>2</sup> ‘your soul’. | <sup>3</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper of Nieuwport or Cornelis de Dobbele (ca.1503–1555) was a Flemish counsellor and ambassador for Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I of Austria, and Queen Mary of Hungary, governor of the Netherlands. He frequently corresponded with Erasmus and Oláh, and through their letters, we get a better idea of his legation to Constantinople as well, see LUTTENBERGER–BIETENHOLZ 1985. | <sup>5</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>6</sup> ‘the bond [of marriage]’.

leam, videbo. Novum Testamentum Graecum dono non accipiam, sed vel commo-  
dato vel praetio. Vale et pergas me amare, ac tuos meo nomine saluta.

Bruxellae 25. Iulii anno 1532.

216 (223) **243** 252

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 26 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 234–238.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 224–229; ALLEN 1941, 69–72.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 644–648.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 166–170; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 109–114.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 92–97.

1. Gerhardus Henricus has visited him with a letter from Erasmus, and he was very happy to see him because he had thought he would be the famulus Erasmus had sent him, but he was mistaken. Erasmus thanks him for having looked after Lieven Algoet; until there is a vacancy, Queen Mary has entrusted him to his care. 2. The other day they stayed at the late Antonius Clava's house, whose widow married Visse-  
naken. Algoet fell in love with his 18-year-old stepdaughter. Three days before their departure Algoet sent Jespersen to him to help him ask Vissenaken for his daughter's hand. He preached to him about the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, and that the girl has richer suitors. Then Vissenaken dis-  
cussed the issue with his family and in the end agreed to the marriage, then they returned with Algoet, and the engagement was arranged. Oláh scolded Algoet for not listening to him, and because how they are  
planning to live on the girl's dowry. He recommended postponing the wedding, which in the end has been set for 6 August. The girl is virtuous, industrious, only poor. 3. As far as his affairs are concerned: he wanted to know if Erasmus is going to return home, to make arrangements accordingly. But it seems Erasmus wants both to stay and to go. What he has brought up as counter-arguments, he has already weighed up before. If he returns home, nobody will force him to do so, and he can live freely. Is he afraid that the monks will scold him, but who can avoid others' ill will? 4. He can not only drink Burgundian wine here but Hungarian wine as well; what he will lose on selling the house, he will recover by being with his friends. Until he decides what he wants, however, it would not be right to trouble the queen with it. Not only Dantyszek but also Oláh has become angry with Jespersen for having sent out Erasmus' letter; but they should forgive him. He is helping him a lot in Greek grammar. He is helping Gerhardus so that he receives a response from the Queen, to whose attention he keeps recommending Erasmus.

Nicolai Olai thesaurarii Albensis, secretarii serenissimae reginae ad Erasmum Roterodamum responsio.

[1.] Cum exspectarem sollicite famulum, quem scripseras<sup>1</sup> te a Paschate<sup>2</sup> praeterito huc missurum, qui certa tibi renuntiaret et nidum praepararet adventuro. Nihilque

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243 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 216. Cap. 3. | <sup>2</sup> 31 March.

interea ad tuas litteras prius cogitarem rescribere, ut a servitore potius tuo redeunte, 5  
quam ex litteris meam voluntatem et alia, quae ad rem tuam pertinerent, cognosceres.  
Ecce praesto mihi fuit Gandavi<sup>3</sup> Gerardus Henricus Amsterdamensis<sup>4</sup> medicus cum  
tuis litteris, quo viso gavisus non parum primo fueram, arbitratus eum esse tuum  
illum famulum, quem te huc missurum eras pollicitus. Verum cum et litteras tuas  
legissem, et cum eo fuisset, tum de te, tum de ipsius rebus, quas apud me agebat 10  
locutus, cognovi me frustra gavisum fuisse. Nolui igitur committere, quin post  
ademptam adventus hominis tui exspectationem diutius silerem.

Scribis litteris tuis tibi esse magnopere gratum, quod Levino<sup>5</sup> affuerim. Non ei  
solum, cuius eruditio et mores iam mihi perspecti sunt, sed nullis etiam aliis, quos tu  
commendas, quantum in me erit, sum pro posse meo defuturus; cui quidem Levino 15  
curavi, ut reginae nomine singulis diebus octo grossi numerarentur. Interea dum  
aliquis praeceptis aliis nunc omnibus apud reginam officiis status ei convenientior, de  
quo provideri possit, vacaturus esset. Quem regina apud me reliquit, ut in rebus expedi-  
endis eius utar opera. Quo indies utor familiariter, tum quod tuus est alumnus et per  
te commendatus, tum quod nihil in eo video, quod esset magnopere devitandum, sed 20  
heus, audi, quid contigerit.

[2.] Nuper dum perlustratis Brabantiae et Flandriae oppidis cum regina venissemus  
Gandavum, casu exceptus fui hospitio in domo Anthonii Clavae<sup>6</sup> illius, cuius  
consuetudine olim, dum ille viveret, te usum fuisse intellexi. Is ex filia neptem reli- 25  
quit, annos natam decem et octo vel circiter virginem non deformem, honestis mori-  
bus et, ut mihi visa est, non paucis ornatam animi dotibus. Huius vitricus est Damianus  
Vissenacus<sup>7</sup> medicus, vir in litteris versatus. Hanc virginem me inscio Levinus et  
illa hunc deperire coepit. Fuimus ibi tribus fere hebdomadis. Et interea nihil mihi  
certo constare poterat de ipsorum amore, praeterquam quod unus et alter ex meis, 30  
nescio quid in aurem meam hac de re insurraverat. Ego id silentio praeterii, existi-  
mans ea de re, si verus esset inter eos amor, ipsos mecum locuturos. Triduo ante-  
quam reverti hinc pararemus, Iacobum Danum<sup>8</sup> τὸν κήρυκά τε καὶ περιφόρον<sup>9</sup> lau-  
dum tuarum, qui et ipse apud me est, Levinus ad me misit rogatum, ut curarem apud  
Damianum medicum efficere, quo virginis matrimonio potiri posset. Ego multa prius 35  
Levino depraedicans, plurimaque matrimonii et commoda et incommoda, si aliter res  
caderet, enumerans, precibus tandem, ut saltem animum Damiani experirer eius,

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243,8 non parum] *O add. sup. l.* 11 frustra] *O corr. ex falso* | fuisse] *O del. ex fuisse gaudio* 17 aliquis] *O corr. ex aliquos* | convenientior...18 quo] *O mut. et add. sup. l. ex convenientiore* 32 κήρυκά] *corr. ex κήρυκα* | laudum...33 tuarum] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>3</sup> Ghent. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 223. Note 8. | <sup>5</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>6</sup> Antonius Clava of Ghent became a member of the Council of Flanders in 1514. After his death, his widow Margareta married Damiaan van Vissenaken. See ALLEN 1906, 389, and NEUWELAERTS–BIETENHOLZ 1985. | <sup>7</sup> Damiaan van Vissenaken. | <sup>8</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>9</sup> ‘messenger and disseminator [of your glory]’.

victus sum hac de re illum allocutus. Qui habito prius, ut iusseram cum uxore consilio respondit virginem ipsam iam ab annis duobus aut tribus non ultimae sortis procos habuisse, et non deesse nunc quoque quosdam satis divites, qui illius ambirent  
40 matrimonium, tamen mea causa quatenus sua interesset se facturum, ut consultis prius consanguineis ipsius virginis paternis et maternis eam mihi daret, in Levini tamen usum.

Sic re semiperfecta huc reversi sumus. Vissenacus consultis suis domi affnibus rediit huc ad me post decimum fere diem, qui eadem, quae prius mihi respondit se  
45 scilicet meae voluntati obsecundaturum, aliosque maioris longe, quam Levinus fortunae procos reiecturum, quod vix aliorum gratia facturus esset. Quem hinc remisi cum Levino, ut postquam et dies et noctes animo medicaretur illius virginis connubium, Gandavi dotem et haereditates puellae experiretur, ac convocatis suis amicis ea de re tractaret, cognitisque his, quae dotem ipsius concernerent, re integra ad me revertere-  
50 tur, et postea quod ei et commodius et utilius futurum esset, te prius consulto id faceremus; ne si ob intempestivum amorem indotata illi ea contingeret, poeniteret se cum tempore sui facti. Commiseram autem ei, ut nequaquam se istic antequam ad me rediret. Et hac de re ad te scriberemus, tuamque experiremur voluntatem, aliquo se istic obstringeret vinculo. Is tandem reversus retulit cum magno certe meo dolore se  
55 sponsalia cum virgine contraxisse. Quem cum obiurgarem accusaremque neglectae meae commissionis, nihil aliud respondere scivit, quam se meae commissionis bene fuisse memorem, non potuisse tamen aliud facere sive amore insano, qui per se incantamentum est satis durum, sive aliorum cantibus, quin sponsalia contraheret verbis sollennibus. De dote interrogavi, dixit nunc illam annue habituram ad decem et  
60 octo ducatos, et post mortem matris successuram in aliquam partem reddituum et haereditatum. “Heus”, inquit, “putas hac exigua pecuniola cum uxore vivere te posse annuo, et quam spem nunc ponis magnam in bonis post socrus mortem ad te venturam? Et quid interea et tu et uxor, cui et victus et amictus est parandus, quotidie facietis?” Quamvis post rem iam ita perfectam, ut mutari non possit, visus sum aërem  
65 verberare. Tamen non potui id non facere, partim non parum commotus, partim cupidus status ipsius felicioris.

Coepi postremum ei consulere, ut nuptias differret ad tempus aliquod longius, dum conditioni suae melius et certius providere possemus, et ad te ea de re scriberemus. Dixit se ex Gandavo post sponsalia contracta divertisse ad decanum Brugesem,<sup>10</sup> qui nuper non vulgarem mecum contraxit amicitiam et eum aliosque suos iam invitasse ad nuptias ad sextum diem Augusti futuri. Ego audiens eum remque suam

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58 quin] *O add. sup. l.* 62 ponis] *O corr. ex prius* 64 perfectam] *O corr. ex profectam*

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<sup>10</sup> Mark Lauwerijns or Marcus Laurinus of Bruges (1488–1540) was brother of Pieter Lauwerijns, and known as a Dean of St. Donatian’s in Bruges and a humanist, see IJSEWIJN 1986a.

hoc modo praecipitasse, “Age”, inquit, “fac, ut vis perage tuas, ut coepisti nuptias. Vereor tamen, ne aliquando facti tui te poeniteat.” Habes Levini negotium, doleo eum tam subito incidisse in casses. Virgo honestis, ut audio, nata est parentibus, modestis et laudatis, ut visa est, moribus, laboriosa et otio minime assueta, sed dos 75 illius tenuis. Ad se virumque mediocris fortunae alendum modico post tempore contingere fortasse potuisset, ut sub nomine reginae apud me existens laetioris ipse consequi potuisset fortunae virginem. Si igitur bene aut male ipsius successerit connubium, insaniae illius et imprudentiae tribue ac nemini alteri.

[3.] De rebus nunc tuis accipe, mi Erasme Doctissime mihique Carissime, breviter. Ego tui nominis et quietis studiosissimus scripsi ad te antea de reditu atque ex animo cupiens tuo commodo et quieti consulere te admonueram, ut mihi significares, an haberes animum redeundi, ut scirem apud reginam meam agere de tuo statu et quiete futura. Tu fortasse diffusus mihi ambigue binis tuis litteris ad me rescripsisti, quibus utrisque tuas rationes et valetudinis incommoda enumerans nihil certi praefinisti. Videris et velle et nolle reverti. Inter alias causas te iam propter aetatem impatientem esse laboris aulici. Putasne me omnem tuam conditionem ante non praecogitasse, quam proximas ad te darem meas litteras? Sylvagii<sup>11</sup> exemplum te non moveat. Si redieris, a nemine cogaris, nisi tua sponte id facere velis, ad subeundam aulicam servitutem. Sive hic ubi regina est, sive alibi malis, licebit tibi deligere locum ad 90 habitandum, meo tamen iudicio hic apud reginam locus est tibi futurus multas ob causas commodior, et dare operam, ut nunc istic facis, litteris remque Christianam tuis curare augereque vigiliis, interea tuam habiturus esses in patria pensionem, sub nomine reginali in quiete, in otio, dumque tibi placeret aut reginae esset voluntas, eam inviseres a nemine alio, quam ab ea penderes. Verum times, monachos ne tibi 95 maledicant et obloquantur. Id nunquam ubicumque sis, dum spiritum trahes, vitare potes maxime multis a te iure editis scriptis in falsos monachos. Quis enim aliorum maledicentiam mortalis effugere potest Christo etiam talia in carne ad mortem usque passo? Quare ut non ego solus te vocarem, dominus Panormitanus<sup>12</sup> etiam ad te scribit. Ei postquam nihil certi a te habere potui responsi, litteras tuas ad me datas 100 ostendi, fac igitur resolve tuum animum et significa nobis, an reverti velis.

[4.] Habebis hic non modo vinum Burgundiacum, cuius te usus istic detinet, sed omnia alia vina, quibus antea es usus et tuam nutrivisti olim aetatem. Habebis etiam aliquando Hungaricum, non peius neque insuavius Burgundiaco,<sup>13</sup> quod ex Hungaria reginae huc navi allatum est, et si pax in mea Hungaria secuta fuerit, afferetur annuatim. Si quippiam in venditione domus istic tuae amiseris, solatium, quod habiturus es 105

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72 hoc] *O corr.* ex hic 76 Ad...contingere] *O mut.* ex Modico post tempore ad se virumque mediocris fortunae alendum contrahere 90 ad] *O add. sup. l.* 96 vitare] *O del.* ex vitare non 102 Burgundiacum] *O mut.* ex Hungaricum

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<sup>11</sup> Jean Le Sauvage. | <sup>12</sup> Jean Carondelet. | <sup>13</sup> See Ep. 223. Cap. 1.

in solo patrio cum tuis, aliaque tua et tuae regionis commoda et nos amici, qui sumus tui, id cum foenore recompensabimus.

110 Scribe igitur certi aliquid. Ego quicquid in me erit, faciam, ut tu ipse iudicare possis boni amici officium in tuam rem me ex animo praestitisse. Nam quoad dubiae fueris voluntatis et non te nobis aperueris, nec honestum est, nec licet ad aliquid de te agendum me reginam hortari. Non usque adeo caesar demessuit segetem, quin et reginae suam messem reliquerit. Ex qua bonis viris subvenire posset.

115 Non episcopus solum Culmensis,<sup>14</sup> sed ego quoque plurimum succensueram Dano meo propter epistolam tuam circumlatam; sed id fecit suo more, veniam itaque meretur. Ego utor eo in rudimentis solis Graecae grammatices, ad cetera parcius. Est enim a puero in illis versatus in ludis litterariis. Tu si vis ad te ornandum et nomen tuum efferendum eius uti opera, scribe ad eum, et utere eo τῷ ἐγκωμιάστῃ<sup>15</sup> laudatissimo viro. Gerardum<sup>16</sup> medicum libenter vidi, curavi, ut haberet responsum a regina  
120 non omnino ei ingratum. Reginae in te favorem, ut petis, pergam alere.

Hanc verbosiozem inconditamque historiam potius quam epistolam, libertatemque scribendi ex pectore sincero apertoque profectam boni consule, quam nisi viceris tuis prolixioribus, scribam deinceps longiores, ut taedium tibi eas lecturo afferam. Vale meque ama.

125 Bruxellae 26. Iulii anno 1532.

## 244

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 28 July 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 243–244.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 229–230.

*1. Two days ago he received a letter from which he found out that the Turks have reached Osijek, from where Buda is only 25 miles away, and they could reach Vienna around 8-10 August, which they want to besiege, and if the Emperor cannot stop them, they will also enter the depths of Germany. 2. From another place he has received the news that from among the Transylvanian towns only Sibiu has remained on King Ferdinand I's side. Gerendi and many other noblemen are locked inside Sibiu's walls. Now the Doge of Venice is encouraging them to surrender to King John I. King Ferdinand I cannot protect them, but he should at least defend those who are closer to Austria.*

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109 faciam] *O add. sup. l.* 112 reginam] *O add. sub l.* 114 plurimum] *O mut. ex non parum* 120 ei] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>14</sup> Jan Dantyszek, see VOCHT 1961, 111. | <sup>15</sup> '[use his] laudatory [services]'. | <sup>16</sup> Gerardus Henricus Amsterdamensis, see Ep. 223. Note 8.

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Cupis fortasse scire, quae nova huc ex Hungaria afferantur. Scias nos ex litteris hoc biduo ad nos allatis intellexisse Turcarum tyrannum ante vigesimum huius mensis diem in Ezzek,<sup>2</sup> quod oppidum est ad ulteriorem Dravi<sup>3</sup> ripam situm, pervenisse. Ex quo oppido distante, ut recordari possum, a Buda viginti quinque 5 milliariibus<sup>4</sup> iam Budam facile applicuit, ut autem ego eius progressum ratiocinor, quantumcunque lento progrediatur gradu, Wiennam octavo aut decimo Augusti futuri die sine labore constitui poterit, est autem eius animi, ut omnes et exploratores et litterae et illius venientes partibus referunt, ut Wiennam obsidens tentet prima et altera irruptione, si ea potiri possit. Quod si minus successerit audieritque caesarem 10 nostrum contra eum progressurum. Statim ei cum suis omnibus occurrat, et cum eo manus conserat. Si caesarem nostrum viderit pugnam detracturum, ascendat tamen ille ad Germaniae viscera altius, quo fieri possit, et interea per praecursores suos omnia circum loca igne ferroque depopuletur, hanc et scribunt et dicunt eius esse 15 voluntatem.

[2.] Ex parte alia unica sola civitas Transilvania Cibinium<sup>5</sup> adhuc regis nostri Ferdinandi mandatis parebat. In ea fuerunt inclusi iam ab duobus annis Nicolaus Gerhendi<sup>6</sup> meus maxime familiaris et nonnulli illius provinciae nobiles; hos Andreas Gritthi<sup>7</sup> sollicitare nunc dicitur, sicuti ex litteris Gerhendi ad regem missis cognovi, ut civitatem ei vel Ioanni regi traderent. Nihil eis, si hic facerent, mali perpessus. 20 Quod si facere mallent, paulo post tempore eos velint nolint deventuros in potestatem Gritthi. Nam Turcarum caesar totam esse propediem non modo Hungariam, sed etiam Germaniae partem maiorem occupaturus Cibiniensesque non possent diu durare sub rege Ferdinando. Caesar enim Carolus iam pridem abisset ex Germania. Rex vero Ferdinandus non modo non posset eos defendere aut eis praesidia, quibus tuti 25 esse possent, mittere, sed id saltem, quam maxime curaret, ut impositis certis praesidiis ad finitimas Austriae civitates eas contra Turcum, quod tum difficulter efficeret, posset conservare. Haec sunt, quae habui, si certiora habes, fac me certiorum. Vale.

Bruxellae 28. Iulii 1532.

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244,4 mensis] *corr.* ex diei 5 viginti quinque] *corr.* ex vincti quinque 6 ratiocinor] *corr.* ex ratiocinor

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244 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Osijek. | <sup>3</sup> Drava river. | <sup>4</sup> About the distance see Ep. 17. Note 7. | <sup>5</sup> Sibiu. | <sup>6</sup> Miklós Gerendi. | <sup>7</sup> Andrea Gritti (1455–1538) was the Doge of Venice from 1523, and Ludovico Gritti's father. Oláh probably wrote Andrea instead of Ludovico.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 1 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 245.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 230–231.

*He does not know what to write, unless he is interested in the kinds of troops the Turks are marching towards Germany. According to the letters he has received, they are coming with 60,000 men, 30,000 camels, and 8,000 forest bisons, which are transporting the packs. They should have arrived to Buda by now, they will be at Vienna by 10 August, unless the Esztergom castle or other castles along the Danube can halt them.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quid ad te scribam, nescio, nisi forte cupis a me scire, quibus apparatus Turcarum tyrannus veniet in Hungariam ad Germaniam ascensurus. Venerunt his diebus litterae, quae nuntiant illum sexingenta hominum habere millia, triginta millia camelorum, octo millia bovum silvestrium,<sup>2</sup> quos buphales vocant, ad trahenda impedimenta et commeatus praeparata. Scribitur autem ad hunc diem eum Budae cum suis omnibus constitui debuisse. Quod si verum est, arbitror eum ad decimum huius mensis diem non longe a Vienna abfuturum, nisi eum Strigoniensis<sup>3</sup> arx et aliae arces in ripa Danubii sitae aliquantisper retineant. Non solet enim temere quampiam arcium post tergum relinquere, quam non suae dicionis faciat, ante quam exercitum suum illinc traducat. Haec volui tibi esse nota, ut scires, quid nunc Turca agat. Vale.

Bruxellae prima Augusti 1532.

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245,5 bovum silvestrium] *corr.* ex bovem silvestri | buphales] *corr.* ex buphates 10 tergum] *corr.* ex tergam

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245 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> A kind of buffalo native to Hungary, see E. KOVÁCS 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Esztergom.



Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Brussels, 1 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 245.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 230.

*He knows from a letter from Hungary that Perényi went to meet the Turks at Osijek on 20 July with 1,200 light-armored horsemen.*

Ad Ioannem baronem.

Ex litteris quibusdam ex Hungaria ad me allatis et ex quorundam exploratorum certa relatione in scriptis huc perlata certo certius intellexi Petrum Pereny<sup>1</sup> in festo divae Margarethae virginis,<sup>2</sup> quod erat vigesima secunda Iulii praeteriti, cum mille et ducentis equitibus levis armaturae ex arce sua Sothyas<sup>3</sup> obviam Turco venisse ad 5 Ezzek.<sup>4</sup> Hoc tibi significavi, ut illius statum tibi amicissimi cognosceres.

Bruxellae prima Augusti 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Lieven Algoet  
Brussels, 5 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 245–246.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 231.

*It would be right for him to attend the wedding since he has actively contributed to arranging it; however, necessity has won out, and above all the news arriving from Italy. However, he is sending Jespersen to lead the chorus line, on the one hand, because he is well-versed in it; on the other hand, as a payback to Vissenaken. He sends his regards to Mark Lauwerijns as well as Vissenaken, if he is attending, and to the bride and the mother-in-law.*

Ad Levinum Panagathum.

Licet erat mihi in animo, Levine, ut si quo modo fieri posset, sicuti in aliis tuis rebus, ut si praesto tibi fui, ita etiam in nuptiis tuis praesentia mea tuo et Vissenaci<sup>1</sup> honori non deessem. Vicit tamen meam in te et illum voluntatem necessitas, dura

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247,2 in<sup>2</sup>] *corr.* ex sis

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246 <sup>1</sup> Péter Perényi. | <sup>2</sup> On 20 July, we celebrate Margaret the Virgin, or Margaret of Antioch. | <sup>3</sup> Probably, Siklós. | <sup>4</sup> Osijek. 247 <sup>1</sup> Damiaan van Vissenaken.

5 rerum humanarum ἢ ἐπιπνύς,<sup>2</sup> Nam ultra ea, quae in horas nunc ex Austria et finibus  
Hungariae negotia afferuntur, emersit etiam in Italiam quaedam hodie non patria  
expeditio, quae non modo nolentem me retinuit, sed nisi res tua tam ardua nunc istic  
ageretur, tuam quoque expeteret hic operam, quam tamen ego sum confecturus. Boni  
igitur et tu et Vissenacus vestraque omnis familia consulat meam absentiam, quam  
10 non meus animus honoris vestri cupidus, sed res necessariae ita ferentes certe faciunt.  
Misi tamen istic ad vos Iacobum meum Danum,<sup>3</sup> tum ut choreas ducat saltationis  
peritus et cupidissimus, tum ut lepore suo ac salibus laetum convivium vestrum ma-  
gis exhilaret, tum praeterea ut poenas Vissenaco nostro pendat. Alia tu, quae ad  
meum quoque pertinere videbuntur, honorem, ut spero, curabis. Quod nunc rebus tuis  
15 mea absentia videbitur deesse, id suo tempore rependam cumulatius. Dominum deca-  
num Brugensem<sup>4</sup> mihi amicissimum, si aderit, Vissenacum, sponsam et socrum<sup>5</sup>  
tuam meo nomine salvere iubeto, neque illis et maxime domino decano commendato.  
Cuius solius consuetudo me illuc, si res etiam tua nam honorifica non ageretur, per-  
traxisset, nisi id regina volente mihi fuisset integrum. Vale.  
20 Bruxellis quinta Augusti 1532.

247 **248**

Lieven Algoet to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 11 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 57–58.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 232.

*Holding one's wife is only slightly sweeter than doing service. It is not so much his wife who is the reason why he is not leaving the house, but the revolt that is evolving now. It is said that nobody can enter Brussels or leave from it; he wishes he could learn from his letter how Oláh is, and he would fly to him, leaving everything behind; he wants to talk to him about his affairs in person.*

Levinus Panagathus Nicolao Olao salutem.

Scio, Ornatissime Domine atque Idem Patrone Optime, Dominationem Vestram et iam pridem eguisse opera mea et non minus in praesentiarum egere. Quam rem cum apud me perpendo, perpendo enim non raro, quantum animo meo dolorem ini-  
15 ciat, exprimere nullis verbis possum, et ut vere et ex animo loquar, vix mihi hic tam  
suavis est carissimae uxoris meae suavissimus amplexus, quam esset suave istic  
fungi officio meo et frui mihi longe omnium gratissimo conspectu tuo. Sed quid

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8 tamen] *O del.* ex tamen hic 12 lepore] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>2</sup> ‘Erinys’, infernal goddess, metaphorically, meaning ‘damn’. | <sup>3</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>4</sup> Mark Lauwerijns.

<sup>5</sup> The widow of Antonius Clava, called Margareta, see Ep. 243. Note 6.

facias? Non me hic tam detinet uxor carissima, quam istic praeter omnem omnium  
expectationem exorta popularis seditio, quae sola effecit, ut hinc hactenus non sim  
ausus movere pedem, meque istuc conferre. Quis enim audeat se talibus furoribus 10  
periculisque committere, si modo vera sunt, quae istic adferuntur? O quoties te  
quoque hic optavimus, extra telorum iactum et liberum ab omni discrimine. Et fateor  
me istic in communibus periculis debere degere, sed nemini licet Bruxellas egredi et  
multo minus ingredi, ut hic fama sparsa est. Utinam rem ipsam per litteras vestras  
intelligere liceret, ut se habet, et istuc quamprimum relictis omnibus transvolarem. 15  
Interim, Patrone Optime, oro atque obtestor Dominationi Vestrae, ut pro suo erga me  
favore benevolentiaque dignetur hanc praeter animum meum longam absentiam boni  
consulere, meque propter dictas causas habere excusatum. Polliceor me quicquid  
hactenus a me fuerit neglectum, summa diligentia nocturnisque simul et diurnis  
vigiliis resarciturum. De rebus hic meis malim tecum praesens conferre, et pro animo 20  
erga me tuo agimus ego et uxor gratias acturi et coram immensissimas. Interea, Pa-  
trone Optime, optamus Dominationem Vestram quam rectissime valere.

Gandavi die XI. Augusti MDXXXII.

## 249

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 13 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 246.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 232–233.

*Yesterday he received a letter that the Turks are approaching; on 25 July they crossed the Drava at Osijek on a bridge they had just cobbled together, and if the Danube, which is at very low water levels, does not stop them, they cannot be far from Buda.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Ne nescires Turcarum progressum, volui tibi significare allatas fuisse ad nos heri  
litteras, quae significarunt Turcam vigesimaquinta Iulii praeteriti, quae erat sacra  
divo Iacobo<sup>2</sup> per pontem istic subito opere fabricatum in Ezzek<sup>3</sup> Drawum<sup>4</sup> traiecisse 5  
cum suis copiis omnibus. Si iter inceptum continuare voluerit, et si Danubii excursio,  
qui nunc praeter subitum excrevisse dicitur, cum non retinuerit, credo eum nunc non  
longe a Buda esse. Vale.

Bruxellis 13. Augusti anno Domini 1532.

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249 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> 25 July. | <sup>3</sup> Osijek. | <sup>4</sup> Drava river.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Brussels, 20 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 246–247.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 233.

*He has received the news today with great pain and surprise that the Turks had left their pack behind and took the route through Somogy and Zala counties, not the one they had been expected to take along the Danube, to Vienna and have started to besiege it. They suspect that only a lighter army has come to Vienna, and they will not stay long but return if the siege lasts too long, and they will burn everything down on the way back.*

Ad Ioannem comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Hodie ipso die non sine et dolore animi et admiratione accepimus Turcarum imperatorem relictis in partibus inferioribus Hungariae suis navibus et impedimentis non adverso Danubii flumine, uti sperabatur, sed per comitatus Simigiensem ac Zala-  
5 diensem<sup>2</sup> Wiennam usque celeri itinere praeter omnium expectationem advenisse, eamque obsedis-  
10 omnia ea loca, per quae ascenderit, exusturum. Nunc enim cum ascendit, illis peper-  
cit, non aliam, ut opinor, ob causam, quam ut commeatus in reditu habere possit. Si quid deinceps quoque intellexero, de eo te certiores reddam. Vale, Amicorum Op-  
time.

Bruxellae 20. Augusti 1532.

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250,12 reddam] *add.*

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250 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 168. | <sup>2</sup> Somogy and Zala counties.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Brussels, 27 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 247.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 233–234.

*It was almost a miracle, but when they had already lost heart, good news arrived. We are at God's mercy, and whatever happens, we should attribute it to him. A letter has arrived saying that their soldiers in Vienna attacked the Turkish camp, and they killed 2,000 men and captured 500, and they won a huge victory before they marched back into the city.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Res est mira, Amicorum Optime, ut dum paene desperamus, tum nobis laeta saepe obveniunt nova, quae animum nostrum multis affectum rerum praeteritarum turbationibus recreet. Verum id mirum nemini videri debeat, si plerumque praeter omnem expectationem nostram nobis plurima, quae velimus, contingere consue- 5  
nam Dei optimi maximi manus omnia mortalia et caelestia moderatur. Ipse potest omnia et regere et mutare nunc in hanc, nunc in aliam, ut sibi visum fuerit, partem. Ab ipso igitur pendere debemus et omnes nostras res fortunasque, quomodocumque contingerint, illi et tribuere et pro his gratias agere. Quorsum, dices fortasse, tam longa litterarum praefatio tendit? Certe, ut scias, nos laetum nuntium acce- 10  
pisse, cum propter temporis turbationem adversa praestolabatur. Ex litteris enim hodie ad nos allatis intelleximus nostros, qui sunt Wiennae milites, ad Turcarum stationem erupisse ac interfectis ex illis duabus millibus quingentos cepisse, summaque cum gloria in urbem rursus rediisse. Haec tibi significare volui, ut, quid rerum Wiennae ageretur, intelligeres. Vale, et me, ut coepisti, ama. 15

Bruxellae 27. Augusti 1532.

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251,10 laetum] *corr.* *et del.* *ex* laetam me | nuntium] *corr.* *ex* nuntiam

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251<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 168.

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 29 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 331–333.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 235; ALLEN 1941, 88.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 648.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 171; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 114.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 97.

*He is happy to hear that Lieven Algoet has gotten married, he wishes him great happiness and asks Oláh to keep helping him in the future. He is sending Qurinus to England, Oláh can safely write him what he wants through him when he returns. He sends him the Tragedy of Basel.*

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario et consiliario serenissimae reginae.

Ornatissime Vir, scripsi pridem ad te et ad Livinum<sup>1</sup> nostrum, quem tibi carum et curae esse gaudeo. Audio maritum esse factum, utinam feliciter. Rogo, ut et illi tuis  
5 auxiliis pariter et consiliis adesse pergas. Nunc Quirinum<sup>2</sup> meum mitto in Angliam, per eum reversum poteris tuto scribere, si quid me scire voles. Significabis, si qua in re queam vel serenissimae reginae vel tibi gratum facere. Levino salutem meo nomine. Vale.

Friburgi 4. Kalendis Septembris 1532.

10 *Tragoediam Basilensem* misi bona fide descriptam, si voles cognoscere, facinus est horrendum et immane, sed memorabile.

[*Tragoedia Basilensis*]<sup>3</sup>

## 253

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Brussels, 29 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 248–249.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 234–235.

*Maybe Joannes is accusing him of ignorance because he writes to him about things in so many different versions, but they are receiving such conflicting news that it is difficult to know what they should believe.*

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252 <sup>1</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>2</sup> Quirinus Hagius of the Hague. | <sup>3</sup> The *Tragoedia Basilensis* was attached to the letter; therefore, it is not part of the missile. See its edition: IPOLYI 1875, 235–237, and its translations: V. KOVÁCS 649–650; ALBU–FIRU 1963, 171–173; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 115–117.

*One day a letter comes with a piece of information, then the next day it turns out that it is not true. He described how the Turks were besieging Vienna, well, none of that was true. They have received an envoy and a letter from the Emperor according to which the Turks are awaiting their siege engines at Kőszeg, and they are planning to proceed to Vienna from there – well, this is what they had heard as Vienna being besieged already that day. To defend Vienna, Friedrich II Count Palatine of the Rhine was sent to guard the bridge, and the ruler will also leave on 1 September so that he can already be in Krems on 15 September.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Arguis me fortasse imprudentiae, quod hisdem de rebus varia ad te scribam, non  
te hoc movere debeat, nec aliquid de me, oro, suspiceris alienum meo nomini. Nam  
tam varia dubiaque ad nos quotidie afferuntur, ut in perplexitatem iudicaris maxi-  
mam, et vix diiudicare possis, quid tibi sit credendum. Multae quotidie tum ex curia 5  
imperatoris, tum ex Austria veniunt litterae, quae rem quamquam ita certam affir-  
ment, ut nihil certius fieri possit. Altero tamen die ex aliis litteris id omne, quod prius  
intellexeris, nihil fuisse cognosces. Sicuti his quoque diebus hoc idem mihi contigit.  
Nam si recordaris, scripseram<sup>2</sup> ad te Turcam obsedissem Viennam et in illius eum  
occupatum fuisse obsidione. Id omnino non fuisse verum. Si nuntius et litterae a 10  
caesare heri advenientes aperte significarint, quae dicunt Turcam cum esset in itinere  
Viennam veniendi, cum omnibus suis viribus divertisse ad Gencz arcem oppidum-  
que mediocriter munitum, nostro Hungarico vocabulo Kewzeegh<sup>3</sup> dictam, illicque  
exspectasse in hunc diem suas machinas bellicas et impedimenta, ut curribus ad eum  
ex Buda, ubi ea reliquerat, quoquo modo possent, afferentur, quibus adductis mox 15  
Viennam obsidere cogitat. Et ut accepimus, hoc fortasse die est in obsidione Wien-  
nensi. Id quoque nobis significatum est imperatorem nostrum misisse iam comitem  
palatinum Rheni, Fridericum<sup>4</sup> cum quinquaginta hominum militibus ad pontem usque  
Wiennensem, ut illum, ne a Turcis dirumperetur, defenderent et custodirent, ipsum  
vero imperatorem nostrum prima sequentis Septembris die se ex Ratispona<sup>5</sup> moturum 20  
pedetentimque cum suis ita progressurum Viennam versus, ut ad quintumdecimum  
Septembris futuri diem sit prope Cremps oppidum cum omni suo exercitu in castris  
constiturus. Haec ad te scripsi non ficta, sed quae ex litteris heri allatis putavi esse  
vera. Si secus res acciderit, id non mihi, sed his, qui rem dubiam pro vera et nuntiunt  
et scribunt, te tribuere oportebit. Vale. 25

Bruxellae 29. Augusti anno Domini 1532.

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253,9 Nam] *corr.* ex nan 10 omnino] *corr.* ex omnio

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253 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 251. | <sup>3</sup> Kőszeg. About the siege of Kőszeg, see BARISKA 1982. | <sup>4</sup> Friedrich II, Count Palatine of the Rhine. | <sup>5</sup> Regensburg.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Rosconius  
Brussels, 30 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 249.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 237.

*Rosconius says his soul is confused because his life is not advancing, and people who are not more educated or virtuous than him are ahead of him. Oláh cannot but be surprised at this opinion; Rosconius should trust him that not all the rich are happy, and they are not exempt from troubles, either. People living an average life are much more likely to be happy, so he should stop complaining; if he was satisfied with his fate, nothing would be missing for his happiness.*

Ad Ioannem Rosconium.<sup>1</sup>

Turbato diceris esse animo, quod rerum tuarum nullum videas felicem progres-  
sum, et tuam accusare fortunam, quod in eo, quo es nunc, sis statu, aliorumque prae  
tua felicissimam existimare conditionem, eorum etiam, qui nec eruditione, nec vir-  
5 tute, nec aliis animi dotibus te aequarent. Non possum non mirari, si hoc es animo  
tuum iudicium, quod certe lenius mitiusque tuam reprehenderet conditionem, si  
aliorum incommoda, sarcinam magnam curarum penitius introspiceret. Non enim,  
mihi crede, omnes sunt beati, qui vitam agere lautam videntur, nunc ideo sunt immu-  
nes a periculis, quod opibus divitiisque abundant. Multo quietius plerique vivunt  
10 mediocris fortunae homines, quam quibus magnae sunt opes. Desine igitur de tua  
lamentari sorte, nam etsi tu tibi videaris esse infelix, beatus es tamen prae aliis multis  
divitibus, quin vulgo praestare ceteris videntur. Tu tua si fortuna contentus es, nihil  
est, quod tibi et ad honorem et ad quietem et ad felicitatem deesse videri possit. Vale  
et me ama.

15 Bruxellae paenultima Augusti 1532.

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254,9 quietius] *corr.* ex quieties

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254 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.



[Miklós Oláh] to [someone]  
Brussels, 31 August 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 249–250.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 237–238.

*There are many who explain all his actions differently, and whatever his friend does, they will accuse him. Of course, they do not consider how much work, trouble, and inconvenience he has taken on to be able to serve the ruler; but even if they did think about it, they would forget about it. He cannot avoid the ill will of evil people, but he should be careful that they should not be able to accuse him with good reason. The truth always comes out sooner or later anyway.*

[The superscription is missing.]

Non desunt multi, qui tuas omnes actiones nescio in quam partem interpretentur, et quicquid agas, multis reprehendant, cui rei et nulla si causa, nec malevoli hi homines habeant ullam occasionem. Tamen id natura sua malevola amicisque ac bonis omnibus infesta faciunt non cogitantes, quas tu labores, quas curas, molestias et 5 pericula in obsequiis tui principis acceperis, et quibus frequenter non modo in rebus tuis, sed etiam in capite et vita, ut principi tuo servires, obiectus sis periculis, haec si omnia non illi cogitant ad suam iniquitatem, principum nostrorum esset officium illorum occasionibus non dare locum, sed quam facile illorum verba audiunt, tam 10 obliviscentur. Haec esset vera principum virtus, haec gloria, honestas et decor, hac re subditorum animos excitarent ad omnia fidelitatis munia diligenter obeunda, nomenque suum perpetuitati commendarent. Quod si fecerint, nescio quomodo subditorum animos sibi conciliabunt et se illis reddent carissimos. Quare quamcumque in partem 15 aemuli tui tua interpretentur facta, tu bono fac sis animo, si malevolentiam τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup> vitare non poteris, hoc saltem cave, ne quid vere iusteque te accusare possint. Nam ἡ δικαιοσύνη<sup>2</sup> parum temporis latere solet, sed paulatim fit φάνερα,<sup>3</sup> suumque splendorem emittet, ita ut omnes cognoscant malevoles illos homines sua malitia non sibi magis, quam odium ac inimicitias parasse. Vale. Et me ama.

Bruxellae ultima Augusti 1532.

255,14 τῶν... 15 ἀνθρώπων] *corr.* ex τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων 18 quam] *del.* ex quam sibi

255 <sup>1</sup> [the malevolence] of malignant people'. | <sup>2</sup> 'the truth'. | <sup>3</sup> 'obvious'.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus Litorinus  
Brussels, 2 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 250–251.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 238–239.

*If he had not known Litorinus' virtues before, he would be amazed now. If Litorinus has even a glimmer of goodwill towards his friends, he should make sure that they cannot complain about him with good reason. But who could change him? He should stay the way he has been. Maybe he is saying that friends are always complaining, but this is only a saying for the dumb, the good make certain that there is nothing to complain about them.*

Ad Paulum Litorinum.<sup>1</sup>

Nisi tuos mores apertis cognovissem iam olim argumentis, in magnam certe nunc ducerer tuarum actionum admirationem, sed cum sole clarius iam satis cogniti sint tui mores, natura, consuetudo et vita, non admodum miror, quid facias, nunquam enim  
5 esse poteris tui dissimilis. Si qua esset amoris erga amicos in te scintilla, curares profecto ne illi tam acerrime de te iusto quererentur, neque te et tuos ab omni humanitate alienos mores accusarent. Sed quis te ab instituto abducere potest? Quis tuos te invito mores mutare? Permane igitur in tua iam inveterata natura, permanequae perpetuo, nec aliquando te in meliorem convertere frugem, facque, ut amici de te conque-  
10 rantur. Inquies fortasse: amicorum querelam nihil tibi abesse posse; stultorum est hoc dictum, et ab omni humanitate alienorum. Si etiam in nulla re illorum de te querelae tibi abessent, tamen boni esset viri cavere praevidereque, nec quispiam merito lamentari de eo posset. Vale, et permane, si secus non vis, in tua natura, nunquamque eam desere.

15 Bruxellae secunda Septembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Brussels, 3 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 251.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 239.

*What he should respond to him, now that his possessions are gone, he does not know. He is asking what his plans are, how he is, but it is difficult for him to answer because when he thinks about either the*

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256 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

*Hungarian or the Brabantian affairs, he does not know which one to embrace. In the past it was easy for him to give advice, but now that he is confused he is unable to do so, and he should also attribute the fact that he took a long time to answer to this.*

Ad Ioannem comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Quid tibi respondere possim, nescio, amissis meis fere omnibus rebus ac fortunis. Quaeris, quod meorum consiliorum coeperim, cuiusque sim animi, et quid in rebus meis residuis facere decreverim, difficile est me ad ea, quae quaeris, respondere. Nam etsi et illius Hungaricae rei facies, et haec Brabanticae conditiones crebro mihi 5 versentur in animo, utram tamen earum complectar, non satis deliberare possum. Olim aliis quoque facile dare consilium et sciebam et poteram. Nunc turbato hoc animo, ne mihi quidem ipsi satis consulere possum. Quare si tardius, quam tu fueras opinatus, tibi respondi mea consilia scire cupienti, fac rogo, ne id mihi, sed tempo- 10 rum iniquitati tribue. Quae tanta revera est, ut non puto quempiam tam esse constan- tis animi virtutisque eximiae, quem non haec turbationes praecipitem agere possint. Boni igitur meam consule taciturnitatem. Vale et me ama.

Bruxellae tertia Septembris 1532.

258

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 6 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 251–252.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 239.

*For many reasons his friend's company has been the dearest to him, since he possesses every virtue and good. Now that he has been stripped of his company, it seems as if he was not living any more at all, only suffering because he will only be happy if they can meet.*

Ad amicum.

Multis ex causis tua consuetudo fuit mihi semper iucundissima, sed potissimum quod viderim te omnibus ornatum esse virtutibus et bonis quibusque viris, propterea merito fuisse carissimum. Nunc igitur cum privatus sum iucundissima tua consuetudine, videar quodammodo non vivere, sed cruciari, praesertim constitit nunc apud 5 exteras nationes videtur vita mihi esse ἡ εὐτυχεστέρα,<sup>1</sup> si vel tu ad me venire, vel ego ad te proficisci possem. Vale.

Bruxellae sexta Septembris 1532.

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257,8 satis] *O corr.* ex satius 10 iniquitati] *corr.* ex iniquitate 11 agere possint] *O mut.* ex agant  
258,6 εὐτυχεστέρα] *corr.* ex εὐτικυστέρα

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257<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 258<sup>1</sup> 'luckier'.

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Brussels, 7 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 252.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 240.

*He does not understand why Macedóniai has grown distant. Has he offended him somehow? Or has he not always been a friend to him, as he often used to say when he was not there? Macedóniai is treating him worse than one would treat an enemy, let alone a friend. Macedóniai should thus tell him the reason why, and he will make amends if he can.*

Ad Ladislaum Macedonem episcopum Waradiensem.

Non possum cogitare causam, cur tam alieno sis in me animo. An est aliquid, quod in te commiserim? An non semper singulari erga te usus sum amicitia, familiaritate et amore, quod tu ipse saepenumero me non audiente es testatus? Quod si ita  
5 est, nescio, quid in me alieni animi ostendas, et talem te in me exhibeas et factis et  
verbis, qualem bonus prudensque vir, ne in hostem quidem suum exhiberet, ne dum  
in amicum. Quare si habes in promptu rationem, cur meam iam non colere videare  
amicitiam? Rogo, eam mihi significa, ut si talis est, quae excusationem expostet,  
possim te mihi reconciliare. Vale et rescribe.

10 Bruxellae 7. Septembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Brussels, 7 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 252.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 240.

*The more he considers Macedóniai's nature, the less he understands how Macedóniai could have resorted to such inhumanity, he, who used to be the smartest of all. Or does he think we were born for ourselves? He is gravely mistaken if he thinks that.*

Ad eundem.

Quo magis tuam naturam, tuos mores considero, eo maiore ducor admiratione te omnium prudentissimum ad hoc delapsum esse inhumanitatis, ut neminem tuorum amicorum cures, nullis faveas, nihil aliud, quam tua quaeras emolumenta. An cogitas

homines solis ipsis esse natos, et non debere aliis prodesse? Id si cogites, erras pro- 5  
fecto, sed quamvis erres, tamen revera id cogitas. Nam, nisi idem facies, iampridem  
benevolentio-rem te erga amicos praebeas. Vale.

Bruxellae 7. Septembris 1532.

261

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 8 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 252–253.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 240–241.

*Although he has often experienced his friend's benevolence towards him, now he especially experienced it from Joannes, whom his friend had sent. Joannes told him in praise what a building his friend has been building for a month now. He would be happy if he could see the house and admire his talent in architecture as well.*

Ad amicum.

Quamvis multis ex causis tuam in me benevolentiam singularem cognoverim, tamen nunc maxime cognovi ex sermonibus tuis Ioannis,<sup>1</sup> quem nuper ad me miser-  
as, quis multis mihi declaravit, quo in me animo esses, et qua diligentia omnes meas  
res curaveris. Non est igitur, cur multum in tuo erga me amore dubitem, qui mihi 5  
certior semper fuit et praesentior, quam ego aut cogitare, aut optare potuissem. Idem  
tuus Ioannes miris laudibus tua quoque aedificia mihi extulit, quae tu iam a mense  
aedificare coepisti. Scio te multa in ea re insumpsisse, et plura adhuc ut voluntatem  
tuam expleas insumpturum. Quae minima omnia esse videbuntur, si aedificia voti tuo  
respondebunt. Quae quidem ego si videre possem, viderer esse fortunatus, ut ex ipsis 10  
aedificiis, tuum aedificandi ingenium cognoscerem, dabitur tamen, ut spero, tempus,  
ut et te et tuas domos videre possim. Vale.

Bruxellae 8. Septembris 1532.

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261,4 multis] *del. ex. multis multis*

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260,5 homines ...prodesse] Cf. Cic. *De off.* 1,22: "Sed quoniam, ut praeclare scriptum est a Platone, non nobis solum nati sumus ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem amici, atque, ut placet Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, ad usum hominum omnia creari, homines autem hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possent, in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi, communes utilitates in medium adferre, mutatione officiorum, dando accipiendo, tum artibus, tum opera, tum facultatibus devincire hominum inter homines societatem."

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261 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely but he might be Joannes Ruthenus, see Ep. 273.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 10 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 253.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 241.

*The news are so uncertain that he does not know what to believe. What he wrote about the Turks the last time is completely otherwise, as he has now learned: the Turks have not conquered Kőszeg yet, now they are experimenting with tunnels, but as soon as they succeed, they are going to be flooded.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Adeo fama incerta est et dubia, ut nescias, quid tibi credendum sit, varia de Turcarum factis antea ad te scripsi. Quae non omnia nunc ita esse referuntur, ut prius relata fuere, nam ex litteris hodie allatis intellexi. Turcam nondum Ginsium<sup>2</sup> cepisse, 5 neque oppidum, neque arcem, nunc iam cuniculis coepisse oppugnare, sed id quoque ei non succedere, ubicumque enim res tentatur, statim aqua erumpit. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Septembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Brussels, 10 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 271–272.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 241–242.

*He could not have done it any better, arranging his lifestyle the way he wanted. There is nobody who does not praise his wisdom, that he never hesitated and is never afraid of danger, but his boat is in a safe harbor now. He should continue in the same manner, but he should not forget that we were not born for ourselves, and he should help his friends. He would write about many things, but he is afraid that his letter will end up in the hands of robbers, so he will rather wait for János, who will take the message to him.*

Idem ad Calnay Emericum.

Nihil unquam probabilius in vita tua facere potuisses, quam tuam vivendi conditionem in eum constituere statum, in quem constituisti. Nemo est omnium, qui tuam in hac re prudentiam non miris extollat laudibus, teque omnium, qui ex tua domo

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263,1 Idem...Emericum] *O add. et mut. ex Ad Calnay*

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262 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Kőszeg.

ante te fuerunt, dicat esse sapientissimum, qui ita constitueris vivendi rationem, ut 5  
nihil iam haesites, nihil timeas periculi, sed in portu, ut dicunt, naviges. Age, mi  
Frater, tuas, cum nunc ita firmaris res, cura, ut tuorum quoque amicorum, qui tibi ex  
corde favent, negotia curae habeas, et illorum causa non te pigeat pudeatque aliquid  
sufferre laboris. Id facies, si recordarberis te non solum tui ipsius causa natum esse,  
sed etiam amicorum patriae. Multae res mihi versantur in animo, quas putem tibi non 10  
parum fore conducibiles, ad ea praesertim tua negotia perficienda, quae te iampridem  
apud principem nostrum incepisse mihi per litteras significaras, sed eas, ne venirent  
in manus alterius, non audeo litteris committere, tum propter tabellariorum perfidi-  
diam, tum propter grassatores viarum obsessores, qui multi nunc in via esse, omnia-  
que mala perpetrare dicuntur. Exspecto igitur Ioannem tuum, quem ad me te missu- 15  
rum significaris, ab eo omnia, quae ad tuam rem pertinebunt, nota tibi faciam. Neque  
permittam te ea ignorare, quae ego tua interesse putavero. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Septembris 1532.

## 264

Miklós Oláh to a Provost called Joannes  
Brussels, 13 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 266–267.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 242.

*What kinds of difficulties humankind encounters, Joannes knows well both from his readings and from his own experience. Joannes is complaining about all the everyday inconveniences of court life. He should trust Oláh, he is not the only one; what is more, Oláh knows many people who tolerated court life very badly even though they did not lack in anything. If Joannes is to look for another profession, he should know that there will not be any less nuisance there, only fewer possessions. He should thus stop complaining because he seems lucky to others.*

Idem ad Ioannem praepositum.<sup>1</sup>

Quantis iactetur humana conditio fluctibus, partim lectionibus, partim experientia  
discere iampridem potuisti. Ea enim tam crebrius obnoxia est calamitatibus, ut parum  
temporis quieti, homo si bene animadverterit, relictum sibi esse comperiet. Nam  
quamcumque vitae humanae conditionem ac statum studiose perspexeris, nulla est 5

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7 tuorum quoque] *corr.* ex tuorumque 264,1 Idem] *O add.* 3 crebrius] *corr.* ex crebrius

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263,6 in...naviges] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,1,46: "in portu navigare", MYNORS 1982, 97. 9 te...10 patriae] Cf. Cic. *De off.*, I,22.

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264<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 172, Ep. 265, and Ep. 269.

tam pacata, quin plures incommoditates appareant, quam tranquillitates. Haec ideo ad te scribo, Amicorum Optime, ut nullam iustam causam videam tuae querelae. Quereris te in vita aulica, in qua nunc te esse oportet, maximas quotidie pati turbationes. Id, mihi crede, non tuum est proprium, sed multos huiusmodi calamitatum vel potius  
10 iactationum aulicarum habes socios ac participes. An putas omnibus, qui in curia versantur, gratam esse aulicae vitae rationem? Multos ego ab ineunte mea aetate et audivi et novi, qui quamvis continui fuerint in aulis et nihil illis, quod ad vitae com-  
15 moditatem pertinuerit, defuisse visum fuerit, tamen nihil gravius pertulerunt, quam diutius principum adesse lateribus in aulis. Quod si aliam vivendi conditionem quae-  
ras, etiamsi omnes omnium vitas percurreris, nullam reperies, quae non maioribus malis sit referta quam bonis. Quamobrem desine tuam lamentari sortem. Nam tuus profecto status multorum aliorum excellit fortunam, tuque prae aliis beatissimus ab omnibus esse praedicaris, qui tuam consecutus sis his perditis temporibus vivendi  
20 conditionem. Quam noli, si sapis, hoc maxime tempore mutare, ac quidvis perpetiaris miseriae temporanae modo eam retinere possis. Nam si alterius eris consilii, non parum te tui facti paulo post poenitebit. Vale.

Bruxellae 13. Septembris 1532.

## 265

Miklós Oláh to a Provost called Joannes  
Brussels, 13 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 267–268.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 243.

*He was greatly saddened by his friend's unfavorable case, since he loves him dearly. Everything that happens to him, be it good or bad, is as if it was also happening to Oláh. If he can help in anything, he should let him know.*

Idem ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quantum mihi molestiae attulerit tuus adversus casus, vix possum explicare. Nam quis est te mihi aut amior aut iucundior? Cuius rei causa omnia tua et adversa et prospera mea esse duco. Nec quicquam aut ita existimabo esse tuum, ut non idem sit  
5 meum, aut meum, quod non tuum, familiaritas et ab ineunte aetate nostra diligenter inter nos observata consuetudo fecit me hoc in te esse animo. Non dubito te quoque eodem in me esse. Quare si quid possum tibi ferre auxilii aut opis in hoc tuo infortu-

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16 referta] *corr.* ex referra 265,1 Idem] *O add.* 5 ineunte] *corr.* ex ineunde

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265 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 172, Ep. 264, and Ep. 269.



nio, fac, ut sciam. Nihil praetermissurus sum meo posse, quod ad tuum commodum pertinere arbitrabor. Vale.

Bruxellae 13. Septembris 1532.

10

266

Maciej Przybyło to Miklós Oláh  
Wrocław, 14 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 181.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 243.

*He could not write sooner because there was nobody to take the letter. He will reward the physician of Wrocław handsomely. From among the Hungarians he is only friendly with Henckel, he is recommending both him and his nephew to the Queen's attention.*

Mathias Auctus doctor<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao secretario serenissimae Mariae.

Opportunitate iam iam nacta continere nequivi, quin te hominem mihi observandum ac amantissimum scriptis meis inviserem. Id quidem per me iamdudum fuerat constitutum, modo copia tabellionis ad loca tam longinqua adfuisset. Vratislaviae<sup>2</sup> physicum publicum honesto stipendio ago, ubi omnia ex animi sententia gratia domini mihi succedunt. Res in Hungaria et Austria ut se habeant, penitius longe novisti. Ex Hungaris solus doctor Henkel<sup>3</sup> mihi consuetudine extat, quem una cum eius nepote<sup>4</sup> serenissimae maiestati commendabis, si per occasionem licebit, Aucti servitia suae maiestati etiam commendabis. Lucretiam Virginem<sup>5</sup> pudicissimam salutari opto. Faxit dominus, ut aliquando conveniamus, valeat Dominatio Tua felix in longum. 10

Vratislaviae 14. Septembris anno 1532.

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266 <sup>1</sup> Maciej Przybyło (ca. 1490–1543) was a humanist and physician of the city of Wrocław (*Stadtarzt*). He corresponded with many humanists, e.g. Miklós Oláh and Philipp Melanchthon and supported Protestantism in Wrocław. For more see BAUCH 1905, 184–191. | <sup>2</sup> Wrocław. | <sup>3</sup> Johann Henckel lived in Wrocław from 1531. | <sup>4</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger (1513–1565) was the nephew of the Elder Henckel. Supported by his uncle, he studied at the University of Leuven from 1532, see PALLOS 2010. | <sup>5</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross).

Miklós Oláh to Paulus Rovenus  
Brussels, 15 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 268.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 243–244.

*He has not heard from him in two months, since he left for Bernhard von Cles, although his affairs also depend on him, so he is asking him to let him know when he is arriving and what he can expect.*

Idem ad Paulum Rovenum.<sup>1</sup>

Non possum satis mirari, quid causae sit tui tam diuturni silentii, dum hinc a me fueras profectus ad cardinalem Tridentinum,<sup>2</sup> pollicitus eras mihi te brevi rediturum, etiamsi cum tua aliqua id futurum esset incommoditate. Nunc tamen menses duos  
5 integros abes, neque certi aliquid a te intelligo, sisne adhuc apud cardinalem, an alio te contuleris, vel domum redieris. Scis non minimas meas res ex tuo vel reditu vel profectione pendere, id autem ob quam causam, coram tibi declaraveram. Quare rogo te, si non gravatim id facies, velis me certum reddere, si huc venturus sis, quando te  
10 exspectem, vel si alio aut domum te contulisti, significa, quid mihi in rebus meis sit sperandum. Vale.

Bruxellae 15. Septembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 16 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 268–269.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 244.

*Paulus is asking why he did not resist Joannes' injustices when he had the opportunity to do so? On the one hand, his humanity and tolerance toward others led him to do so, lest he anger the guilty man even more; on the other hand, since he thought it more useful if he did not distract the King from his more important tasks.*

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267,1 Idem] *O add.* 5 abes] *corr. ex ales* | sisne] *corr. ex scisne*

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267<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Bernhard von Cles.

Idem ad comitem Paulum.<sup>1</sup>

Quaeris causam, cur multis a Ioanne<sup>2</sup> lacessitus iniuriis non restiterim, eiusque conatus, quamvis facile potuerim, non repulerim; dicam uno aut altero verbo. Mea humanitas et in iniuriis ferendis patientia me induxit, ne hominis scelesti et impuri audaciam refrenarem, id autem feci non, quod non potuerim, quantumvis etiam ma- 5  
gnam illius iniuriam facile propulsare, quemadmodum tu id omnium maxime nosti, sed partim usus sum mea in eiusmodi temporariis iniuriis humanitate ac lenitate, partim putavi ita rebus serenissimi regis nostri esse conducibilis, si illum ab eius servitiis hoc maxime tempore, dum principes his audaculis hominibus ad licita et illicita quaevis exsequenda opus habent, non curarem amovendum; habes causam 10  
iniuriae a me non propulsatae. Quam scio te, si rationem temporum praesentium consideraris, aequi bonique consulturum. Vale.

Bruxellae 15. Septembris 1532.

269

Miklós Oláh to a Provost called Joannes  
Brussels, 17 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 269.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 244–245.

*Joannes' spiritual confusion is causing him great inconvenience. It does not matter how much he is working on getting ahead, still some evil fate keeps upturning everything, and unless God helps him, who knows how it will all end. Joannes should come closer so they can consult.*

Idem ad Ioannem praepositum.<sup>1</sup>

Vix dicere tibi possum, quantum molestiae mihi attulerit rerum tuarum turbatio. Nam etsi omnibus artibus modisque elaboraverim omni tempore, ut ἡ τύχη σου<sup>2</sup> optimum haberet progressum, tamen ἀγνώω, ἢ κακοδαμονία,<sup>3</sup> omnia tua invertit, videnturque ea nescio, quibus esse in periculis, adeo ut nisi Deus illis succurrerit, 5  
nescio, quem exitum statumque sint habitura. Quare, mi Frater, si poteris, hortor te, non solum rogo, ut animi tui molestiam depone, accurateque huc propius, ut consulere possimus, quid in his ipsis rebus sit faciendum. Vale.

Bruxellae 17. Septembris 1532.

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268,1 Idem] *O add. in marg.* 269,1 Idem] *O add. in marg.* 3 σου] *corr. ex σου* 4 ἢ κακοδαμονία] *corr. ex ἢ κακοδαμονία*

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268 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 269 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 172, Ep. 264, and Ep. 265. | <sup>2</sup> 'your fate'. | <sup>3</sup> 'I do not know what evil fate'.

Miklós Oláh to Charles de Croÿ  
Brussels, 17 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 269–270.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 245.

*They were anxiously waiting to see what will happen to Kőszeg when a messenger arrived that the Turks have left the castle and set up camp two miles from Vienna. They were all relieved because they had been afraid that they will conquer Kőszeg and then plunder everything on the way back to Greece; but then they learned that they are already at Vienna, where through their scouts (among whom there are many Christians) they are looking for a place suitable for gathering. He is hopeful that in the battle their side will win.*

Ad episcopum Tornacensem<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus Olahus.

Cum anxio sollicitoque essemus animo, ac inter spem metumque, ut dicunt, versaremur, quid futurum esset de Ginsii<sup>2</sup> oppidi oppugnatione, ecce nuntius nobis affuit, significans Turcam tentatis prius omnibus viis, quas potuit oppugnationes et  
5 aliquot in locis cuniculis aggeribus illius oppidi frustra admotis, ab obsidione discessisse, castraque sua versus Wiennam ad duo milliaria posuisse. Quo nuntio accepto mirifice laetati sumus, illos, qui in oppido in summo erant, tum ob victualium, tum ob pulverum penuriam discrimine, auxilio Dei liberator esse, et Turcam nobis prae-  
buisse spem cum nostris congregandi. Nam nemo est omnium, qui non prius veritus  
10 sit Turcam capto Ginsio, direptisque locis circum circa positis, rediturum in Graeciam nullo conflictu exspectato, his etiam timor ademptus nobis est, cum acceperimus eum Wiennam usque advenisse, hoc autem eum propterea fecisse arbitramur, ut cum a suis exploratoribus, quos proculdubio multos inter malos Christianos habet,<sup>3</sup>  
15 de caesaris nostri apparatus ac adventu certior factus sit, voluerit prior locum occupare ad congressum aptiorem. Qui tamen ipsius adventus non parum animi nostris dedit, nam quemadmodum in hunc diem nostri in omnibus proeliis, quae cum Turca in Austria commiserunt, evasere Dei auxilio superiores, ita putant futurum propter vires illorum ob diurnam inediae viaeque longitudinem non minima ex parte fractas, tum etiam propter nostrorum militum recentem et apparatus et animum, ut victo-

270,1 Nicolaus Olahus] *O add. in marg.* 7 sumus] *corr. ex summus* 8 discrimine] *corr. ex discrime*  
13 proculdubio] *corr. ex proculdio*

270 <sup>1</sup>Charles de Croÿ (1506–1564) Prince of Chimay, matriculated at the University of Leuven in 1523, his teachers included Adriaan van Baerland. From 1525, he was Bishop of the See of Tournai, see MOREAU 1985a. | <sup>2</sup>Kőszeg, see Ep. 253. Note 3. | <sup>3</sup>For more on these Christians, see LACHMANN–HAASE 2010, 142.

riam Dei benignitate sint de illis consecuturi. Haec volui tibi nota esse, ut scires, quis 20  
esset rerum nostrarum status. Vale.

Bruxellae 17. Septembris 1532.

271

Miklós Oláh to János Amadé (?)  
Brussels, 18 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 270.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 246.

*Amandinus says he does not need advice from anybody; he does not like this haughty speech, or his other actions at all, he should choose his words more carefully lest people talk unfavorably about him. He is saying, what does he care when he is so rich. He should trust Oláh, nobody can do without the help and advice of others. Oláh is not happy to hear these things about him, whom he has known and loved since he was a child, so he is asking him not to talk like this next time.*

Idem ad Ioannem Amandinum.<sup>1</sup>

Nullius te consilio indigere intelligo, idque te palam praedicasse, non ab aliis, sed a tuo servitore, quem nuper ad me miseras, aperte cognovi. Haec tua praedicatio et potius ἡ ὑψολαλία,<sup>2</sup> ut multa alia tua facta mihi minime placet, potuisses modestioribus uti verbis, ne in vulgi venires fabulam. Sed quid tibi haec, inquires, absunt homini 5 opulento, omnibus exabundanti voluptatibus, qui aliorum non cupias tibi praestare aut auxilia aut opes? Mihi crede, nemo est, qui non egeat aliorum ope, auxilio, cura, consilio. Is, qui haec non exspectat, aliorumque respuat consilia, mihi quidem omnium videtur esse imprudentissimus et qui ea minus prospiciat, quae ad hominis 10 usum sunt necessaria, quaeque ad quietem, salutem et commoditatem pertinere videantur. Quamobrem cum talia de te audio, displicet mihi id vehementer, propter eam, quae mihi tecum ab ineunte aetate fuit familiaritatem, malleque de alio quovis haec quam de te praedicari. Si sapis igitur, et meum tui amantissimi consilium vis

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20 Dei] *corr.* ex de 271,1 Idem] *O add. in marg.* 4 ἡ] *corr.* ex ἡ | minime] *corr.* ex mine 6 aliorum] *corr.* ex oliorum

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271 <sup>1</sup> Probably János (Várkonyi) Amadé, whose cousin was István Amadé, Castellan of Magyaróvár and Hungarian Fiscal Official of Queen Mary. János Amadé is mentioned in 1534 as getting 25 gold florins, see BUNYITAY–KARÁCSONYI–RAPAIKS 1904, 384, and C. TÓTH–HORVÁTH–NEUMANN–PÁLOSFALVI 2016, 163 and C. TÓTH–HORVÁTH–NEUMANN–PÁLOSFALVI–W. KOVÁCS 2017, 160. | <sup>2</sup> ‘haughty speech’, this word was made up by Oláh connecting the words *ἕψος* (elevation) and *λαλία* (speech), similarly to the word *ὑψολόγος*.

sequi, rogo obtestorque, ne tali magni loquentia utaris, quae nihil aliud tibi, quam  
15 invidiam parare potest. Vale.

Bruxellae 18. Septembris 1532.

272

Miklós Oláh to Sebestyén Pemfflinger  
Brussels, 19 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 271.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 246–247.

*It is difficult to decide what to do, everything is so confusing. He is spending a lot of time with those who are with him, weighing if it is better for them to stay or to return home, but both routes have many obstacles. Their staying is hindered by the small amount of money they have, the behavior of the locals, and the unfavorable weather; but if they returned, as Pemfflinger is also asking, where would they go and who would they serve? If he knows the solution, he should write it to him.*

Idem ad Sebastianum Pemflingerum.<sup>1</sup>

Difficile dictu est, quid hoc tempore sit nobis faciendum, ita omnia sunt perturbata, ita in mille calamitates ac miserias redacta, ut nescias, quid facere debeas, et quam rem sis incepturus, nedum facturus. Aliis, qui a periculis remotiores sunt, faciliora sunt omnia factu. Sed melius nihil apparare potest, quod non magnopere timeamus, cogitamus saepenumero, meliusne esset me et alios tuos amicos, qui hic sunt, in his degere regionibus et moribus et naturae nostrae alienis, an ad vos primo quoque tempore properare, sed tot sunt in utramque partem nobis opposita impedimenta, sive hic manere, sive ad vos reverti malimus, ut non facile statuere potuerimus, quid factu  
10 esset commodius, si manserimus, expensarum tenuitas, hominum mores, non usquequaque mihi faventes aëris intemperies occurrunt, si reverterimus, ut cupis, nescio, quid istic agere rebus omnibus ita perturbatis, ut non sit quieti locus, deberemus, aut in qua re regi, amicis et patriae inservire possimus. Quare perplexi sumus et parum decernere valemus, quid simus facturi. Tu pro tua prudentia, fac nobis significes,  
15 quid faciendum censeas. Gratius nihil facere mihi poteris. Vale.

Bruxellae 19. Septembris 1532.

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272,1 Idem...Pemflingerum] *O add. et mut. ex* Ad S. Pemflingerum 6 cogitamus] *O del. ex cogitamusque* 9 potuerimus] *corr. ex poterimus* 12 locus] *del. ex locus, facere* | deberemus] *corr. ex debeamus*

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272 <sup>1</sup> Sebestyén or Sebastian Pemfflinger (†1536) was Queen Mary's Royal Master of Stables until 1531; later he became Castellan of Bruck an der Leitha and Diósgyőr, see RÉTHELYI 2007, 1203–1204, and HEISS 1971, passim, and KUBINYI 1978, 83–84.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Ruthenus  
Brussels, 20 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 272.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 247.

*Ruthenus is asking why he has bypassed the building plans if he had supported it from the start. It is difficult for Ruthenus to say this, so he is sending Demetrius, who will explain it.*

Ad Ioannem Rutenum.<sup>1</sup>

Quaeris a me causam, cur aedificationis consilium<sup>2</sup> praetermiserim, si ab initio rationem mei consilii enumerare vellem. Non possem tibi non taedium afferre, verum quae res me moverit, ut id facerem, intelliges a Demetrio<sup>3</sup> meo, quem nunc ad te misi cum iussu, ut omnem rationem mei facti tibi explicet, si quid postea ultra id, quod ipse tibi narraturus est, a me desideraveris, faciam te tui voti compotem, et non gravabor tibi morem gerere. Vale.

Bruxellae 20. Septembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Brussels, 20 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 272–273.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 247.

*Ebersdorf wrote that Pemflinger lost the castle of Diósgyőr, and they do not know where he is, if he was captured or is in hiding. The abbey of Tapolca, which had previously been conquered by Ferenc Bebek, is close to the fallen castle. He is closer, he should write him what the situation is.*

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273,5 cum] corr. ex hunc

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273 <sup>1</sup> Johannes Ruthenus (Gnostipolitanus) (†1565) studied with Luther in Wittenberg and became a schoolmaster in Augsburg. He is known for the edition of the Latin curriculum made by Thomas Linacre, see *Corpus emendatae structurae Latini sermonis, lib. sex, authore Th. Linacro Britanno, in typos aliquot luculentissimos contractum, per Ioannem Ruthenum Constadianum*, Basiliae, per Ioannem Oporinum, 1553. | <sup>2</sup> See ep. 261. | <sup>3</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Ad Albertum praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem.

Sigismundus ab Ebersthorff<sup>1</sup> servitor reginae scripsit huc se accepisse Sebastianum a Pempflynn<sup>2</sup> tuum et meum amicum singularem castrum Dyosgyewr<sup>3</sup> amisisse, incertumque esse ubi ipse sit gentium; veneritne in manus hostium, an in aliquem locum abditum fortuna eum detruserit. Abbacia mea de Thapolcza<sup>4</sup> propinqua  
5 est arci illi amissae, quae iampridem, ut ex litteris<sup>5</sup> episcopi Agriensis<sup>6</sup> intellexeram, per Franciscum Bebek<sup>7</sup> regis nostri et omnium nostrorum hostem est occupata, et mihi in ea hanc ob rem non parum damni istic illatum. Tu, qui eo propius es, omnia  
10 nobis de Sebastiano credendum sit.

Bruxellae 20. Septembris 1532.

275

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio (?)  
Brussels, 22 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 273.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 248.

*He probably already knows what bravery Jurisics showed when he defended Kőszeg. He not only defended it, but he even suffered two injuries as well, one from a lance, and one from a cannonball. When they were running out of both food and gunpowder, he kept doing his job, and in the end, with God's grace he had the opportunity to end the siege. Namely Pasha Ibrahim sent a messenger to him that if he surrendered to him, he would release him and cease the siege as well. Jurisics, having considered that due to the lack of stocks this was the best course of action, presented his conditions and met with Ibrahim, who received him kindly and then released him, and he gave him Kőszeg in the sultan's name.*

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Quanta fuerit illius Nicolai Iurasyth,<sup>2</sup> quem optime nosti, in Ginsio<sup>3</sup> defendendo virtus et fortitudo, iampridem scio te optime intellexisse. Nam ea fecit, quae muliti

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274,7 per] *add.* 8 propius] *corr.* ex prius

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274 <sup>1</sup> Sigismund von Ebersdorf (†1556) was Count of Tierstein, Chief Chamberlain of Austria and of Queen Mary of Habsburg, see SCHWEICKHARDT 1831, 232. | <sup>2</sup> Sebestyén Pemfflinger. | <sup>3</sup> Diósgyőr. <sup>4</sup> Tapolca, see Ep. 148. Note 2. | <sup>5</sup> See Ep. 235. | <sup>6</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>7</sup> Ferenc Bebek. 275 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio, see FEST 1927, 202. | <sup>2</sup> Miklós Jurisics or Nikola Jurišić (1490–1544) was a Croatian nobleman, soldier, and diplomat. He was loyal to the Habsburgs. King Ferdinand I appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces defending the borders. In 1532, he defended both the castle and the city of Kőszeg against the Turkish army. See Ep. 253. Note 3. On his diplomatic activity supporting King Ferdinand I, see VARGA 2008. | <sup>3</sup> Kőszeg.



alii non fecerunt et quae fortissimi militis fuerunt officia. Non solum tutatus est et  
oppidum et arcem ab innumeris hostibus hisdemque fortissimis ac acerrimis oppu- 5  
gnationibus, sed etiam in testimonium suae fortitudinis, duo accepisse dicitur vul-  
nera, unum hasta, alterum pyxide. Ad postremum, cum et ipse et sui non tam animi  
robore defecisse viderentur, quam pulveres et victualia, quibus arx conservari con-  
suevit, omnino essent absumpta; nihilo secius militis strenui executus est officium.  
Verum Deus illius saluti optime prospexit, occasionemque tribuit, qua ab hac obsi- 10  
dione liberaretur. Nam Ibraym bassa<sup>4</sup> misit ad eum nuntiatum, ut si ad tentorium  
ipsius ire ac ei reverentiam facere vellet, salutem ei impetrasset ab imperatore Turca-  
rum curaretque, ut et oppidum et arx illa daretur et a Turca in haereditatem. Ille cogi-  
tans suorum, qui in arce erant paucitatem, pulverumque bombardicorum et victua- 15  
lium inopiam, et quod si id non faceret, paulo post invitus cogeretur cedere Turcae,  
admisit conditionem, acceptisque litteris ab eo salvi conductus ac obsidibus, profec-  
tus est ad Ibraymum. Quem ille in tentorio humaniter excipiens sibi assidere fecit ac  
post multa ultro citroque dicta verba, eum salvum remisit donatum non modo veste  
purpura, sed nomine caesaris sui ipsa etiam arce et oppido Ginsio. Hanc illius histo-  
riam volui tibi significare. Vale. 20

Bruxellae 22. Septembris 1532.

## 276

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics (?)  
Brussels, 24 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 273–274.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 248–249.

*He cannot describe his current situation, all depends on what the outcome is going to be. All their hope is in their rulers' defeating the Turks and bringing peace to Hungary. Namely the Turks are not going to stay on the battlefield for much longer, partly due to the approaching bad weather, partly due to their supplies, but their ruler cannot wait any longer either, also because of the increasing costs and the weather. This clash cannot be postponed any longer, and he thinks it will take place by the end of October.*

Ad Stephanum.<sup>1</sup>

Non possum tibi perscribere, quis status sit noster futurus: ex rerum pendemus eventis, quicquid fortuna attulerit, id velimus nolimus, amplecti debemus. Spem tamen habemus non minimam in Dei clementia futurum aliquando, ut finem tanto-

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275,4 est] *corr:* ex es 17 excipiens] *corr:* ex excupiens 276,4 minimam] *corr:* ex minimum

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<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim Pargah Pasha. 276 <sup>1</sup> Probably István Brodarics, because Oláh is speaking about their rulers, i.e. King Ferdinand I and King John I.

5 rum malorum simus habituri, quae si duraverint longo tempore mala, nescio certe,  
quid nobis sit faciendum aut in qua re sperandum. Spes nostra in hoc videtur nunc  
esse sita, si principes nostri contra Turcam habituri sunt victoriam et Hungariam  
pacaverint. Si id non fiet, non video, quomodo aut ipsi in tanta egestate stare durare-  
que possimus, diutius autem res protrahi non poterit. Nam tempus non patitur Tur-  
10 cam diu iam in campo versari tum propter autumnii incommoda, tum propter com-  
meatum penuria, imperatorem etiam nostrum longo tempore bellum protrahere non  
licebit, et ob sumptus plurimas et ob eiusdem ipsius autumnii molestias. Necessarium  
itaque erit, ut conflictus diu differri non possit, et negotium nostrum unde pendemus,  
vel in hanc vel in aliam partem finiatur. Faxit Deus in bonam. Acies utriusque parata  
15 est, restat solum, ut conflictus sequatur, quem ad exitum huius mensis credo omnino  
futurum. Vale.

Bruxellae 24. Septembris 1532.

277

Johann Henckel to Miklós Oláh  
Świdnica, 24 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 184–186.

*Published:* FRANKL 1872, 26–28. IPOLYI 1875, 250–252.

1. *The pain in his leg has returned, he is suffering. He is afraid that due to his ill health and old age he will not be able to properly fulfill the office of the Wrocław provostry. His remuneration will not arrive on St. Michael's day; Oláh could collect the majority of his debt, 70 florins, he is hoping he will do it for him.*  
2. *The youth who is handing over the letter is his nephew, whom he is sending to Leuven and Cologne to finish his studies and to be of use to the Queen, he should help him in this and recommend him to the Queen's attention. He heard that the Turks attacked Kőszeg and headed for Vienna, then on their way back to Hungary they plundered everything. Emperor Charles V, whom they are expecting in Vienna, is still in Regensburg, while King Ferdinand I is in Linz. The well-equipped army is in Vienna.*

Iohannes Henckel Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario etc. reginae Mariae. Reverende Domine et Frater Carissime!

[1.] Si Dominatio Vestra recte valet, eidemque ad voluntatem succedunt omnia, id ei sincere et ex animo gratulor. Ego, ut soleo, valeo, subinde carnificem meum,  
5 pedum dolorem recurrentem et me excruciantem sentiens. Carissime Domine ac Frater, frequens invaletudo mea et ingravescens aetas facit, ut verear, ne munus pas-  
torale, quod ad mandatum regiae maiestatis domini mei clementissimi et vocationem

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5 simus] *corr. ex sumus*

senatus et communitatis Schveidniciae administro relinquere et Vratislaviam<sup>1</sup> redire cogar, ubi quam aegre et difficulter sumptus tollerare potero, cum praebendam istic meam curtisanus<sup>2</sup> quidam, pontificia nescio qua gratia, oppugnet et controversam 10 faciat. Pensio etiam illa, qua mihi reginalis maiestas domina mea gratiosissima ex Hungaria providit, ad proximum divi Michaelis diem<sup>3</sup> de integro anno soluta et propter praesentium temporum difficultatem repraesentata non sit. Bona insuper pars debiti mei, nempe septuaginta duo floreni debeantur, facile Dominatio Vestra colligere potest. Ceterum cum secundum Deum omnes spes opesque meae in serenissima 15 principe domina Maria regina, utpote fidelis ministri et clientis maiestatis suae, sint positae, Dominatio Vestra pro mutuo inter nos et veteri amore, summo studio oro atque obsecro, ut me sacrae suae maiestati fideliter ac diligenter commendet, quo maiestas sua, pro innata sibi reginali munificentia et liberalitate, mihi aliunde gratiose providere dignetur. Id quod maiestas sua non difficulter aut incommode meo 20 iudicio ex Antverpia per procuratores seu factores mercatorum Vratislaviensium facere posset. Bona me spes habet id maiestatem suam non gravate facturam, fidelissimorum servitiorum meorum et aegritudinis meae ratione habita, praesertim si legitima Dominatio Vestra apud eam mei commendatio, pro ut spero, accesserit.

[2.] Adolescens vero, qui hasce Dominationi Vestrae litteras reddidit Ioannes 25 Henckellus iunior,<sup>4</sup> nepos ex fratre meo, ab ineunte aetate virtutis et bonarum litterarum studiis, quam feliciter nescio, diligenter certe semper navavit operam. Quapropter maximam optimamque de ingenio suo apud multos concitavit spem atque expectationem, quam ut eum sustinere posse confidam, ingenita naturae eius bonitas ac indoles mihi persuadet. Cum isto ad reginalem maiestatem mittendum putavi, ut 30 maiestatis suae liberalitate ac patrocinio Lovanii<sup>5</sup> aut Coloniae sub bonis praeceptoribus inchoata, coeptaque sua studia absolvat, quo commodius rectiusque deinde maiestati suae servire valeat. Nam famulatio eius plane a me est destinatus. Quemadmodum id quoque in litteris meis maiestati suae insinuavi. Carissime Domine et Frater Observandissime, adiuvet me in hac etiam causa Dominationis Vestrae et ipsum 35 adolescentem reginae de meliore nota commendet, ut id cuius gratia isto venit, eo facilius consequatur. Quicquid studii aut officiorum in me aut illum Dominationi Vestrae contulerit, id eidem ab utroque nostrum pulchre foenerabitur, ut memores et gratos esse Dominatio Vestra experiatur, reipsa praestabimus. De novis rebus illud 40 Dominationi Vestrae scribere habeo.

Rumoribus multorum ad nos esse perlatum, Turcam cum innumerabilibus copiis oppidum Austriae Goncz<sup>6</sup> obsidione cinxisse, et aliquoties frustra oppugnatione tentata, ubi nostros milites Viennae congregari audiit, in Hungariam retrocessisse, vastatis tamen prius circumcirca ferro et igne pagis, qui ex priore clade supererant,

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277 <sup>1</sup> Wrocław. | <sup>2</sup> It means 'courtier', and was used from the 15<sup>th</sup>-century, see RAMMINGER. | <sup>3</sup> 29 September. | <sup>4</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger. | <sup>5</sup> He matriculated at the University of Leuven in 1532. <sup>6</sup> Kőszeg.

45 omnibus. Sunt, qui eum Budae restitisse, isticque nostrorum adventum et congressum  
expectare velle nuntiant. Nostris partibus ne cunctatio incommodet, periculum est.  
Carolus caesar, qui in horas Viennae expectatur, adhuc Ratisbonae,<sup>7</sup> Ferdinandus  
rex Lincii, ut aiunt, morantur. Apparatus belli Viennae instructissimus esse perhibe-  
tur. Boni omnes optime sperant, optimorum principum et fratrum concordissimorum  
50 virtute, pietate, diligentia, industria, alterius etiam felicitate admirabili confisi. Quid  
tamen futurum sit, magis sperare, quam certo coniiicere licet. Precamur quidem et  
optamus prospera una voce universi Deus Dominationem Vestram servet incolumem.

Datum Schveidnicii die Martis post Mauritii 1532.

Haec in lecto recumbens, coactus sum manu alterius scribi facere, nam podagra  
55 me premit nunc acrius.

## 278

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Brussels, 25 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 274–275.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 249.

*The news has arrived that the Turks are returning home; if this is the case, he cannot but regret it because on the one hand, they will surely drag thousands of Christian prisoners with them, and on the other hand, the Emperor will lead his army back without having fought a battle. But he hopes that King Ferdinand I will go to Hungary with part of the Emperor's troops and try to recapture some castles.*

Ad Transsilvaniensem.

Venit hodie fama, Turcam convocatis omnibus suis, qui hincinde dispersi erant, militibus, per Stiriam, Carinthiam et Sclavoniam<sup>1</sup> domum revertisse. Id si ita est, non possum non dolere, tum quod arbitror eum multa milia Christianorum in reditu in  
5 miseram abduxisse servitutem, tum quod imperatorem nostrum parum aut omnino nihil iam hoc anno facturum spero, sed exercitum suum praeter utilitatem magnam quemque domum nulla re insigni facta rediturum. Equidem credo regem nostrum Ferdinandum cum parte exercitus caesaris iturum in Hungariam et tentaturum, si quid ex arcibus amissis recuperare possit. Tamen nescio, quid hoc nobis afferat magni  
10 commodi ac utilitatis, si eas postea retinere vix possimus. Quaeris quare? De hoc aliam, nunc volui tibi haec, quae habeamus, significare. Vale.

Bruxellae 25. Septembris 1532.

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277,55 acrius] *corr:* ex acrius 278,4 dolere] *corr:* ex dolore 6 praeter] *O corr:* ex propter 8 quid] *corr:* ex qui 11 significare] *corr:* ex significare

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<sup>7</sup>Regensburg. 278 <sup>1</sup>Through Styria, Carinthia, and Slavonia.

[Miklós Oláh] to [Miklós Gerendi]  
Brussels, 26 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 275.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 249–250.

*He does not understand why Gerendi did not look after his things better? What is the reason for his negligence? Maybe if Gerendi had paid some attention to it, but he blames it on his age rather than nonchalance. If Oláh is mistaken, Gerendi should forgive him.*

[The superscription is missing.]<sup>1</sup>

Non possum non mirari, quid tibi proposueris faciendum, et quid de te ipso cogites, curque non tuis provideris rebus. At fortasse est, cur in rebus propriis sis tam causa aliqua negligens? Scio τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐδενός ἔχειν τὸν νόμον,<sup>2</sup> sed certe rebus tuis consulere potuisses, si quempiam τὴν φροντίδα<sup>3</sup> illis inpendisses. Attamen non 5 omnino tuae negligentiae ascribo te his esse moribus, sed potius temporum iniquitati. Quare si aliquid unquam erravi te accusando, oro, ignosce mihi. Nam omnis mea obiurgatio non aliunde, quam ex meo in te amore processit. Vale, et me, ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae 26. Septembris 1532.

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279,4 οὐδενός] *corr:* ex οὐδενος

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279,4 τὴν ...] Cf. Stobaios 1.4.2e: “οὐδεὶς ἀνάγκης μείζον ἰσχύει νόμος”.

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279 <sup>1</sup> The location in the manuscript suggests that Oláh wrote this letter to Gerendi. | <sup>2</sup> ‘necessity is never law’. The meaning of this phrase is not clear, and it is incorrect grammatically as well. Oláh might have wanted to use the saying ‘necessity knows no law’. Or he could have misquoted the saying attributed to Menandros (Stobaios 1.4.2e): οὐδεὶς ἀνάγκης μείζον ἰσχύει νόμος, meaning: ‘no law is more important than necessity’. | <sup>3</sup> ‘attention’.

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Brussels, 27 September 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 275.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 250.

*Now he understands how difficult it is to live depending on the news hour by hour, awaiting what the emperor will do in Austria. He does not know how to conduct his affairs, so he thinks him more fortunate than himself, since he can see and hear everything that he is waiting for. Thus, he has no reason to complain about how unfortunate he is because although many of his friends are far away, there are still many around him whom he can consult.*

Ad Emericum Calnay archidiaconum.

Nunc primum sentio, Amicorum Optime, quam grave sit hominem rerum novarum cupidum in horas esse suspensum, et a rebus, quae quotidie nuntiari solent, pendere. Nam ita vivam, vix videor spirare, dum sum in expectatione earum rerum,  
5 quae geruntur ab imperatore in Austria. Nam scis me et alios ex illis pendere, quas nisi in dies audire possim. Nescio quomodo τὰ πράγματα ἐμοῦ<sup>1</sup> ordinare valeam. Quare ἔμου τὸν εὐδαιμονέστερον σέ<sup>2</sup> iudico, qui in eo nunc sis loco, ubi te non oporteat expectatione eiusmodi rerum esse suspensum, sed omnia, quae nos huc  
10 avide exspectamus, istic et scias et videas. Nec est causa aliqua, ob quam querere te esse infortunatum, cum abstractus a multis sis amicis tuis nuncque istic inutilem agas vitam. Amici licet quamplurimi tui absint, tamen non video tantam esse bonorum virorum istic inopiam, quin ex multis deligere tibi bonos aliquot possis, quibuscum, Amice, vivas, et quos pro tuis habeas, quibusque tua communices consilia. Scis igitur bono animo, et tuam hanc querelam, fac in aliud tempus differ. Vale.  
15 Bruxellae 27. Septembris 1532.

280,4 Nam] *corr.* ex Nan 5 me] *corr.* ex ne 6 ἐμοῦ] *corr.* ex ἔμου 7 σέ] *corr.* ex σε

280 <sup>1</sup> 'my businesses'. | <sup>2</sup> 'you are luckier than me'.

281

[Miklós Oláh] to [Imre Kálnai]  
Brussels, 3 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 276.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 252–253.

*As much as he thinks about Kálnai's affairs, his efforts seem useless if he does not listen to those who are trying to help him. Therefore, Kálnai should think about his own affairs; if his friends can see that he does so, they will not hesitate to help.*

[The superscription is missing.]<sup>1</sup>

Quantumvis ego de tuis commodis rebusque cogitem, nisi tuipse tibi consulere velis frustra meam praestare operam. Nam si tu ipse te negligis, quantumvis amici te promoveant, non aliud agere videbuntur, quam aërem verberare. Quare suadeo, rebus tuis consulas tu ipse. Quod si feceris, melius tuis rebus fuerit provisum. Amici quo- 5 que si te in tuis viderint diligentem, non erunt in te iuvando segnes neque inofficiosi. Vale.

Bruxellae 3. Octobris 1532.

282

[Miklós Oláh] to [Imre Kálnai]  
Brussels, 3 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 276.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 253.

*It has been twenty days since they last received news about the Emperor. Both him and the Queen are so depressed that they do not know what to do with themselves. The appearance of the comet has caused quite a panic, it could be seen for the last four days between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> hour of the evening; it has scared many people to death, since it was exactly a year ago after the appearance of the comet that the mother of King Francis I died.*

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281,4 aërem] *corr. ex curem*

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281 <sup>1</sup> The location in the manuscript suggests that Oláh wrote this letter to Kálnai.

[The superscription is missing.]<sup>1</sup>

Mirabile dictu est, a vigesimo fere iam die nihil certi ab imperatore nostro nos audire potuisse, nec venit aliquis, qui nos certos redderet de rebus, quas aut nostri aut Turcae agant. Adeo autem et regina et nos omnes hac tam diuturni temporis taciturnitati non modo confecti, sed quodammodo consternati sumus, ut vix sciamus, quid  
5 sit agitandum. Multa versamus animo, in utramque partem plurima cogitamus, quid aut imperatori nostro contingere aut quomodo Turcis resisti potuisset, sed inter spem metumque sumus animo turbato, et nihil est, quod non vereamur. Addidit etiam non  
10 inter quartam et quintam noctis horam visus, qui multos ita metu exanimavit, ut etiam illa, quae fortasse non contingunt, suspicemur. Exemplum a morte matris regis Franciae<sup>3</sup> capientes, quae fuerat anno exacto, post cometam<sup>4</sup> hic visum secuta. Quare beatus tu esse videris prae omnibus malis, qui procul es ab his terroribus vale.

Bruxellae 3. Octobris 1532.

283

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio (?)  
Brussels, 4 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 276–277.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 253–254.

*It is very sad when something different happens from what you were expecting. They were hoping that the Emperor would engage with the Turks and defeat them, then they learned today from the Emperor's letter of 15 September that the Turks have returned to their own and have captured many Christians. From another source the news arrived that King John I and Gritti had been besieging Esztergom for a while, but then as they were afraid that they will win the castle, Roggendorf was sent over with part of the imperial troops to liberate Esztergom from the siege.*

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282,5 consternati] *corr.* ex conservati 10 visus] *corr.* ex visa

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282,13 beatus... procul] Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2,1: "Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis".

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282 <sup>1</sup> The location in the manuscript suggests that Oláh wrote this letter to Kálnai. | <sup>2</sup> See a contemporary account of the comet by Peter Apian, *Ein kurtzer bericht der Observation unnd urtels des Jüngst erschinen Cometen im weinmon und wintermon dises XXXII. Jars*, Ingolstadt, 1532. | <sup>3</sup> Louise of Savoy died on 22 September 1531. | <sup>4</sup> In 1705, Edmond Halley claimed in his book (*Synopsis of the Astronomy of Comets*) that there is a comet that returns periodically. According to him, the comet in 1532 was the return of the 1531 one.



Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Miserum genus est tristitiae, cum aliter negotia caderent ac exspectares aut sperares. Eramus in maxima spe imperatorem nostrum habiturum cum Turcis conflictum et eos primum divino auxilio, deinde sua et suorum virtute illum devicturum. Hodie autem intelleximus ex litteris imperatoris nostri XV. Septembris praeteriti datis Turcam combusis omnibus Austriae prope Onasum<sup>2</sup> fluvium usque ad civitatem Stiriam<sup>3</sup> locis et pagis revertisse ad propria multis millibus Christianorum abductis. 5

Ex alia autem reversus parte allatum est Ioannem vaivodam et Andream Gritti<sup>4</sup> Strigonium<sup>5</sup> obsedisse iam ab aliquot temporibus et non parvam muri illius partem tormentis bellicis deiecisse, timendumque esse, ne si diutius duret obsidio, arx in eorum deveniat manus. Hanc igitur ob causam Wilhelmum a Rogendorff cum parte exercitus caesariani illuc esse iam missum,<sup>6</sup> ut arci et praesidiis Hispanis in ea laborantibus, primo quoque tempore subveniat. Non dubito, quin ipse Rogendorff peritus belli et rei militaris exercitatissimus, si bene sit a caesare et rege expeditus, aliquid istic boni facere possit, Strigoniumque ab obsidione liberare. Etsi auxilio hostes debellaret, etiam Budam in ditionem regis redigere posset. Haec ideo ad te scripsi, ut scires, quid nunc in Hungaria fiat. Vale. 10 15

Bruxellae 4. Octobris 1532.

## 284

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio (?)  
Brussels, 6 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 277–278.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 254.

*This news has arrived: after the Turks' retreat the Emperor decided to head to Italy from Linz. When King Ferdinand I heard about this, he hastened to the Emperor with a change of horses to convince him to postpone his trip if he wishes to see him, his wife, and his child in one piece. He finally managed to convince him to go to Vienna and negotiate there what is going to happen to Hungary. They embarked on a boat on 23 September, and they do not know if they followed Rogendorff, who had been sent to Esztergom, or if they went to Vienna.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Nova haec sunt audita his superioribus diebus: imperator noster Turcae retrocessionem decreverat, ut omnes omnium, quae, ex curia huc missae sunt, litterae declara-

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283 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio, see FEST 1927, 202. | <sup>2</sup> The Enns river. | <sup>3</sup> Steyr. | <sup>4</sup> Sometimes Oláh writes “Andrea” instead of “Ludovico”, see Ep. 244. Note 7. | <sup>5</sup> Esztergom. About the siege of Esztergom see KRETSCHMAYR 1901, chapter VI. | <sup>6</sup> On 14 September, see Ep. 284. 284 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio, see FEST 1927, 202.

bant, ut ex Lincio ad Italiam recta contenderet. Vero cum hoc rex Ferdinandus certo  
5 accepisset, equis cursoriis statim sese commisit, ac itinere et diurno et nocturno ad  
caesarem Lincio venit, cui suadere coepit, ut profectionem Italicam, si eum, coniu-  
gem, liberos, denique Austriam patriam suam salvam esse vellet, hoc tempore praer-  
mitteret. Quem magnis licet difficultatibus et laboribus, eo tamen perduxit, ut  
10 consenserit se velle Wiennam descendere, et istic tractare, quam expeditionem ad  
Hungariam aut rex solus aut uterque essent facturi; qui conscendisse autem dicitur in  
navem Lincii vigesimatertia Septembris praeteriti. Quid autem nunc agant et ubi sint,  
subsequenturne Wilhelmum a Rogendorff decimaquarta mensis eiusdem Septembris  
ex Lincio cum parte exercitus caesariani ad liberandum ab obsidione Strigonium<sup>2</sup>  
15 praemisum, an Wiennae eventum expeditionis eiusdem Rogendorff praestolentur,  
est adhuc incertum. Quicquid audierimus, faciam te certiolem. Vale.  
Bruxellae 6. Octobris 1532.

285

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Binche, 10 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 278.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 255.

*He was afraid all his possessions were in danger for a reason. Namely he saw that as a youth the King is inexperienced in negotiating, that he is prone to flattery and ridiculous things, and at the same time the affairs of the King and the noblemen were chaotic. He has often written about this to Paulus, who has also made him privy to his plans, which he cannot but endorse. Now they are living in an age when they would have done better not to listen to the crooked advice of others, but the biggest problem: the king's immaturity, his inability to govern and the nonchalance of the courtiers.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Non sine causa magnum semper timorem habui, Amicorum Optime, res nostras  
in perniciem venturas. Nam posteaquam ab initio viderem nostri adolescentiam,  
consiliariorum imperitiam, curialium lenocinium et ad omnem scurrilitatem facilita-  
5 tem, nihil fieri posse arbitrabar, quod dignum laude esse posset; ita omnes et regis et  
procerum res turbatas esse videbam, ob quas rerum turbationes futurum proculdubio  
videbam, ut nisi Deus aliquis nobis subvenisset, negotia nostra de die in diem in  
periculum essent prolapsura. Quod ego tibi frequenter et scripsi et nuntiavi, meorum-

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284,6 coniugem] *corr:* ex coniuges 12 subsequenturne] *corr:* ex subsequenturque 14 praestolentur] *corr:*  
ex praesolentur 285,2 magnum] *corr:* ex magnam

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<sup>2</sup> Esztergom. 285 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

que omnium consiliorum, quae unquam habere potui, feci te participem. Tu autem  
vicissim me tui consilii fecisti conscium, et quid tu quoque ipse de rebus omnibus 10  
senseris, iampridem ex tuis litteris satis prospexi. Non defuerunt tibi nullae rationes  
et iustissimae, propter quas nihil boni futuram sperares, quas, ut tunc semper probavi,  
ita nunc quoque non possum non probare. Quare autem ea consecuta sint tempora, et  
cur in hanc devenimus calamitatem miseriamque, tu omnium melius et nosti et  
intelligis. Nisi aliquorum paruissemus pravis consiliis, profecto melius res nostrae se 15  
haberent. Sed nostrarum rerum calamitatis haec causa maior esse videtur: regis ado-  
lescentia, consiliariis imprudentia et curialium insolentia, quae usque adeo non qui-  
everunt, ut nos ad hanc inducerent perniciem calamitatemque. Merito igitur, ut ad  
initium meae sententiae timui semper, ne talia pericula, in quibus versamur, nos  
occuparet. Vale. 20

Binsii 10. Octobris 1532.

## 286

Miklós Oláh to a Provost called Joannes  
Binche, 12 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 278–279.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 255–256.

*What he had always feared has happened, that is, the destruction has reached Hungary. Péter Perényi was captured, and the news came, he does not know whether to believe it, that King John I was also captured by the Turks. This unfortunate fate is awaiting the rest of the Hungarians as well, namely if the Turks conquer Hungary and capture the nobility and divide up the country, the nobility will have no name any more either, and eternal servitude awaits them. Their only cure is if King Ferdinand I comes to Hungary and recaptures the castles.*

Ad Ioannem praepositum.<sup>1</sup>

Quod semper veritus sum, nunc evenisse videtur, nostros scilicet Hungaros in  
magnam perniciem venturos. Petrus Perenny<sup>2</sup> iampridem a Turca in miseram abduc-  
tus est captivitatem, sicuti hac de re diu ad te scripsi.<sup>3</sup> Nunc venit fama, nescio, an  
vera, Turcam eundem ipsum Ioannem quoque vaivodam cepisse, non ipsius parcens 5  
infirmi-  
tati quo extreme nunc laborare dicitur, et Constantinopolim duxisse. Infelicis-  
simus is exitus alios etiam Hungaros manebit. Nam si Turca totam suae ditioni sube-

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286,6 extreme] *corr.* ex extrenue | laborare] *corr.* ex labore 7 Nam] *corr.* ex Nan

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286 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 192, Ep. 264, and Ep. 269. | <sup>2</sup> Péter Perényi was caught and kidnapped in the summer of 1532, see PUSKÁR 2008, 303. | <sup>3</sup> This letter is not extant.

gerit Hungariam omnes etiam reliquos dominos et potiores nobiles abducet, Hunga-  
riamque ipsam suis distribuet officialibus et conservandam et regendam; nec erit  
10 ullum nobilitatis futurae in Hungaria nomen; sed perpetuam et domini et nobiles  
servient servitutum, aut mortem patientur crudelissimam. Unum videtur esse hoc  
remedium huius malo avertendo: si rex noster Ferdinandus, ut iam coepisse dicitur,  
cum exercitu ad Hungariam descenderit, et castra finitima, quae Turcae iampridem  
nostra aetate occupant, rursus recuperaverit. Nam si id non fiet, numquam firmum  
15 in Hungaria habere poterit imperium. Turcis libere semper, dum voluerint, eam et  
invadentibus et depraedantibus. Si tu rebus nostris ita stantibus aliquid nobis afferre  
consilii poteris, cura id facere. Vale.

Binsii 12. Octobris 1532.

287

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Binche, 19 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 279–280.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 256–257.

*If Paulus is surprised how long he has not written to him, that is with good reason. It seems as if Oláh has diverged from his previous habits and is now living a quiet life, but Paulus would understand that a wise person does so because it is better to be silent now than write or talk a lot. Oláh has not written not because he has forgotten about him, but once the fear that his letters could get in the wrong hands is gone, he will often write long letters to him.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Quod miraris me iamdiu nihil ad te scripsisse, merito id quidem facere videris.  
Nam videor non parum a mea iam pueritia observata consuetudine declinasse et  
silentio vitam transigere, sed desines mirari, si in animum induxeris τῷ καιρῷ δου-  
5 λεύειν<sup>2</sup> sapientis semper esse habitum. Nam ea nunc sunt tempora, ut ἀγαδότερον<sup>3</sup> sit  
tacere, quam multa aut scribere aut loqui. Non quod non conveniat amicorum con-  
suetudine et litterarum suavitate mutuo uti, sed ne litterae intercipientur et bona  
etiam, quaelibet in malam interpretentur partem. Quamobrem aliquantisper tacui et  
nullas ad te dedi litteras, non ut immemor officii erga te debiti, sed ne cum tibi cu-

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8 Hungariam] *del. ex Hungariam Hungariam* 10 futurae] *O corr. ex futuram* | perpetuam] *corr. ex perpetuum* | nobiles] *del. ex nobiles fuerunt* 12 huius] *corr. ex huic* 287,3 videor] *corr. ex videre iam]* *del. ex iam a* 5 ἀγαδότερον] *corr. ex ἀγατότερον*

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287 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> 'to adapt to the situation'. | <sup>3</sup> 'better', comparative of ἀγαθός 'good', but this form was never in use.

piam gratificari in aliquod incidam propter hominum malignitatem periculum. Quare 10  
si tu quoque haec tempora praesentia, quam formidolosa sint, consideraveris, et meae  
amicitiae memineris, non mihi vitio vertes praeteriti temporis taciturnitatem, sed  
potius laudi, quod me curaverim ab periculo fortuito conservare. Posthac si non erit  
tantus timor, litteraeque aliorum non ita, ut nunc per malos homines observabuntur,  
faciam, ut tuum, quod de litteris meis habueris desiderium, cumulate expleam, cre- 15  
bras ad te meas sim daturus litteras. Vale.

Binsii 19. Octobris 1532.

288

[Miklós Oláh] to [Paulus comes]  
Binche, 24 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 280.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 257.

*He cannot resist writing to him, whom he wishes to see so much. He knows Paulus accused him of nonchalance for not having written to him, and if he did not know the cause, it was with good reason. But now that Paulus knows the reason, he should not accuse him any longer; he should instead praise him that he could stay silent in these turbulent times. There is so much evil in people now that he is afraid to talk, let alone send a letter; that is the reason for his silence.*

[The superscription is missing.]<sup>1</sup>

Non possum me continere, quin aliquid ad te scribam, ita sum cupidus tui videnti, et rerum tuarum quomodo se habeant cognoscendi. Scio te iamdudum meam accusavisse negligentiam, quod officium meum ad te scribendi intermiserim. Id quidem, si non cogites causam, cur tamdiu siluerim, facere potes. Tamen si vis iustus 5  
esse, rerum mearum ὁ δικαστή<sup>2</sup> et si ita, ut res se habet, eam perpenderis, omnesque  
meas rationes tam diuturni silentii circumvolveris, desines profecto me accusare  
negligentiae, et laude dignum putabis me siluisse in tanta rerum omnium confusione.  
Hanc unam rationem si tibi significavero, arbitrabor me omnes meas significavisse 10  
eam, scilicet quod tanta est hominum nostri temporis improbitas, et tam magna cura  
adhibetur ubique ad observandas litteras, ut non modo exemplum ad quemquam  
mittere, sed ne loqui quidem aperte audeas. Haec igitur una fuit causa, cur tam raras  
ad te litteras dederim. Posthac si tempora erunt securiora, curabo, ut frequentiores a  
me habeas. Vale, et, ut soles, me ama.

Binsii 24. Octobris 1532.

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16 daturus] *add.* 288,11 exemplum] *corr. ex* exemplam

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288 <sup>1</sup> The location in the manuscript suggests that Oláh wrote this letter to Paulus comes. | <sup>2</sup> ‘arbiter’.

[Miklós Oláh] to [Paulus comes]  
Binche, 25 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 280–281.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 257–258.

*He could raise many complaints, but he is afraid of ill will. However, he also experienced Paulus' benevolence towards him the other day when he needed it, he could not have done any better than this.*

[The superscription is missing.]<sup>1</sup>

Quibus apud te querelis utar, nescio. Multae essent, sed vetant me de singulis scribere hominum perversitates. Tuum animum in me singularem multis iudiciis cognovi, maxime quod nuper magnis in rebus his, quibus necesse erat, affeceris et  
5 laudibus et honoribus. Qui etsi videbantur mea in te merita excellere, tamen quia tua sponte id praestiteris, ita grati fuerunt, ut nihil gratius mihi hoc tempore contingere potuisset. Quare praetermissis omnibus querelis tibi persuasum esse volo, pro innumeris tuis in me collatis beneficiis me tibi futurum perpetuo obligatum. Vale.

Binsii 25. Octobris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Binche, 25 October 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 281.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 258.

*They were deeply disappointed when they learned that King Ferdinand I chose to travel after Emperor Charles V to Italy and sent Hans Katzianer in his place to bring Hungary under the King's power. Although he is certain that Katzianer will do everything he can, but he knows the nature of the Hungarians, who can only tolerate the King's authority. Katzianer may be able to recover the castles, but it is impossible for him to convert the Hungarians to the king's side.*

Ad Ioannem baronem.

Nulla res magis homines cruciare posse videtur, quam si spes, quam de re aliqua certam conceperis, te fallere videbitur. Hac spe certissima fovebamur, quod reverso  
5 Turcarum caesare ad regnum suum rex noster Ferdinandus cum exercitibus undequaque contra illum collectis solus ad recuperandam Hungariam proficisceretur, et illam

<sup>1</sup> The location in the manuscript suggests that Oláh wrote this letter to Paulus comes.

iam redderet pacatam, nobisque omnibus diuturno malo afflictis quietem pareret. Ecce autem nunc venerunt litterae, quae declarant regem comitatum esse imperatorem nostrum Carolum ad Italiam proficiscentem et ad Hungariam misisse Ioannem Kachyaner<sup>1</sup> cum exercitu, ut ille ea ageret, quae rex noster facere deberet: Hungariamque in potestatem regis subigeret. Is licet profectus sit, et, ut opinor, nihil praetermittat rerum sibi a rege demandatarum, tamen eam scio esse Hungarorum naturam, ut difficulter se rege a capitaneo quopiam patiantur, malintque omnia perpeti extrema, quam alicuius praeter regem perferant imperium. Potest quidem Ioannes Kachyaner aliquas arces amissas recuperare, sed Hungaros sibi absente rege oboedientes reddere videtur esse et difficillimum et impossibile. Haec scribo tibi, ut meum animum, quem de rebus habeo Hungaricis, intelligas, et spem, quam de illius recuperatione habebam maximam, me iam totam amisisse. Tu si qua in re me consolari potes, fac, ut sciam. Gratissimum id mihi erit. Vale.

Binsii 25. Octobris 1532.

## 291

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio (?)  
Binche, 6 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 282.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 258–259.

*Giovio now knows the Emperor's decision: he did not do anything in Hungary as they had hoped, then he left for Italy. By now he should be in Mantua, then he will go to Spain through Genoa by boat. King Ferdinand I will act in his place in the empire. Hungary cannot take any more misery; although they had trusted the Emperor in vain, they do not yet know what King Ferdinand I is going to do.*

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Imperatoris Caroli animum itinerisque rationem iam pridem te arbitror intellexisse: nulla facta in Hungariam, uti sperabamus, expeditione profectus est ad Italiam. Creditur iam esse Mantuae, hinc tendet Genuam, et illinc navigaturus est ad Hispa-

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290,13 alicuius] *corr.* ex alicius 291,3 est] *corr.* ex et

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290 <sup>1</sup> Hans Katzianer (1490–1538) was a mercenary commander and diplomat. He entered the service of the Habsburgs and took part in King Ferdinand I's Hungarian campaign of 1527–1528 against King John I. In 1529, he defended Vienna against the Turks, who were led by Suleiman I. Between 1527–1529, and also between 1532–1537, he was King Ferdinand's Commander in Chief. After he sustained a defeat from the Turks at Osijek in 1537, King Ferdinand I incarcerated him. In 1538, he was killed by the Zrínyi brothers, at King Ferdinand I's order, see APFELAUER 1939. 291 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio, see FEST 1927, 202.

5 niam. Reliquit regem Ferdinandum in imperio, qui ut rex Romanorum ipsius absentis  
vices gerat. Nescio, quomodo res nostrae procedent. Hungaria plus iam malorum et  
calamitatis, quam hactenus perpessa est, pati non poterit, in tota funditus, quod absit,  
subverteretur. Spes erat unica in caesare illius liberandae, quo nunc ante tempus nulla  
habita salutis nostrae ratione, reverso in Hispaniam, quid rex facere, in quave re  
10 nostrae calamitati subvenire possit, non modo nescire, sed nedum cogitare possumus.  
Quare omnibus humanis destituti praesidiis solius Dei imploranda est clementia,  
quae si vitam nostram emendaverimus, nobis proculdubio aderit, resque nostras iam  
funditus periclitatas in tutum restituet. Haec te nolui ignorare. Vale.

Binsii 6. Novembris 1532.

## 292

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Binche, 6 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 282.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 259.

*He knows Joannes' benevolent nature and his kindness towards him, which has always been dear to him, and which he will always safeguard.*

Ad Ioannem comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Novimus tuam omnibus benefaciendi naturam, nec quicquam tam nobis manife-  
stum esse videtur, quam vitae tuae ratio, idque propter eam familiaritatem, quae mihi  
tecum a puero fuit, propter quam mihi et fuisti et es merito carissimus, nec patiar  
5 hunc meum amorem ullo unquam tempore labefactari. Vale.

Binsii 6. Novembris 1532.

## 293

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Binche, 9 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 282–283.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 259–260.

*1. Today a letter has arrived that Andrea Doria has arrived safely to the Peloponnessos with twenty ships, he has captured Methoni and other settlements and then had 50,000 people swear an oath to the Emperor. The Sultan sent forty ships against him, but he won, and now he is on his way to Evia. 2. If after conquer-*

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292 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.



*ing all the coastal cities he came this way, it would be possible to recapture all the castles till Belgrade, even Belgrade itself, as it is rumored that Czibak, Erdődy, Ráskay, and the rest of the nobility has switched to King Ferdinand I's side on their own, as they do not wish to be captured by the Turks.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Cum nihil sit earum rerum, quas habeo aut quotidie audire possim, quod non tecum communicem, volui hoc te scire. Hodie advenisse ad nos nuntium et litteras, quae declarent Andream a Doria<sup>2</sup> cum classe vincti navium pervenisse salvum in Peloponesum, captaque istic Madona<sup>3</sup> et aliis plerisque urbibus induxisse eius loci 5  
accolas, ut quinquaginta millia hominum ex eis in verba caesaris et ipsius iurarent. Turcarum autem imperatorem misisse classem quadraginta navium ad opem Modonensibus et aliis urbanis vicinis ferendam, sed eam Andream ipsum interceptisse ac vicisse. Nunc autem cum classe sua ac etiam aliis auxiliariis ex Peloponesso adscriptis militibus recta in Euboeam<sup>4</sup> tendere eo consilio, ut illam quoque, Deo rebus suis 10  
favente in ditionem suam redigat.

[2.] Haec si vera sunt, nihil potest laetius rebus nostris contingere. Nam si occupatis locis illis maritimis nostri vere futuro expeditionem prosequi in Hungaria voluerint, facile reor futurum esse, ut arces omnes Hungaras annis elapsis amissas ad Taurinum<sup>5</sup> usque recuperare possimus, fortasse etiam ipsum Taurinum, nam si Czybak,<sup>6</sup> 15  
episcopus Zagradiensis,<sup>7</sup> Petrus Erdewdi,<sup>8</sup> Caspar Raskay,<sup>9</sup> et alii nobiles potiores, ut certo fertur, ad serenissimum regem nostrum Ferdinandum sponte defecerunt, pertaesi servitutis Turciae. Non dubium est, quin haec arcium amissarum recuperatio facile fieri possit. Neminem enim iam audio ex dominis Hungaris magnae cuiuspiam 20  
authoritatis, qui Ioannis vaivodae partes sequatur, et qui expeditionem, quam accincturi proximo vere pro arcibus illis recuperandis sumus, impedire posset. Turcas autem in illis pro praesidio relictos non adeo firmos munitosque censeo, ut nostris, si modo contra eos progressum fuerit, resistere valeant. Haec tibi, Amicorum Optime, volui significare, ut rerum, quas accepi, esses particeps. Vale.

Binsii 9. Novembris anno 1532.

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293,18 quin] *corr.* ex qui 24 particeps] *corr.* ex participes

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293 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 238. Note 4. | <sup>3</sup> Methoni. | <sup>4</sup> Euboea or Evia Island. | <sup>5</sup> Belgrade. | <sup>6</sup> Imre Czibak. | <sup>7</sup> Simon Erdődy was Bishop of Zagreb. | <sup>8</sup> Probably Oláh writes "Petrus" instead of "Simon". | <sup>9</sup> Gáspár Ráskay.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Ponderius  
Binche, 10 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 283–284.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 260.

*He has seen Hans Katzianer's letter to King Ferdinand I, according to which Andrea Gritti and King John I, once they heard that he was going there with his army, at once retreated from Esztergom and fled. Gritti entrusted Buda to his son with 100 horsemen and 400 infantrymen, which would thus have been easy to capture, but the Tirol infantrymen turned back from Esztergom, saying that their contract has expired; while Katzianer only has 1,500 infantrymen, which is not enough to capture Buda.*

Ad Ioannem Ponderium.<sup>1</sup>

Exemplum litterarum Ioannis Kachyanes,<sup>2</sup> quas ad regem dedit Ferdinandum, vidimus hodie, quae significabat Ioannem vaivodam et Andream Gritti<sup>3</sup> Strigonium<sup>4</sup> obsidentes<sup>5</sup> audita ipsius Ioannis Kochyaner cum exercitu istuc profectione statim  
5 obsidionem solvisse et aufugisse. Budae vero relictum filium<sup>6</sup> ipsius Gritti cum du-  
centis equitibus ac quadringentis peditibus. Quodsi ita est, non ita quidem esset ma-  
gni laboris Budam ab illis recuperare, sed nostri milites Tirolenses, statim cum perve-  
nissent Strigonium, usque domum sunt reversi, allegantes tempus militiae eorum  
praeteriisse. Quamobrem Kochyaner mille et quingentos saltem dicitur habere pedi-  
10 tes et aliquot ex nostris husaronibus, qui soli difficulter Budam recuperabunt. Vale.

Binsii 10. Novembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes Ponderius  
Binche, 12 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 284.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 261.

*Another letter has arrived, according to which Hans Katzianer has abandoned the plan to attack Buda and is headed towards Košice; along the way he wants to capture two or three castles, and if he is not success-*

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294,3 Strigonium] *corr.* ex Strigoniu

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294 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Hans Katzianer. | <sup>3</sup> Sometimes Oláh writes “Andrea” instead of “Ludovico”, see Ep. 244. Note 7., and Ep. 283. Note 4. | <sup>4</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>5</sup> See Ep. 283. | <sup>6</sup> Ludovico Gritti.

*ful, he will head towards Szepes county to reinforce King Ferdinand I's followers. As Oláh's possessions are on the side of Buda, this plan is not too promising for him.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Posteaquam exemplum litterarum Cocianeri,<sup>2</sup> de quibus ad te proximus<sup>3</sup> scripseram, perlegissemus, venit alius nuntius, qui dixit ipsum relicto consilio Budensis oppugnationis, decrevisse Cassoviam<sup>4</sup> versus proficisci, et tentata duarum vel trium 5  
istic arcium, quas hostes nostri incolunt, expugnatione, si id minus succedat, velle  
recta Scepusium<sup>5</sup> tendere, et animos illorum, qui fide sunt regis, confirmare. Hoc  
illius propositum et factum quid nobis conducat, quidve rebus meis afferat utilitatis,  
cogitare tu ipse poteris. Quandoquidem mea bona infra Budam iacent, Scepusium  
autem, quo Cocianer tendere videtur, multarum dierum abest a Buda spatio; antea  
sperabam res nostras meliores futuras, nunc parum spero. Vale. 10

Binsii 12. Novembris 1532.

## 296

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio (?)  
Binche, 13 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 284.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 261.

*The Sultan is going to Constantinople today, dressed in red and with a small entourage; his plan is to take revenge on the Germans for the insult against him.*

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Volui ad te nova perscribere, quae habebam. Turcarum caesar hoc die Constanti-  
nopolim, ut ex amicorum meorum litteris conicere licet, intrare deliberavit. Intrabit  
autem indutus totus veste rubra, et non magna comitiva. Quod ipsum iudicium est, ut  
dicitur Turcorum morum experti, ut vindicare se velit de accepta iniuria apud Germa- 5  
nos. Vale.

Binsii 13. Novembris 1532.

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295,2 de quibus] *add.*

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295 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Hans Katzianer. | <sup>3</sup> Ep. 294. | <sup>4</sup> Košice. | <sup>5</sup> Szepes county.

296 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio, see FEST 1927, 202.

[Miklós Oláh] to [a friend]  
Binche, 15 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 285.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 261.

*How much the authority of his friend's name is worth is shown by how his Johannes could not settle his affairs either through begging or through favors until his letter had arrived; but now he can assure him that he has settled them.*

[The superscription is missing.]<sup>1</sup>

Nominis tui autoritas quantum apud omnes habeat ponderis, etiam ex hoc facile iudicare potes, nos nullis nec pollicitationibus, nec praemiis, nec favore potuisse Ioannis tui negotia conficere, antequam litterae tuae huc essent perlatae, quae tantum  
5 addiderunt momenti nostris sollicitationibus, ut rem Ioannis fere, ut dicunt, in manibus haberemus. Quam postquam ex animi tui sententia confecerimus, reddemus te certum. Vale.

Binsii 15. Novembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Paulus Borius  
Binche, 18 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 285.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 262.

*Whoever from his people was visiting him, he always sent a letter with him: Three while he was away, and two while he was on the road, but he has not received a single one from him, which he cannot understand. Has he hurt him somehow, or have evil things been rumored about him, or is he living in such unfortunate times that he is forgetting about his friends? If none of these, please write to him.*

Ad Paulum Borium.<sup>1</sup>

Nemo unquam tuorum ad me venit, qui se ad te profecturum diceret, cui non ad te litteras dederim. Hinc dum a te abfui ternas, ab itinere binas, quae omnes declarabant,

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297,2 autoritas] *corr.* ex autoritatis

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297 <sup>1</sup> The location in the manuscript suggests that Oláh wrote this letter to his friend. 298 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

quo in te animo, qua voluntate animique affectione essem. Tuas vero ne unicas qui-  
dem accepi, quo nihil potest esse mihi admirabilius. Quid enim ex tua hac taciturni- 5  
tate aut suspicari aut cogitare possim, sum animo inscius. Animum tuum nulla un-  
quam in re offendi, aut igitur quidpiam mali de me homines iniqui tibi insurrarunt,  
aut denique quod omnium maxime timeo, fortuna prospera, quam nuper consecutus  
es, te elatiorem ita fecit, ut amicorum pauperiorum vel non memineris amplius, vel  
eos nihili faciendos arbitreris. Quare si non aliqua est harum rationum, tuae tam 10  
diuturnae taciturnitatis, fac, ut tuas litteras quamprimum habeam, ut, quo consilio  
hanc commiseris, scire possim. Vale et me ama.

Binsii 18. Novembris 1532.

299

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Binche, 19 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 285–286.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 262–263.

*As prophet Job said, our entire life is a series of misfortunes, and life is full of misery from conception to death. Nobody can be rich enough to be able to avoid misfortune; but if he thinks about it, great wealth is followed by trouble and a million problems, while moderation is followed by calmness and safety. Still, wherever he lives, he will always find what torments his soul.*

Ad amicum, ne mutet locum.

Calamitas, quam quisque mortalis patitur, dum vitam vivit hanc caducam, tanta  
esse videtur, ut si omnem vitam hominis bene annumeres, nihil aliud reperias, quam  
malum ex malo, miseriam ex miseria nasci. Non immerito igitur Iob ille patriarcha,  
bonorum omnium exemplum: vitam, inquit, hominis ab eo, quo concipitur in utero 5  
matris, momento, ad extremum usque obitus sui diem plenam esse miseriarum, nec  
ullam in hac vita temporaria reperire posse requiem. Quod si diligenter animadvertas,  
nimirum verum et sancte dictum reperies. Quis unquam eorum, qui nati sunt, fuit  
usque adeo ex illustribus parentibus, quis ex magno stemmate, quis ex tantis divitiis,  
quis in excelso honore dignitate et amplitudine, qui non multa perpressus sit vitae 10  
incommoda? Immo tantum abest, ut hi caruerint magnis et fortunae et rerum quoti-  
dianarum incommodis, ut his, qui ex tenui orti sunt domo, longe fuerint inferiores

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298,8 fortuna] O(?) del. ex fortuna te 299,5 utero] corr. ex uturo 6 matris] del. ex matris matris  
9 illustribus] corr. ex illustris

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299,6 plenam...miseriarum] cf. Iob 31,18: "quia ab infantia mea crevit mecum miseratio, et de utero  
matris meae egressa est mecum".

infelicioresve. Nam si alterum alteri conferes, divitias sequuntur semper curae, inquietudines et mille mala; at mediocritatem quies, securitas et animi tranquillitates.

15 Quae si conferas quibuscum divitiis, nemo sapiens non putabit illas utpote aerumnis plenas, prae his sordescere. Quorsum haec ais, tam longe repetita principia? Huc profecto, ut si haec sit mortalium omnium conditio, cogites, neque te neque me ab hac eximi nos posse lege. Sed dum vivimus, pati nos oportet ab his maxime, a quibus minime esse patiendum, sed potius quiete, honore et praemiis affici deberemus. Esto

20 absint a nobis τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup> molestiae, patieris tamen quotidie a tuis domesticis, accipies non parvas turbationes a familiaribus, de quibus optima quaeque mereri deberes. Quare si sapis, noli locum tuum mutare, non parvis licet aerumnis fateor refertum. Sed cogita te in omnibus locis, quocumque veneris, reperturum, quod te mordeat. Vale et me ama.

25 Binsii 19. Novembris 1532.

### 300

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Binche, 20 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 286–287.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 263–264.

*He would write to Peregi more frequently if he had happier cause to. He remembers the old times, the predecessors with whom they served in Hungary. They used to live in happier times, when they were wanting for nothing that is necessary for happiness. They conducted public affairs with little effort and trouble, to everyone's satisfaction. If he writes him less frequently, he should attribute it to the cruel times and the lack of good news. Indeed, what would have been dearer to him than writing to his old friend? Although Peregi also has a lot to do, there is nobody who is a lazier writer of letters, to clear himself of this stain he should write to him, as well as to others.*

Ad Albertum praepositum.

Scriberem ad te, Amice Carissime, frequentius, si laetius haberem argumentum, sed quid tibi nunc laeti scribere possum, rebus omnibus ita turbatis, ut nihil supra dici queat. Non possum non dolere nostras vices, qui in haec tempora sordida, plenaque

5 tumultibus incidimus. Meminimus exactorum temporum, recordamur superiorum nostrorum, quibus in Hungaria servivimus. Hi tam felicibus usi sunt temporibus, ut

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14 tranquillitates] *corr.* ex tranquillitatis 15 quibuscum] *corr.* ex quibus ac | aerumnis] *corr.* ex erimus  
 19 minime] *corr.* ex minine | affici] *corr.* ex officii 20 ἔξωθεν ἀνθρώπων] *corr.* ex ἔξωθεν ἀνθρώπων  
 22 aerumnis] *corr.* ex erimus 300,4 haec] *corr.* ex hac

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299 <sup>1</sup> '[inconveniences] due to foreign people'.

nihil eis visum sit defuisse, quod ad felicitatem pertinuerit. Parvo labore, minima cura et opera res publicas, quibus praefecti erant, tam laudabiliter ex omniumque sententia gesserunt, ut eorum tempestate πράγματα κοινά<sup>1</sup> maximum laudis apud omnes sint consecuta. Mirari te fortasse ais, id unde acciderit. Ex temporum felicitate illorumque prudentia, qui sua prae his, quae ad rempublicam spectarunt, neglectui habuerunt. 10

Quare, mi Frater, si rarius ad te scribo, tum iniquitati id temporum, tum inopiae rerum bonarum, de quibus scribere deberem, si sapis, tribuito. Quid enim mihi homini ab ineunte aetate scriptioni assueti posset esse aut suavius aut delectabilius, quam ad te scribere, hominem mihi amicum et a primis annis mihi magna coniunctum benevolentia? Ut tamen tu ob raritatem mearum litterarum de me queri potes, ita ego nonnihil te accuso, ut cum plus et otii et rerum novarum habeas, quam ego, utpote in Hungaria constitutus, ubi quotidie multa emergant scitu digna. Tamen neminem ex nostratibus video, qui ad scribendum te sit negligentior. Quam notam abstergere poteris, si et ad me et ad alios tuos frequentius, quam solitus es, scripseris. Vale. 15 20

Binsii 20. Novembris 1532.

### 301

Miklós Oláh to a friend comes  
Binche, 20 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 287–288.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 264–265.

*His own affair does not move him, but his friend's one does; he was so shaken up that he can barely write him what he wants to do. He knows his soul and wisdom and knows that he is enduring it with a brave soul. If he can be helpful in any way, he should not spare him, let him help him, he cannot be accused of being an ungrateful friend. He has told Joannes even more about these, he can trust him, as he has gotten to know him, he will not say anything that he has not entrusted to him.*

Ad amicum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Non mea me res, sed tua movet. Adeo consternato sum rebus tuis auditis animo, ut vix tibi significare possim, quid sim facturus. Novi tuum animum, ingenium, consilium et in rebus omnibus prudentiam, qua etiamsi adversae res tuae contigerunt, omnia sapienter ferre potes. Non deesse tibi video animum, quo omnia, etiam magna 5  
forti feras animo, sed quid ego de tuis virtutibus multa praedicem? Quid te tua forti-

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7 minima] *corr:* ex minina 10 temporum] *corr:* ex temporibus 14 bonarum] *corr:* ex bonorum 17 ob] *corr:* ex ab 18 accuso] *corr:* ex accusa 19 scitu] *corr:* ex situ 301,2 consternato] *corr:* ex consernato

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300<sup>1</sup> 'public affairs'. 301<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

tudine, qui tuo ipsius ingenio et te et omnes tuas res optime moderari consuevisti, nemine te admovente? Id unum saltem mihi maximae est molestiae, te quam paucos istic inter homines externos habere amicos, quibus cum res tuas communicare, quas in  
10 rerum tuarum defensionem advocare possis, cogit enim me nostra mutua amicitia et necessitudo, quam ab ineunte aetate constanter coluimus, non secus tuarum rerum rationem habere, quam mearum, nec minus honoris, dignitatis amplitudinisque tuae studiosum esse quam meae. Non possum itaque non moveri tuis incommodis, si quae contigisse audio, perinde ac meis. Et si quae esset mihi facultas ea aut avertendi aut  
15 medendi, crede mihi, nihil facerem libentius. Quamobrem si quid est, quod mea opera in rebus tuis effici posse confidas, non parcito aut laboribus aut facultatibus meis.

Haec quantulaecumque sint, non tibi usuique commodo et dignitati deerunt tuae. Modo tuam intelligam voluntatem, praestabo proculdubio, ut nemo possit iudicare  
20 me in te esse ingratum amicitiae acceptae aut inofficiosum. Quibus de rebus Ioanni tuo, quem ad me misisti, plura sum locutus, ei in his, quae dixerit, fidem praesta. Ut enim eum paucorum dierum conversatione cognovi, nihil dicet a bono viro alienum, et quod a me non acceperit. Vale.

Binsii 20. Novembris 1532.

### 302

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Mons, 26 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 288–289.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 265; ALLEN 1941, 128–129.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 651.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 173; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 117.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 98.

*He was taking their stay in Binche so hard, mostly because the hosts were so unpleasant, that he could hardly wait to go to Mons. They arrived two days ago amid much joy, which Quirinus has surely reported already. He should have no doubt that he is taking care of the things entrusted to him, Quirinus could also see it. He believes he sent not unpleasant news with Quirinus, and he will send even more pleasant ones as soon as he responds.*

Ad Erasmum Roterodanum.

Adeo turbato animo ferebam mansionem nostram Binsiuensem,<sup>1</sup> tum propter multas causas, tum maxime propter hospitii mei incommoditatem ac hospitis temulentiam, vel potius insaniam, ut vix exspectaverim nos ab illa molestia liberari ac huc

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302<sup>1</sup> Binche.



Bergas,<sup>2</sup> oppidum et amoenissimum et hominibus humanis refertum, commigrare. 5  
Venimus huc nudiustertius cum quanta popularium laetitia, qua puerorum, adole-  
scentium et matrum familias alacritate, non opus esse arbitror me tibi declarare,  
quandoquidem Quirinus<sup>3</sup> tuus, qui negotiorum tuorum per agendorum causa ad regi-  
nam venerit, reversus ea omnia referre potuit. Quare, mi Erasme, noli putare nos  
tuarum rerum fuisse immemores, vidit et ipse Quirinus, viderunt et omnes tui, qui 10  
adsunt, nos nihil praetermississe tuarum rerum, quantum a nobis fieri potuit, aut vel  
negotii magnitudo, vel principis occupatio visae sunt admittere. Nihil igitur de nobis  
dubita! Ad id, quod nunc tuus Quirinus ad te detulit, uti credo non tibi omnino ingra-  
tum, propediem adiiciemus uberiora, si te bono nunc animo responsum tibi datum  
accepisse intellexerimus. Vale. 15

Bergis Hannoniae 26. Novembris 1532.

### 303

Miklós Oláh to a Hungarian friend

Mons, 28 November 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 289.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 265.

*His friend should not be surprised that he chose this life, he was forced to do so, but as soon as he hears good news from home, he will change his plans.*

Ad amicum Hungarum.

Noli mirari me in hanc vivendi conditionem detrusisse. Nam necessitas, quae omnibus legem imponit mortalibus, me coegit id facere. Si quid istinc audirem laeti, facile hanc mutare possem conditionem.

Bergis 28. Novembris 1532. 5

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<sup>2</sup> Mons. | <sup>3</sup> Quirinus Hagius of The Hague. "The exact day at which Quirinus set out for England is not known. Erasmus was writing letters for him to carry with him in the last days of August 1532; and from Ep. 2759. 37–8, it appears that in Sept. he was in Brussels"; see ALLEN 1941, 129.

Miklós Oláh to Joannes comes  
Mons, 15 December 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 289–290.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 266–267.

1. He was surprised his friend did not know about their journey, but now he will tell him about its date and means: they set out to Valenciennes on 29 November because they wanted to see it. The cold was unbearable, they arrived by the evening, and the locals came to meet them with torches and other signs of pleasure. They spent five days there, barely tolerating the cold and draught, and no matter how much they were heating, they were still cold. 2. Then they went to a city called Canay, where they spent two days, and they were expecting them with attractions. Then the Queen went hunting, and they returned to Mons, where it seems they will be staying till 1 January.

Ad Ioannem comitem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Arbitratus sum te scivisse nostram ad Valencenas<sup>2</sup> profectionem, sed cum  
tuas proximas acceperissem, intellexi te non solum ne scivisse nostrum illuc aditum,  
sed nedum audivisse. Quare ut alios omnes nostros casus et itinera, sic etiam diem et  
5 modum huius nostrae profectionis volo tibi significare. Ad vigesimum nonum No-  
vembris praeteriti, cum Valencenas oppidum Hannoniae munitissimum videre ma-  
xime cuperemus, iter hinc illuc coepimus. Erat sane tempus rigidum et valido frigore  
molestum, sed nostra visendi illius oppidi cupiditas vicit omnem temporis intempe-  
riem. Ad vesperam igitur eo non gravatim pervenimus oppidum huc distans ad sep-  
10 tem leucas Gallicas.<sup>3</sup> Oppidani cum taedis et facibus, ut moris est huius patriae,  
reginae occurrerunt, et omnia iucunditatis signa, quae fieri potuere, ostenderunt in  
reginae ingressu. Illic commorati ad quintum sumus diem, frigus patientes ultra om-  
nia alia loca intollerabilius. Gens enim Gallea, vaporariis carens, caminis in cubiculis  
nonnumquam rimosis utitur ita, ut si focum in eis exstingueris, et te calore reficere  
15 volueris, ex una quidem parte calesces, sed ex alia frigeas. Quare factum est, ut tribus  
diebus coactus sum ligna uno aureo Philippeo<sup>4</sup> absumere, et nihilominus non parvam  
pati frigoris molestiam. Cives eius loci praesentarunt reginae dono hiatum argenteum  
mediocrem quingentis Carolis impletum, quod in aliis oppidis nullibus factum esse  
vidi; hi soli humaniores aliis hoc facto sunt visi.

304,14 exstingueris] *corr.* ex exstingeris | 16 uno] *corr.* ex una | absumere] *O(?) corr.* ex absumere

304 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Valenciennes is next to Mons. | <sup>3</sup> One Gallic or Roman mile was between 2 and 5 kilometers. | <sup>4</sup> A kind of coin with high-karat gold content.

[2.] Posteaquam autem nos sacietas cepisset eius oppidi, venimus ad oppidum 20  
quoddam Canay<sup>5</sup> nomine, quod Sempy<sup>6</sup> antiquior ab imperatore habet in officium.  
Excepti istic ab eodem sumus humanissime biduum, tractatique honorifice, nam ultra  
hospitalitatem nobis factam, praebita sunt etiam spectacula non inamoena. Regina  
profecta illic fuerat ad vivarium ferarium, in quo et equi silvestres dicuntur esse. His  
omnibus permotis reversi sumus huc Bergas eo primum animo, ne diutius hic tarde- 25  
remus. Sed mutatus est postea ex consiliis rerum reginae animus, credoque nos ad  
primum Ianuarii hic mansuros. Haec te scire volui, ut scires a me nostram itineratio-  
nem. Si qua deinceps consequentur, faciam earum quoque te rerum participem. Vale.  
Bergis 15. Decembris anno 1532.

### 305

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Mons, 19 December 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 290–291.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 267.

*Paulus should not be surprised if he did not write him for so long, he has had such difficulties that it was not only letters he could not write, but he has not even recovered his spiritual strength yet. It would take too long to tell him about its cause, he will tell him about it in person, soon.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Noli mirari, quid a tanto tempore fecerim, quod ad te nihil litterarum dederim, quibus si non alia, saltem meam tibi conditionem declararem. Non miraberis, si cogitaris, in qua sum animi molestia, ut non modo nullas vel raras admodum ad amicos 5  
dare possum litteras, sed nec detur facultas mihi meas vires animi resumendi. Quae-  
ris, quid causae sit, cur in tantam animi proiectus sim molestiam? Longum esset, mi  
Comes, tibi causam huius rei declarare, sed ne te longa nunc verborum detineam  
prolixitate, causam omnem huius rei tibi declarandam reservabo in adventum no-  
strum, propediem futurum. Interea sis animo laeto et fac me mearumque veterum  
amicitiarum memineris. Ioannem Roscium<sup>2</sup> mihi amicissimum salvare iubeto. Vale. 10  
Bergis 19. Decembris 1532.

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305,8 nostrum] *del. ex nostrum quem 9 laeto] corr. ex laete*

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<sup>5</sup> Probably Cambrai. | <sup>6</sup> Antoine de Croÿ, Lord of Sempy (Sampy). 305 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> He might be the same person, as the addressee of Ep. 254: Joannes Rosconius.

Miklós Oláh to Wolfgang H.  
Mons, 27 December 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 291.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 267.

*If Hiller felt what he is feeling, he would not allow himself to get into such a confusing situation, but because he is ignoring the present affairs and does not know whom to negotiate with, it is no surprise if they do not know what he will eventually get himself into. Oláh cannot write any more because it would be dangerous to commit it to a letter or even to talk about these things.*

Ad Volffgangum H.<sup>1</sup>

Si tu ea sentires, quae ego sentio, non te in tantam rerum turbationem mitteres, sed cum ignores praesentium negotiorum conditionem, et nescias, quibus cum hominibus tibi negotium tractandum sit, non miror, si nesciamus, te ad hanc vivendi conditionem detruseris. Qua de re plura nunc tecum nec agere nec loqui possum, periculosum enim est his temporibus et litteris committere omnia et tractare, verum harum tu litterarum memineris. Et si aliquando, quod Deus avertat, in aliquod incideris damnum, me tibi haec perscripsisse recordato. Vale.

Bergis 27. Decembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to Márk Pemfflinger  
Mons, 30 December 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 291–292.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 267–268.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 651–652.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 222–223.

*He thought that after the Turks' retreat Pemfflinger had been sent to Transylvania, and that is why he did not write to Pemfflinger, but if he had known that Pemfflinger was in Bratislava or at the Royal Court, he really could have written to him. Now he learns from friends' letters that Pemfflinger is at the Court. Meanwhile he hears that they are also negotiating about peace in Hungary, which is in every person's*

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306,4 hanc] *corr.* ex hac

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306 <sup>1</sup> Probably Wolfgang Haller von Hallerstein, who was an agent of the Fuggers' creditor, and from 1534 Treasurer of Queen Mary of Hungary, see HEISS 1971, 214 and 220, or Wolfgang Hiller, who was Queen Mary's collector of the thirtieth tax, see KUBINYI 2009.

*interest who loves their homeland. He thinks that all of Transylvania and the majority of Hungary could be recovered, if they did not tolerate the burdens or nonchalance regarding their case. If the King reached an agreement, Pemfflinger and his brother could both keep Cetatea Ciceu and Cetatea de Baltă; he will make sure that the Queen supports him in this with the King.*

Ad Marcum Pemfflinger comitem Cibiniensem.

Arbitrabar te post Turcae reditum et nostrorum principum mutationem ad Transylvaniam fuisse reversum cum exercitu regio, quem putabam, eo fuisse missum, hanc ob rem nullas meas ad te dedi litteras. Si enim scivissem te vel Posonii<sup>1</sup> agere, vel in curia regis, non commissem, ut nullas meas haberes. Nunc primum ex litteris  
5 meorum amicorum accepi te in curia esse. Eodem tempore et illud intellexi, quod ageretur istic de pace Hungarica, quae improbari a nemine potest salutis reipublicae amantissimo, si cum dignitate, subditorum aequo commodo, bono reipublicae nostrae, iam funditus fere desolatae fieri contingat. Si tot mille et bonae occasiones, quibus frangi hostis facile potuit, ab his, quibus opus erat, non fuissent praetermissae,  
10 iamdudum ea pace, quam optassemus, frui potuissemus, sed nescio, an negligentiae nostrae vel divinae potius voluntati id praetermissum esse tribuamus. Modica manu Transsylvania tota et magna pars Hungariae recuperari meo iudicio potuisset, nisi aut pepercissemus minimis expensis, aut plus iusto negligentiores in rebus nostris fuissimus. Sed haec missa facio; tu omnia haec melius, quam ego, novisti. Tua ab ineunte  
15 aetate mea singularis in me benevolentia et meus item in te amor me movet, ut de tuis et meis privatis ad te scribam. Si concordiam aliquam rex faciet, non parvum tibi prodesse potes, cum praesens sis in curia; arces Chycho,<sup>2</sup> et Kykellew<sup>3</sup> permanere apud te et fratres tuos<sup>4</sup> poterit, si rem tuam apud regem sollicitaveris. Ego hinc modo sciam, tuque mihi significes, quid facere debeam. Curabo, ut regina in rebus tuis  
20 commendandis ad regem scribat, cuius litteras aliquid apud illum ponderis facturas existimo. Si quid igitur velis, fac me certiolem, de me autem et si sciam te propter benevolentiam, qua in me semper usus est, curam habere etiam in hac mea absentia. Nam ego quoque in absentia tua, si ubi opus esset, libenter in omnibus rebus tibi gratificor. Tamen rogo te, ut si quae concordia tractabitur apud regem, mei memineris, et efficias, ut bona mea remittantur. In quo facies mihi rem gratam. Vale.  
25

Bergis 30. Decembris 1532.

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307,2 Arbitrabar] *corr.* ex Arbitrabor 5 commissem] *corr.* ex commissem. 25 gratificor] *corr.* ex gratificer 26 Vale] *corr.* ex Vale

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307 <sup>1</sup> Pozsony. | <sup>2</sup> Cetatea Ciceu. | <sup>3</sup> Cetatea de Baltă. | <sup>4</sup> Sebestyén, Kristóf, and István Pemfflinger were János Pemfflinger's sons, and probably the cousins of Márk Pemfflinger. István (†1537) was Castellan of Diósgyőr between 1528 and 1537, and Second Chair of the Hungarian Chamber. Kristóf was *aulicus* in the Court of King Louis II and traded with the Fuggers. On the Pemfflingers see KUBINYI 1978, and KUBINYI 2009, 502, 516, 536–537.

Miklós Oláh to Bernhard von Cles  
Mons, 30 December 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 293.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 269.

*Cles understands Oláh's affairs from the Queen's letter; unless Cles helps, Oláh will hardly have any help, so he is asking him to remind the King that his possessions are preserved when he is negotiating about peace.*

Ad Bernardum cardinalem Tridentinum cancellarium regis Ferdinandi.

Etsi nulla mea singularia obsequia praecesserint, Reverendissime Praesul, quorum fiducia tam libere te interpellare auderem, tamen reputans mecum quanta sis solitus humanitate et benevolentia eos prosequi, qui tibi ex animo inservire cupiant, 5 non veritus sum has meas ad eam dare litteras. Causam meam ex litteris reginae intelliges; ea talis est, ut nisi patrocinio tuo meis me absente rebus subveniatur, vix alium subventurum puto. Scio enim, quam potentem et diligentem rerum omnium sollicitatorem et quidem praesentem, curia regia exigit. Ego vero praesens istic solus 10 causam meam apud regem quam libentissime sollicitarem, sed detinent me hic servitia reginae meae. Quare rogo te, velis mei apud regem memoriam habere, ac tua autoritate efficere, ut si qua concordia in rebus Hungaricis tractatur, in meis bonis Hungaricis, quae habui, conserver, sicuti his de rebus rex me etiam alioqui certificavit. Si quid patrocinii, in quo nihil dubito, in me praestiteris, meque in meis tutum 15 conservaris, inter alios tuos tibi addictos habebis me non ingratum servitorem. Vale, mihi que rescribe.

Bergis 30. Decembris 1532.

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Mons, 30 December 1532

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 293.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 269.

*He has heard that King Ferdinand I is negotiating about a peace treaty. He is begging him not to forget about him and his services, and he should not suffer losses because he is far away, serving him.*

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308,12 alioqui] *corr.* ex aloqui

Ad regem Ferdinandum.

Audio adversarium maiestatis vestrae serenissimae pacem ab ea deprecari. Supplicio, dignetur meorum servitiorum fidelium et diuturnorum meminisse et mandare, ne in absentia hac, qua hic quoque vestrae maiestati servio, negligar damnumque post multa mea servitia, damna et expensas patiar.

5

Bergis 30. Decembris 1532.

310 313

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Innsbruck, 1 January 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 436–437.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 269–271.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 226–228.

1. He wrote to the Queen the other day to discuss the details of the peace treaty, in connection with which Mikolaj Nipszyc has also been sent there. He has done everything the way the King told him to do, but in two issues relating to the Queen he is asking for his instruction. On the one hand, to find out to what extent the neighboring territories want to help, Bernhard von Cles, Hans von Ungnad, and others were sent to Bologna; on the other hand, to find out what Hans Katzianer has accomplished so far between the King Ferdinand I and King John I, where in the latter's name Ferenc Frangepán should have come, but he did not and was replaced by István Brodarics and Tamás Nádasdy, but now they have been negotiating for days, and they do not know anything for certain. 2. He is afraid that he is going to have to go to Poland soon, since King John I will also be going to Kežmarok. As far as his affairs are concerned, he is asking for his help. There is no news about the Turks, the envoys to Constantinople have returned with an uncertain answer, everything depends on the response from Bologna.

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Magnifice et Excellens Domine, Amice Honorande! Quominus hactenus scripserim ad sacram reginalem maiestatem, praesertim cum iam aliquot hebdomadis fuerim destinatus cum ampla commisione ad tractandum cum Ioanne vaivoda super pace conficienda, pro quo negotio Poloniae rex<sup>1</sup> huc misit Nicolaum a Nympzitz,<sup>2</sup> 5 frequenter in Hungaria versatum. Ad eandem misi excusationem, quod sicuti iussus

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310,5 Nympzitz] *O corr.* ex Nyptzitz

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310 <sup>1</sup> Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548) was King of Poland from 1506 until his death. | <sup>2</sup> Mikołaj Nipszyc or Nikolaus (von) Nibschitz/Niebelschütz (ca.1483–1541) was Royal Secretary of Sigismund I the Old. He was in Hungary in 1525 at the Fuggers' mandate; later he shattered Sigismund's claim to the Hungarian throne, see PETNEKI 2006, 192; KASZA 2012, 156; MAŁEK-SZYMANIAK 1978, and SRODECKI 2015, 273.

sum omnia facere ex praescripto serenissimi regis Romanorum, cuius maiestati haec negotia omnium maxime incumbunt, ita hactenus nihil mihi imperavit, nisi ut expectarem definitionem suam, quae duabus in rebus consistit. Altera in scienda ex-  
10 tremata et absoluta voluntate pontificiae sanctitatis et caesareae maiestatis, in quo quanto et quali volunt provinciis limitaneis Hungariae, dico: Stiriae, Charinthiae, Austriae extremo periculo laborantibus succurrere. Ad quam rem penitus sciendam, missi Bononiam<sup>3</sup> reverendissimus cardinalis Tridentinus,<sup>4</sup> dominus Ioannes Ungnade,<sup>5</sup> unus Trautzmandorffer<sup>6</sup> et alius quidam. Altera in sciendo, quid per Ioannem  
15 Catzianer iam inceptum esset tractare inter maistatem regiam et vaivodam, pro cuius vaivodae parte convenire debuerat Colocensis,<sup>7</sup> qui non venit, Brodericus<sup>8</sup> et Thomas Nadasdi, Dominationi Vestrae magis quam mihi notior, qui fuit olim praefectus Budae, priusquam concederet in partes Ioannis. Nihil ad ipsius maiestatem scripserim, scio enim, quam non soleant libenter maximi isti principes sine re litteras legere.  
20 Nunc vero cum de die in diem augurari et coniiicere possumus responsum Bononiense, et dominus Ioannes Catzianer iam inceperit tractare cum Broderico et Nadasdy, cuius tractatus nullam habemus certitudinem ad hunc diem.

[2.] Omnino reor brevi me iturum in Poloniam. Nam vaivodam putamus brevi venturum in Cesmarchiam,<sup>9</sup> cuius praefectus est Hieronimus Lasky, proinde futurum  
25 esse, ut brevi interstitio cum illo possimus transigere. Nolui omittere, quin hoc ad maiestatem ipsius reginalem et ad Dominationem Vestram perscriberem, offerendo illi et Dominationi Tuae servitia obsequiaque, si quid exiguitas mea potest impendere. Qua in re precor, ne patrocinium tuum desit. Quod ad res attinet nostras, aperte fatentur Slesitae et Styrii reliquique, velle se rebus suis consulere quovis modo. Cum  
30 Cotzka<sup>10</sup> in Hungaria spes fuit, aliquid posse boni transigi, sed hactenus nihil successit. In causa aiunt esse, quod non expugnaverit Bystritz<sup>11</sup> Catzianer. De Turcis silentium est. Legati ex Polonia missi Constantinopolim redeunt incerto responso. Intendit Polonus habere dietam in Peterkovia,<sup>12</sup> deinde concedere in Lithvaniam. Multi secreti tractatus fiunt in Hungaria, sed nulli prodeunt, omnino pendemus ex responso Bononiensi, quod breve futurum est. Interim iussus est hic subsistere Nicolaus Nyptzitz  
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11 limitaneis] *corr.* ex limitandis 16 Thomas...17 Vestrae] *O corr.* ex quidem Dominationi Vestrae 17 qui] *O mut. et del.* ex nemine ni fallor Nadasdy, cuius tractatus nullam habemus certitudinem 27 et... Tuae] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>3</sup> At this time, Emperor Charles V was in Bologna. | <sup>4</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>5</sup> Hans von Ungand or Ungnad Freiherr von Sonneck (1493–1564) was a general loyal to the Habsburgs; after Katzianer's death, he became the General of Carniola, Styria, and Croatia, and from 1530 to 1556, he was Governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Styria. He is also known as a primary promoter of the Reformation, publishing the Bible in the South Slavic languages. For more see ZIMMERMANN 1981. | <sup>6</sup> Trauttmandorff is an old noble family in Austria. | <sup>7</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>8</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>9</sup> Kežmarok. | <sup>10</sup> Péter Koczka. <sup>11</sup> Bištrija. | <sup>12</sup> Piotrków.



orator Polonus, cum quo ego dicor iturus in Poloniam. Quod si fiat, scribam copiosius de omnibus. Interim me ex animo Magnificae Dominationi Vestrae commendo et eandem ex animo valere exopto.

Ex Oeniponte die prima Ianuarii 1533.

311 312

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 7 January 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 186–187.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 188.

*He would gladly take in Johann Henckel the Younger if he had the space, instead he has asked Peter, the Canon of Mainz, to take in Johann, he will have a good place there. Nicolas Wary used to live there as well, and a smarter student than him has not been at the college for at least ten years. He is hoping that his Johann will not lose anything there. He is eating a bit more than Jacobus usually does. The cost of accommodation and board has increased. He would be happy if Oláh visited him.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Perlibenter admissem in aedes meas Ioannem tuum,<sup>1</sup> si aliquo pacto locum habuissem. Rogatu enim amicorum plures suscepi alendos, quam domus mea commode capere possit. Rogavi dominum Petrum canonicum Moguntinum,<sup>2</sup> ut ipse 5  
admitteret illum in contubernium suum, id quod et tui et nostri causa non gravate fecit. Erit ibi optime. Habent contubernaes ipsius domus doctum praeceptorem magistrum Nicolaum Mermillanum,<sup>3</sup> mihi ab hinc multos annos notum. Non fuit eo doctior in collegio nostro decem plus minus annos. Spero, quod tuus Ioannes operam et impensam apud illum non perdet. Ego obtuli ei meam operam in quavis re promptissimam. Nihil est, mi Olae, quod tui causa non libentissime susceperim. Paulo 10  
maiores emit victuum, quam tuus Iacobus<sup>4</sup> asserverat morem esse Lovanii victum emi. Vix credo usquam tali summa victores ali. Ipse autem solvet pro victu 42 florenos Brabanticos. In multis aedibus solvunt quinquaginta. Solent olim 36 tantum florenos solvi pro victu. De eo tempore fortassis Iacobus cogitabat, cum illam summam nominaret. Cum per negotia tibi vacaverit huc venire, erit nobis adventus Do- 15  
minationis Tuae gratissimus. Bene vale, Domine Secretarie, in primis Colende.

Lovanii postridie regum anno XXXIII.

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311,7 Non] *corr.* ex Nam | eo...8 doctior] *O corr.* ex convictor 11 victuum] *corr.* ex victum 17 XXXIII] *corr.* ex XXXII, see Tournoy 2006, 130. n. 5.

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311 <sup>1</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger, see PALLOS 2010, 172–173. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know this Canon of Mainz. | <sup>3</sup> Nicolas Wary of Marville or Nicolaus Marvillanus (†1529) studied at the University of Leuven and later officially represented the University in many cases, see GUENTHER 1987. | <sup>4</sup> Probably Jakob Jespersen.

Miklós Oláh to Rutger Ressen  
Brussels, 10 January 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 294.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 271.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 215–216.

*He is grateful that Ressen has helped Johann Henckel the Younger, he wishes he can reciprocate his kindness some time. Ressen should continue with the education of the boy lest he get in bad company. When he can, he will visit them and the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense. Henckel will tell him about the celebration and mass penance the people of Brussels organized.*

Ad Rescium. Salve!

Tuum in Ioannem<sup>1</sup> mea causa praestitum officium, mi Resci, gratissimum mihi fuit, nunquam non curas ea facere, quae indicas mihi grata fore. Hac re facis, ut et ego tui sim amatissimus, et percipiam in amore benevolentia ac officio vicem tibi  
5 cumulatam reprendre, si quando occasio erit, ut id ex sententia et viribus meis facere possim. Perge iuvenem hunc tuis monitis praeceptisque fovere, ne tirunculus et plane apud vos hospes in aliquam malam incidat societatem, adolescentibus pestem perniciemque. Ego cum audivero academiam<sup>2</sup> vestram istam insignem praelectionibus calere, si aliquid otii consequi potero, tui et aliorum amicorum, vestrique gymnasii  
10 videndi causa, istuc proficiscar.

Vale et, ut coepisti, me ama tui amatissimum. Qua huc regina inducta fuerit sollemnitate et quam Bruxellenses egerint et agant tumultuum perpetratorum poenitentiam, referre idem poterit Henkellus. Vale iterum cum tuis.

Bruxellis 10. Ianuarii 1533.

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312,7 perniciemque] *corr.* ex perniciemque | 12 tumultuum] *corr.* ex tumultum

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312 <sup>1</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger. | <sup>2</sup> Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense.

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 14 January 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 437–440.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 271–276.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 228–234.

1. After receiving Schepper's letter; he talked to the Queen, who has also received a letter from him and has seen to the affairs. From the dowry she still has Zólyom county, which is rich in ore, the castle of Mukachevo, currently protected by Hans Katzianer; beyond Maramureş there is Khust and a few other cities, which Pál Ártándy defended in the Queen's name after the death of King Louis II, who, however, defected to King John I's side and was slain by Gritti, along with his brother. Then Nádasdy was appointed to head Maramureş, and everything was taken from the Queen. On the other hand, she still has Óbuda and the island of Csepel, which King John I's side had already occupied when King Ferdinand I left Buda. He has to know what needs to be returned to the Queen. 2. As far as his affairs are concerned, nothing would make him happier than if Schepper also started to manage his affairs as an envoy. Before King Ferdinand I came to Hungary, he had many estates, and also a lot of church income. After King Ferdinand I's coronation Gerendi became the Bishop of Transylvania, and his title of Custos of the Chapter of Székesfehérvár was given to Oláh, which he could keep for two years. He was driven out from many of his estates when King Ferdinand I lost Buda: some of those in Zala county were defended by his people, and he received an annual income from those, but he was then stripped of those as well, he does not know to whose benefit. Then there is his abbey of Tapolca, which Imre Bebek invaded and devastated last summer. He has thus nothing left, so if Schepper goes to Poland to negotiate about peace, he should remember him and make sure that his church benefices are returned. The Queen wrote about these to the King and Bernhard von Cles the other day, but he afraid that they will forget about it unless someone, e.g. Gabriel Sanchez reminds them. 3. He has heard that Schepper's wife is well, and they have a son. Visse-naken and the others are also well. Part of the Netherlands has been flooded by the sea, causing a lot of damage. When they were in Mons the other day, the water level of the river Salda also rose so high that a third of the city was flooded, and 25 people drowned. He believes he has heard about the mad crowd in Brussels, whom the Queen has pardoned. The Emperor's illegitimate daughter has been engaged to the Pope's nephew.

Nicolaus Olaus ad Cornelium Scepperum oratorem regiae maiestatis.

[1.] Accepi nudiustertius litteras tuas ad me datas, ad quas si longiores rescipsero, Boni Consule, ex amoreque et necessitate profectas iudicato. Tuis his acceptis, quo affectus sim gaudio, vix litteris explicare possum. Nam praeter ea, quae illis erant scripta mihi gratissima, amorem in me tuum ac benevolentiam singularem, qua res 5 meas te curaturum suscipis, etsi iampridem mihi satis perspectam. Tamen plane nunc cognosco, utpote quae maxime tunc solita sint amicis, cum absint, innotescere. Utinam daretur occasio, qua meam item in rebus tuis operam me declarare liceret, certe

animus et sincerus et ad omnia tua vota expositus non deest, non deeritque unquam,  
10 modo non desit occasio, et opportunitas. Sed missa haec facio, ne hac te commemor-  
atione detineam, satis uti arbitrator, meum in te amorem expertum.

Litteris tuis acceptis allocutus sum reginam; retulit mihi se quoque habuisse a te  
litteras, et res, de quibus scriptae erant, recensuit. Quas partim ego quoque iam ex  
tuis ad me datis intelligebam, post plurimos de servitiis tuis caesari iam exhibitis et  
15 etiam deinceps exhibendis sermones, maiestas sua et hilari et clementi vultu accepit  
oblationem servitiorum tuorum, nunc in rebus ipsius factam; quam credit speratque te  
re ipsa comprobaturum, dum tempus erit, ut tamen intelligas apertius maiestatis suae  
res et bonorum suorum statum in Hungaria existentium. Maiestas sua ex dote habet  
comitatum veterem Zoliensem,<sup>1</sup> in quo sunt arces, civitates, fodinae aurariae, argen-  
20 tariae et minerarum quoque aliarum, haec omnia utcumque fieri potuit etiam tempori-  
bus his omnibus perturbatis, per suos officiales licet non sine magnis expensis suis,  
possedit et possidet, habuit praeterea arcem unam Mownkach<sup>2</sup> in finibus Maromaru-  
sii,<sup>3</sup> cuius nunc officialis, qui antea desciverant a nobis ad oboedientiam serenissimi  
regis nostri Ferdinandi rediisse, ac Ioanni Katzianer capitaneo regis de fidelitate  
25 imposterum servanda, iuramentum praestitisse hoc biduo intelleximus. In Maromaru-  
sio praeterea arces Hwsch<sup>4</sup> et aliquot alias civitates<sup>5</sup> una cum oppidis et montanis  
salium, qui camerae Maromarusiensis uno nomine vocantur. Has quidam officialis  
reginae, cui nomen erat Paulus Arthandi,<sup>6</sup> dum Lodovicus rex infeliciter occubuit,  
nomine reginali tenebat, qui, posteaquam venimus in haec turbulenta tempora diver-  
30 sasque nostrorum factiones et schismata, descivit cum bonis omnibus reginae ad  
Ioannem, a quo postea captus et nescio ob quam rem, aliqui dicunt ob proditorem,  
aliqui ob pecunias (multa enim ex bonis reginae congesserat) cum fratre suo suasu et  
consilio Aloisii Gritti<sup>7</sup> fuerat trucidatus. Post horum necem Thomas Nadasdy, quem  
scribis nunc cum Katzianer convenisse, profectus est Maromarusium, ubi tantum  
35 effecit apud illius Pauli viduam verbis speciosis, ut et arces illas omnes et cameras  
salium et alia bona reginae in manus illius resignarit; ab eo tempore bona illa fuerunt  
a regina alienata.

Ex alia parte habuit eadem regina oppidum Vetus Budam prope Sicambriam,<sup>8</sup>  
situm supra Budam regiam, deinde insulam Zeppel<sup>9</sup> infra Budam ad medium mil-  
40 liare. Haec bona occupata fuere per factionem Ioannis iam ab eo tempore, quo Bu-  
dam Ferdinandus rex amisit; quae omnia praedicta spectant ad dotem reginae. Non  
parvique sunt momenti bona, quae et etiam alia, quae ad dotem reginae pertinent, si  
qua concordia futura est, reduci deberent opera tua in ditionem reginalem. Credo  
autem his de rebus et commissionem et informationem a rege Ferdinando; tamen ut

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313,19 veterem] *corr.* ex veteris 32 pecunias] *corr.* ex pecuniis 43 qua] *corr.* ex quae

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313 <sup>1</sup> Zólyom county. | <sup>2</sup> Mukachevo. | <sup>3</sup> Máramaros county. | <sup>4</sup> Khust. | <sup>5</sup> Viskove, Tiachiv, Câmpu-  
lung la Tisa, and Sighetu Marmatjei. | <sup>6</sup> Pál Ártándy. | <sup>7</sup> Ludovico Gritti. | <sup>8</sup> Óbuda. | <sup>9</sup> Csepel Island.

singula bona apertius intelligere reginalia posses, qualia et ubi essent, haec ad te non 45  
ignorante ipsa regina scripsi, ut scias commodius rebus his operam tuam praestare, si  
sit tempus et necessitas futura.

[2.] Nunc venio ad res meas, de quibus si pluribus, quam decet, scribo. Rogo,  
ignosce, nonque sit tibi molestum. Licet, mi Frater, non dubitem, quin omnia sis tum  
pro tua in me benevolentia, tum singulari humanitate, qua in amicorum negotiis esse 50  
consueveris tua sponte facturus. Tamen ut intelligas, quo nomine contendam a te, ut  
rerum mearum curam suscipias, velim te scire. Nihil mihi gratius, optatius et magis  
necessarium te aut unquam fecisse vel in posterum facere posse, quam si tua cura ac  
diligentia ac autoritate, quam in hac re caesaris oratorem agens mea negotia ex  
sententia conficiantur. Ut ergo rem nostram a primo ovo accipias, antequam rex 55  
Ferdinandus veniret ad Hungariam, pleraque habui beneficia in Hungaria in diversis  
ecclesiis, quibus, relicta mea fratri meo in Transilvania paterna hereditate, me susten-  
tabam. Post electionem et coronationem Ferdinandi, Nicolaus Gerendy, meus singu-  
laris ab ineunte aetate nostra amicus, tunc custos sive thesaurarius, ut vocant, eccle-  
siae Albaerregalis,<sup>10</sup> translatus fuit ad episcopatum Transsilvaniensem, tunc casu per 60  
mortem vacantem, cuius hanc custodiam Albensem, in qua beneficium non poeniten-  
dum rex, cum maius tunc non vacaret, quod mihi iuxta aliquot diplomata sua mihi  
data, quae et nunc apud me habeo, promissionibus suis satis firma, conferri posset,  
per illius translationem mihi contulerat. In cuius possessione fui biennio.

Ex bonorum eius aliqua parte ego et mei fuerunt postea expulsi, cum rex noster 65  
Budam amisisset. Aliquam tamen illorum partem etiam tunc mei in comitatu Zala-  
diensi,<sup>11</sup> utcumque retinuerant. Quam et meo nomine possiderunt tempore inducia-  
rum annuarum, quae erant facta post Vienensem obsidionem anni 1529. Quibus  
expiratis meus consocius<sup>12</sup> fuit in bonis captus et cruciatus, et bona occupata; ab eo  
tempore meis spoliatus sum; quae nescio, cui per Ioannem regem sint collata. 70

Est praeterea quaedam abbatia mea Thapoltza<sup>13</sup> nomine, unum milliare ad arcem  
reginae Dyosgyewr<sup>14</sup> non longe Cassovia,<sup>15</sup> quam aestate praeterita Emericus Be-  
bek<sup>16</sup> perfidus invasit, occupavit, monachos expulit, ex qua, quia est in loco munito,  
omnem illam regionem depraedatum esse et spoliasse dicitur; quam, quia caesaris et  
regis Viennam profectio omnibus perfidis terrorem incusserat, exussit cum ecclesia 75  
et muros diruit, colonos et villas eo spectantes ad arcem suam propinquam occupavit.  
Sic hac quoque abbatia sum privatus ita, ut nihil fere iam in Hungaria possideam,  
vacuusque nunc degam omni et onere et cura. Quare si res eo devenerit, ut tu ad  
Poloniam proficiscaris, ubi vel etiam alibi te nomen et autoritatem caesaris ac regis  
habente pax tractetur, oro et te obtestor, velis mei meminisse, et curare pro tuo singu- 80  
lari ingenio, quo vales pollesque plurimum, ut in parta redigar ac beneficia mea ista

<sup>10</sup> Székesfehérvár. Gerendi was Custos of Chapter of Székesfehérvár between 1525–1527, see KÖBLÖS 1987, 78. | <sup>11</sup> Dörgicse, his land was in Zala county. | <sup>12</sup> Probably András Choron. | <sup>13</sup> Tapolca, see Ep. 148. Note 2. | <sup>14</sup> Diósgyőr. | <sup>15</sup> Košice. | <sup>16</sup> Imre Bebek.

videlicet custodia Albensi, abbatia de Thapolza, archidiaconatus Comorconensis<sup>17</sup> in ecclesia Strigoniensi, et alia nonnulla, quibus privatus sum, cum bonis ad illa pertinentibus Ungari pacti et concordiae mihi in integrum remittantur. Tuam hanc operam  
85 et patrociniū meis officiis omni certe tempore rependere et curabo et volo. Nolo te rogare pluribus in his meis conficiendis; quandoquidem et spero et scio te facturum plus me absente, quam ego petere sciam. Quicquid autem actum fuerit, rogo, fac me certio-  
90 rem, ut sciam meas res secundum tuas actiones dirigere ordinareque. Nuper regina in commendationem harum rerum scripsit et ad regem et ad Tridentinum,<sup>18</sup> credo, modo eas inter alia negligent, si modo sit aliquis, qui earum mentionem apud eos bono commodoque tempore faciat. Huius negotii conscius est Gabriel Xanthus<sup>19</sup> protonotarius secretarius regis, amicus meus singularis.

[3.] Nova scribere non multa possum, frequenter ad his, qui huc veniunt, sciscitor de incolumitate coniugis tuae amantissimae, quam feliciter valere intellexi. Novum-  
95 que tibi hospitem in lucem edidisse; qui utinam felicissimus sit, patrisque virtutes imitetur. Scripsi et nuper ei, ut litteras, si quas vellet ad te dare, semper ad me mitteret; hactenus nullas misit; credo habuisse per quem citius ad te mittere potuit. Decanus Brugensis<sup>20</sup> nostrum utriusque amicus bene valet et alii omnes tui amici, quos hic habes. Selandiae et Holandiae pars aliqua maris inundatione irrecuperabilia damna  
100 esse passas dicunt; eos vix posse reficere claustra maris, nisi quis decem Croesis sit ditior. Dierum aestus latiora illius provinciae occupat loca, verendum est, ne temporibus futuris maius damnum eveniat. Scalda<sup>21</sup> quoque fluvius nuper, cum essemus Bergis Hannoniae,<sup>22</sup> qui per Valencenas<sup>23</sup> praeterlabitur Gandavum,<sup>24</sup> ex piscinarum propter tempestates eruptione tantum crevit, ut tertia pars oppidi fuerit in aqua, et in  
105 xenodochio pauperum fuerint submersi subito viginti quinque aegroti. Credo te audisse tumultum Bruxellensem insanum.<sup>25</sup> Regina post multas eorum supplicationes clementiam eis impertita est, confirmationem privilegiorum a regina per tumultum vi quasi exortam reportarunt, abrogata sunt eorum, quaedam privilegia de homicidis contra gratiam caesaris ad XXIII horas occidendis, de concione, ut ipsi vocant,  
110 coronata, et pleraque alia damnificatis, quorum domus direptae erant, solverunt quatuor millia florenorum, caesari et eius successoribus relaxarunt coronatos sexcentos, ut opinor, eis solvi annuatim consuetos, multamque aliam suae rebellionis exsolverunt poenam. Reginae ad hoc oppidum octava huius mensis revertenti usque ad centum et quinquaginta ex primoribus oppidanis usque ad ecclesiam parochialem, quae  
115 uno iactu extra portam est versus Haal,<sup>26</sup> prodierunt pullati cum facibus obviam,

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<sup>17</sup> Archidiaconate of Komárom. | <sup>18</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>19</sup> Gabriel Sanchez or Xanthus was Royal Secretary, then King Ferdinand I's Roman ambassador from 1533 to ca. 1540. Around 1548, he also received the provostry of Wrocław. He corresponded with Cornelis de Schepper and Oláh as well, see NAUSEA 1550, 454, and LAFERL-LUTTER 2000, 177. | <sup>20</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. | <sup>21</sup> Scheldt river. | <sup>22</sup> Mons. According to Oláh's letters, they were in Mons from 24 November, 1532 to about 1 January, 1533. <sup>23</sup> Valenciennes. | <sup>24</sup> Ghent. | <sup>25</sup> See Ep. 312. | <sup>26</sup> De Haal.

illamque genibus istic flexis exorata[m] conduxerunt ad curiam. Caesaris filia naturalis<sup>27</sup> nepoti<sup>28</sup> pontificis Clementis desponsata, hinc ad octavum et decimum, ut arbitrator, diem Italiam versus progredietur, habebit comitivam ad centum et quinquaginta circiter equites, conducet eam episcopus Tornacensis<sup>29</sup> et quidam ex comitibus. Vale.

Bruxellae 14. Ianuarii 1533.

120

314 <sub>354</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 31 January 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 333–335.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 276–277; ALLEN 1941, 147–148.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 653–654.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-FIRU 1963, 73–175; ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 117–119.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 98–100.

1. He has not received a reply from Erasmus since last July as to whether he is planning to return home. In case he has not received it because of the messengers, in brief he wrote this: if Erasmus wishes to return home, he should tell him, and Oláh will prepare everything, but whatever Erasmus decides, he should share his decision with them. According to the vicar of Carondelet, Erasmus has received the rulers' letter saying that they are expecting him in Besançon with open arms. Where did this change come from? Have the Burgundian wines kidnapped him from them? 2. Erasmus must already know everything about Lieven Algoet's marriage. If Lieven had listened to Oláh, they would have looked for a wealthier wife for him. Algoet is now looking for a position, and Oláh is worried that he is going to leave his expectant wife on her own for one or two years. Quirinus is going to return from England in September. He was away from Brussels with the Queen for three months, they toured the Hainaut region.

Nicolaus Olaus thesaurarius Albensis Erasmo Roterodamo salutem.

[1.] In mense Iulii praeterito dederam ad te, mi Erasme, epistolam satis prolixam,<sup>1</sup> qua tibi pluribus significarem, quid mihi et domino Panormitano<sup>2</sup> in rebus tuis videretur, qui et ipse cum meis una litteris suas<sup>3</sup> ad te dederat. Quae causa sit, cur a tanto tempore nullum a te responsum<sup>4</sup> acceperimus, non satis cogitare possumus, veremur, 5 ne magistri veredariorum negligentia litterae tibi non sint redditae. Quod si factum

<sup>27</sup> Margaret of Parma (1522–1586) was the illegitimate daughter of Emperor Charles V, born before his marriage. Later she became the Governor of the Netherlands (1559–1567 and 1578–1582). In 1536, she married Alessandro de' Medici, but unfortunately the marriage did not last. | <sup>28</sup> Alessandro de' Medici (1510–1537), "The Moor" was the Duke of Florence from 1532. According to rumors, he was the illegitimate son of Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII). | <sup>29</sup> Charles de Croÿ. 314 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 243. <sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>3</sup> See ALLEN 1941, 65–66 (Ep. 2689). | <sup>4</sup> In fact, Erasmus replied to his letter, although not his question, see Ep. 252.

est, di homini illi maleficant. Summa litterarum nostrarum ea erat, ut si velis domum reverti, apertius mentem tuam nobis significares. Ipse et ego curabimus, quantum in nobis erit, ut in patria hic apud reginam non poenitentiam habiturus sis conditionem.

10 Quare sive acceperis litteras nostras priores, sive non, quae tua sit voluntas, significa, ut nostrum in te officium tibi non sit defuturum. Panormitanus, quo cum saepe una sumus, quaesivit a me saepius, si quid responsi a te haberem. Totam silentii tui causam ascripsimus veredariorum magistro. Cura igitur, si id tibi est commodum, nobis tuam mentem patefacere. Sed quid ego te hac in re sollicitem, cum vicarius eiusdem

15 Panormitani, qui est Bisontii,<sup>5</sup> his diebus huc veniens retulit se certo accepisse te et caesaris et regis Ferdinandi habere litteras ad cives Bizontinos, ut in eam civitatem te admitterent, ad quam migrare velles. Id si ita est, quid aliud agis, nisi ut nunquam patriam tuam, amicos, qui hic sunt, revisas. Unde haec tam subita mutatio? Vini fortasse Burgundiaci cupiditas te nobis abripuit, ut ex meis prioribus intellexisse

20 potuisti, hic et Burgundiacum et Hungaricum ex penu reginae habere potuisses, quo aetatem tuam foveres. Quid igitur rei sit, rescibe.

[2.] De Levini<sup>6</sup> matrimonio et ipsius praeter meam omnem sententiam consilio praecipitato ex ipsius et meis aliis, quas in hunc usque diem arbitror tibi esse redditas, omnia te intellexisse non dubito. Qui si meis et consilis et mandatis paruisset,

25 virginem ampla fortuna doteque ei brevi tempore reperissemus. Is nunc a nescio quo caesaris secretario sollicitatur, ut sit illi a manu. Eum ob uberiolem quaestum non dehortarer a proposito, nisi viderem, quam non Christianum et quam etiam periculosum sit uxorem iuenculam iam utero tumentem maritum deserere ad unum aut alterum annum, ut hos tuos municipes video hoc facere ex more solitos.

30 Quirinus<sup>7</sup> tuus missus a te in Angliam diverterat in mense Septembri ad me cum litteris tuis breviusculis, properavit ad Angliam, ut ei iusseras, cui iniunxeram, ut ad me rursus illinc rediret. Regina abfuit Bruxella trimestri spatio<sup>8</sup> omnemque interea Hannoniam<sup>9</sup> peragrati sumus. Credo illum hanc ob rem ad me non devertisse, sed recta ad te revertisse. Si igitur a me aliquid erratum est, quin ad te scripserim, adscri-

35 bito, quod fuerim semper in exspectatione Quirini. Vale et sive redeas, sive maneat in loco statui aetatique tuae convenientiori, mei memineris et me tuum esse totum existimato.

Bruxellae, ultima Ianuarii anno 1533.

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314,15 Bisontii] *O corr.* ex Bisonii 23 et] *O add. sup. l.* 31 properavit] *O del.* ex properavit huc 34 scripserim] *O del.* ex scripserim huic rei

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<sup>5</sup> Besançon. To Erasmus's plan on migrating to Besançon, see ALLEN 1941, 147. | <sup>6</sup> Lieven Algoet.

<sup>7</sup> Quirinus Hagius. | <sup>8</sup> According to Oláh's letters, they left Brussels between 6 and 10 October, 1532 and returned on 8 January, 1533, see Ep. 313. Cap. 3. | <sup>9</sup> County of Hainaut.



Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics  
[Brussels], 2 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 253–254.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 277; KASZA 2012, 347–348.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 654–655.

*He cannot express his joy over hearing that King Ferdinand I and King John I have come to an agreement, if only the peace would last! God will have mercy on the country which has been suffering for seven years now. He wishes Brodarics wrote him some good news about Hungary.*

Ad Steffanum Brodericum episcopum Sirmiensem.

Non possum non laetari audita nuper fama concordiae inter regem nostrum Ferdinandum et Ioannem vaivodam propediem fiendae. Quae utinam felix fortunataque sit et diuturna ac ambabus partibus proficua, regnoque Hungariae diuturnis malis iam penitus attritae saluberrima! Deus miserebitur, ut spero, iam illi oppresso regno, 5 malisque omnibus a septennio fere funditus contrito. Utinam tu laeta nobis huc nova scribere in eisdem rebus Hungariae posses. Gratius nihil nobis hoc tempore continget. Vale.

Secunda Februarii 1533.<sup>1</sup>

316<sup>346</sup>

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 7 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 341–342.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 277–278; ALLEN 1941, 152.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 655–656.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 175–176; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 119–120.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 100–101.

*1. He should read this letter by himself, and he should only give the messenger sealed letters. Jespersen should not know about it. Many are recommending him to leave Germany, others are trying to scare him. He is too old to travel, it would be best if he could stay home. He would like to receive a paper in the Queen's or the Chancellor's name in which they recall him. Then he would need travel expenses, and he*

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315,3 fortunataque] *corr.* ex fortuna

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315<sup>1</sup> Probably Oláh was in Brussels.

has a debt of at least ten years for the accommodation, which the queen may even send as a gift. 2. If they cannot do so through this messenger, he should send his letter with Erasmus Schets to Hieronymus Froben, and that is where the queen's gift should also go, if it happens. He is asking him not to get word out that he is returning home, the journey is safer that way. They say Lieven Algoet has gotten married.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao secretario serenissimae reginae.

[1.] Oro, ut hanc epistolam legas solus, nec huic tabellioni quicquam arcani committas, praeterquam obsignatis litteris. Danus<sup>1</sup> ne quid sciat harum rerum.

5 Multa sunt, quae mihi suadent, ut relinquam Germaniam, etiamsi contingat esse quietam. Multa rursus sunt, quae istinc deterrent. Illud caput est, mi Olae, ea est corporis et aetate et laboribus fracti valetudo, ut aegre tuear vitam domi conclusus. Corpusculum cribro rarius ne aestivum quidem fert caelum. Quod si aula vellet me ab hac quiete revocare, mors esset certissima, certum scio. Si quid queam praestare domi manens, perlubens fecero. Amo reverendissimum dominum Panormitanum<sup>2</sup>  
10 non vulgariter, sed est χρηστολόγος<sup>3</sup> affatim. Etsi satis novi istius aulae ingenium vix praesenti quicquam numeraretur. Velim in primis hoc abs te curari, ut huc veniret epistola vel domini cancellarii, vel reginae nomine scripta, quae me revocaret, ut habeam hic honestam occasionem vertendi solum, ne videar odio cuiusquam discedere. Deinde mitteretur aliquod viaticum honestum. Debetur mihi iam pensio decem  
15 annis aut eo amplius. Nihil magni facerent, si unius anni pensio mitteretur. Quodsi non putas sollicitandos finantiarios, posset munus mitti reginae nomine. Cum peteretur a me libellus *De vidua*,<sup>4</sup> sex epistolae eodem argumento ad me venerunt, ubi praestita sunt omnia, refrixit Henkellus.<sup>5</sup> Migratio mihi magno constabit, tum ob supellectilem, tum ob vitream valetudinem. Sed ante omnia cuperem eam honorificam esse.  
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[2.] Quodsi litterae per hunc nuntium Friburgensem expediri non possunt, mittantur nundinis vernis per Erasmus Schaetum<sup>6</sup> ad Hieronimum Frobenium,<sup>7</sup> eodem mittatur munus reginae, si dabitur. Sed utcunque res habebit, fac, ut sciam in tempore, ut possim meis consulere rebus. Ad patriam aspirat animus. Rogo, ne in vulgus  
25 erumpat me parare reditum, quo mihi tutius sit iter. Varias sunt hominum insidias. Etiam atque etiam oro, ut hac in re declares istum animi tui candorem, quem litterae tuae prae se ferunt.

Levinum<sup>8</sup> meum rumor est esse maritum. Quodsi verum est, precor, ut sit faustum ac felix. Non enim dubito, quin se dignam venatus sit. Si perseverasset in litteris, iam  
30 nunc magnus esset. Non vacabat pluribus. Urget tabellio. Non relegi, ignosce.

Friburgi 7. die Februarii 1533.

316 <sup>1</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>3</sup> 'with eloquence'. | <sup>4</sup> *De vidua Christiana*, see Ep. 77. Note 2. | <sup>5</sup> Johann Henckel. | <sup>6</sup> Erasmus Schets (†1550), see NAUWELAERTS-BIETENHOLZ 1987. <sup>7</sup> Hieronymus Froben (1501–1563), see BIETENHOLZ 1986a. | <sup>8</sup> Lieven Algoet. Erasmus must have heard about the marriage, see his previous letter, Ep. 252. Cf. ALLEN 1941, 152.

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Linz, 8 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 440–449.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 279–290.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 234–250.

1. He is happy to help Oláh if he can. As far as the Queen's affairs are concerned, his brothers are on it, but something always comes up; however, he will see to it. They are living in ungrateful times. He is anxious about the conditions of peace, that they will not be stable enough. 2. He has many friends in Poland who will help him, such as Piotr Tomicki, Jan Chojeński, Jan Tarnowski, etc. Since Szydłowiecki has died, Tomicki would take his vacancy. He does not believe that a decision will be made in Magyaróvár. They have already been waiting in Linz for three days to see who is coming to Magyaróvár, which had been advertized for yesterday. They do not even know if the King is going to come. He is having great conversations with Gabriel Sanchez, while Bernhard von Cles is staying away. 3. He thanks Oláh for looking after his family affairs. He is quite anxious that he has not received a letter from his wife for a long time, but he attributes it to the messengers. He is sending this stack of letters to her, or to Mark Lauwerijns, to forward them to Bruges. He can hardly wait to see his son, he thanks for the congratulations. 4. Nipszyc is waiting to see if King Ferdinand I is going to send envoys to Poland to negotiate about the conditions of peace. Smil Cuna is also here, he brought a letter to the Emperor from King John I. As soon as he learns what they decide, he will write. King John I left Esztergom on 15 October, many think because he got scared of Katzianer. Gritti was put in charge of Osijek to allow 12,000 Turks through. Since Katzianer ended up not doing anything, the King got mad at him, so he attacked Péter Koczka. The Hungarians do not consider anyone a safe haven any more, except maybe the Polish: the Hungarians, along with the Polish, the Romanians, and the Moldovans, would either make peace with the Turks, or they would fight as equals. The only problem is that the Polish King is old. He reports on the Polish, Czech, and Tatar affairs. If he was King Ferdinand I or King John I, he would make peace as soon as possible, otherwise someone else will have the last laugh. The Polish say that they will not tolerate either King Ferdinand I or the Turks above them. Gritti has come to Buda with 2,000 Turks, but he was not allowed in. He does not know when they are going to leave; they asked Emperor Charles V to at least allow Frangepán to go to the Magyaróvár assembly, and he is hoping that Johan Weze will be there as well. He reports on the German affairs. Gabriel Sanchez has stomach aches, but he is still active. He hopes that they will meet soon, he should write both to him and his wife.

Cornelius Scepperus orator caesareae maiestatis Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Nolo ego nunc servitorum oblationibus et id genus verbis uti apud te hominem, qui haec nosti, qualia sint. Si tibi litterae meae gratae fuere, profecto fuere tuae ad me longe gratissimae fuissentque aliquanto gratiores, si longiores fuissent, quamquam tu quidem scribis vereri te, ne prolixitate me offenderes; quod ipsum quale sit, 5

spero te et ex meis non omnino brevibus facile coniecturaturum. Itaque prius veniam ad tuas litteras. Deinde cum praesentes non possimus, absentes tamen commentabimur de iis rebus, quibus aliquando coram. Principio subirascor tibi, quod putaveris dignam esse oblationem meam, cui gratias agas, tamquam ego tibi potius non deberem gratias agere, si quid mihi committeres, quod curatum velles. Eo enim ipso ostenderes te neque amici officium aspernari, et de Cornelii probitate non male sentire, sed ego te imitabor et haec missa faciam veniamque ad alia. Quod sacra reginalis maiestas per te informata est de me, id ipsum et ex ipsius maiestatis litteris intelligo, et apud me tanti fit, ut non facile id scripserim. Omnino vero daturus sum operam, ne tu hominem futilem commendasse et ipsius maiestas minime industrium delegisse dici possit.

Quamquam enim ipsius maiestatis negotia ita serenissimo Romanorum regi ipsius fratri cordi sunt, ut propria, fieri tamen nonnunquam consuevit, ut etiam eorum, quae maxime curata velimus, subinde obliviscamur mole magis negotiorum obruti, quam incuria peccantes; quod iis solet accidere, quibus plurima diversaque committuntur. An nobis homuncionibus, quibus subsidia vitae promotioque ex virtute paranda sunt, longe alius esse animus debet. Imprimis autem curare decet, ne quid parum apte decenterque, ne quid pigre aut etiam insolenter obeamus. Sunt et ipsis regibus aliquando plurima impedimento, quominus ea prosequantur, quae alias vellent curata esse, quae ipsa nobis minima officiant. In summa alia alios decet. Quicquid autem id ipsum est, spero neutiquam incommodam te rem fecisse, quod tam diligenter de rebus et statu bonorum sacrae ipsius reginalis maiestatis me feceris certiolem. Nam utcumque res cadant, sive ipse serenissimus Romanorum rex est Owarum<sup>1</sup> venturus, sive eo missurus ex suis, nihil oberit, quod ego haec sciam. Ero enim et sollicitator diligens et admonitor opportunus, ut interim taceam, quod longe plus ponderis habitura est interpositio mea nomine caesaris, cum intelligent adversarii tam bene me de omnibus informatum esse. Et iam quoque tametsi nondum cornua concreperint, neque signa mota sint, aliquantam apud vestrates opinionem comparavi, hominis studiosi rerum Hungaricarum, et erga praeclarissimam nationem animati et propensi. Hoc sane mihi est cum paucis, qui huic conventui intererunt, commune. Quod illi quidem sive regii sint, sive adversarii, nonnihil semper intendunt ad privatas res suas, neque eo animo publicas principum suorum sollicitabunt, quo ego faciam, qui vacuus sum a spe et metu. Quae duo solent plerumque optima consilia intervertere. Nolo enim dicere, quod tamen frequenter meo cum gravi dolore audio, maximam partem bonorum eorum, quae regiae maiestati ex Hungaria provenire deberent, ipsius maiestatis liberalitate in alios homines collatam esse, per quos tamen certissimum habe-

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317,6 omnino] *O corr.* ex omnibus 9 deberem] *O del.* ex deberem tibi 21 homuncionibus] *corr.* ex homuncianibus

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317<sup>1</sup> Magyaróvár.

mus res tractatas iri ipsius maiestatis ex parte. At ii ipsi, ut fere inde vivitur, longe facilius excusabunt se, si non ea impetrarunt, quae in rem principum faciunt, et sua tueantur, quam si nova illis subsidia facultatum paranda essent, ad ea se cum periculo accingent. In ea enim tempora venimus, ut sicut neque benefacta subsequuntur gratiae, ita neque maleficia puniantur, et praetextum inveniat inexplebilis quorundam avaritia. De quibus in sequentibus. At in me longe alia ratio est, neque illis cuperem male prospectum, sed tamen imprimis arbitror aequum esse, ut principum dignitatis maior ratio habeatur, quam ipsorum cupiditatis. Proinde si res eo pervenerint, haud dubie intelliges, ad id me adlaborasse, casus factum quicumque sequatur, ut est apud poetam, sane omnes opinantur rem bene successuram.

Pertaesum est enim belli utramque partem, et formidini est tertius. Quod quale sit, postea intelliges, sed neque de eventu dubius sum, et in maximam spem adducor pacem subsequaturam. Tantum de conditionibus vehementer angor; ad quas nisi uterque sese facilem praebeat, demittatque aliquid ex suo, vereor, ne parum solida aut stabilis futura sit. Velim quoque (modo ita tibi videatur, nam hoc ipsum discretioni tuae committo), quod sacra reginalis maiestas, inter alia, quae ad serenissimum regem Romanorum scriptura est, modice tangat, quod mihi iusserit, si quando esset occasio admonendi maiestatem suam, aut ipsius commissarios ad hunc conventum ordinandis, super suis negotiis. Hoc enim modo fiet, ut liberius ego instare et urgere possim, et non incurram nomen ardelionis. Est sane et sit maiestas ipsius regia maxime affecta erga sororis res, easque non secus quam proprias commendet, sint et commissarii ad id faciendum admoniti, sint etiam proclives. Quoties tamen experimur quaedam omitti, uti prius dixi. Sed nunc ad alia.

[2.] Magnam gratiam habeo tibi, quod res tuas tam familiariter mihi communicaris. Idque tibi persuade et caesaris personam interpositurum esse me, et regiam quoque ad hoc ipsum inducturum, deinde quibus potero modis et artibus annisurum, voti uti compotes efficiamur uterque. Neque enim credo maiori voluptati id ipsum tibi futurum, quam mihi sane ex animo dolui, cum legerem te ob summam fidem et integritatem, quam hactenus praestitisti, quaeque etiam apud hostes praemium mereri deberent et esse venerationi, bonis et fortunis sacerdotiisque spoliatum esse, atque omnem operam me daturum recipio et polliceor, ea uti restituantur tibi in integrum; id autem quo consilio modoque spero me impetraturum, tibi brevibus aperiam. Auctoritas caesaris regisque ut maxima sit, praeter tamen hanc interpositionem personae utriusque maiestatis, quae haud dubie momentum est habitura, aliud molior.

Sunt mihi in Polonia (non mentior, neque maius dico, quam est) magnae et firmae amicitiae. Non dico cum reverendissimo Ioanne Dantisco<sup>2</sup> episcopo Culmensi, qui

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58 iusserit] *O corr.* ex iniusserit 64 ad] *O add. sup. l.*

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317,50 casus... sequatur] Verg. *Aen.* IX,299: "casus factum quicumque sequentur".

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<sup>2</sup> Jan Dantyszek.

abest ab aula atque ideo in demortui loco habendus, sed cum his, qui nunc potiuntur rerum in eo regno, quique possunt et apud suos omnia et apud vestrates nonnihil. Est  
80 et ipse serenissimus Poloniae rex, est regina, uterque tam bene erga hunc Cornelium affectus, ut si tam bene caesar esset, posset se Cornelius beatum existimare. Nihil dico, quod nihil tale, aut cupienti mihi, aut somnianti iidem serenissimi rex et regina, rerum suarum apud caesarem, curam et omnium negotiorum suorum administratio-  
85 nem, inducto, ut id mihi iuberet prius ipso caesare, mihi commiserint, quod saepenu-mero et valde frequenter amiceque huic homuncioni scribant, ipsius litteris vicissim oblectentur. Est adeoque, ut et non contemnenda mihi istic sors esse posset, si quid  
90 gravius apud nos de nobis oceanus statusset. Cum iis itaque facile ego transigam, sive eo proficiscar, sive non, ut commissuri sint suis oratoribus, si qui ad hunc conventum transmittantur, ut apud adversarios sedulo et serio hanc rem curent, tanquam  
95 utrique maiestati vehementer gratam. Si vero nullus huc orator venturus est, efficere tamen possum, ut ipse rex, eodem affectu, vaivodae atque iis, qui apud eum possunt autoritate, declaret sibi restitutionem tuam in bona et fortunas tuas vehementer cordi esse. Id quod haud dubie virtutibus tuis plurimum affectus, et clementiae suae erga  
100 me, est facile praestiturus, sunt et alii primae autoritatis. Reverendissimi domini Petrus Cracoviensis<sup>3</sup> et Ioannes Pzremisliensis<sup>4</sup> episcopi regni cancellarius et vice-  
95 cancellarius. Est illustrissimus dominus Ioannes comes a Tarnow,<sup>5</sup> palatinus Russiae et generalis capitaneus exercituum regni Poloniae. Est dominus Severinus Boner<sup>6</sup> regni zupparius,<sup>7</sup> omnes viri primarii, et nunc post mortem domini Cristophori a Schydlovicz<sup>8</sup> cancellarii principes omnes hi tum ab olim bene erga me affecti, tum  
100 nunc affectissimi prout crebris litteris ultro testantur, nunquam id facturi, nisi animus eo inclinaret. Horum autoritas apud vestros non est vilis, praesertim cum vicini sunt et digni, quorum ratio habeatur. Hos inquam facile inducturus sum, ut serio res istas nostras promoveant. Nam ego id in ipsorum rebus vicissim feci. Cum enim post mortem praefati domini Cristophori, qui obiit principio Ianuarii praeteriti, vacaret  
105 officium cancellariatus, cui tamen ex dignitate successurus erat Petrus Cracoviensis

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81 esset] *add.*

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<sup>3</sup> Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535) was a humanist and statesman in 16th-century Poland. In 1506, he became Secretary of Sigismund I the Old, and he was Vice-Chancellor of Poland, Bishop of Poznań (1520–1523), and Bishop of Cracow (1523–1535). He was also Chancellor of the University of Cracow. He was a close friend of Brodaries, with whom he spent a lot of time. See KASZA 2015, *passim* and CYTOWSKA 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Jan Chojeński (1486–1538) was Chancellor of the Polish Crown and Royal Secretary. He was Bishop of Przemyśl (1531–1535), later Bishop and Archdeacon of Cracow. | <sup>5</sup> Jan Tarnowski (ca.1488–1561) was a Polish nobleman, knight, and military commander. From 1527, he was Grand Crown Captain and Voivode of the Ruthenian Voivodeship. | <sup>6</sup> Severin Boner (1486–1549), Bona Sforza's merchant and financier.

<sup>7</sup> 'Salary manager', used in the Middle Ages in Poland, see RAMMINGER. | <sup>8</sup> Krzysztof Szydłowiecki died on 29 December, 1532.

episcopus, vicecancellarius, sed qui in vicecancellariatus munus succederet, non satis quisquam sciretur. Vacaret ad haec castellanatus Cracoviensis prima dignitas in eo regno: duo praefati, reverendissimus Pzremisliensis et illustrissimus Ioannes comes a me petierunt, operam uti meam interponerem apud serenissimum Romanorum regem, ut per eum commendarentur regi suo ad praefata officia. Id quod etiam feci, 110 commendationemque eam per me procuratam, et ad eos transmissam scio pondere non caruisse. Ipsi vicissim mihi multa obtulere grati animi indicia erga amicum aliquem meum, si quis ipsorum opera opus haberet. Haec eo pertinent, ut rationem consilii mei intelligas.

Quamquam ego sane vix puto, quicquam nos in Owaro conclusuros de pace, sed 115 necessario recurrendum fore in Poloniam. Id si fiat, praesentia mea non parum allatura est ad hanc exspectionem nostram, si non fiat, uti dixi, ea habemus praesidia, ad quae tuto confugiamus, sed de his suo tempore copiosius scribam, ubi primum videro aliquid nos incipere. Nam iam tertium diem hic haesimus Lincii exspectantes scire, quinam ex primoribus regni Hungarici confluerint Owarum. Nam conventus 120 ad diem septimum, qui fuit hesternus, illic indictus fuit, nequedum satis scimus ipse serenissimus rex eo sit profecturus, necne. Neque sua maiestas, quibus modis nos agere velit, adhuc mihi praescripsit, ubi in earum rerum mentionem venerimus. Tunc ego maiestati suae sum revocaturus in memoriam causam tuam. Cum domino Gabriele Xanthio<sup>9</sup> mihi est summa et gratissima consuetudo. Isque rerum tuarum est 125 cum primis studiosus. Tridentinus<sup>10</sup> abest, puto illum rediisse Bononia<sup>11</sup> Tridentum.<sup>12</sup> Nam inde soluturus dicebatur pridie Kalendarum Februarii.

[3.] Quod ad res meas,<sup>13</sup> quas Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ad me scripsit, attinet, habeo magnam gratiam. Quod etiam de coniugis meae<sup>14</sup> amantissimae salute sis sollicitus, et ad eam tam amice perscripseris, ut si quid litterarum mittere ad me 130 vellet, ad te transmitteret, non possum non exosculari istam tuam benignitatem et humanitatem incomparabilem, oroque, si quando sese obtulerit opportunitas, eam de mea incolumitate facias certiore. Nam ego vehementer animi angor, quod multo iam tempore nullas ab ea litteras accepi; id, quod non ipsius culpa negligentiae, sed tabellariorum aut malitia aut incuria factum esse, scio. Nam praeter multa et pessima 135 vitia, quae apud nos succrescunt, introductus est execrabilis iste mos, passim litteras alienas perscrutandi, quam abominabilem curiositatem miror Deum oceani solum inundatione ulcisci, quamquam ea ipsa illis magis perniciosa est, qui nihil tale commiserunt. Mitto in praesentiarum fasciculum litterarum ad eandem aut ad dominum Marcum Laurinum<sup>15</sup> decanum, quem dignaberis alicui fideli nuntio committere, aut 140

<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. | <sup>10</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>11</sup> Bologna. | <sup>12</sup> Trento. | <sup>13</sup> On these sentences, see Oláh's words, Ep. 313. Cap. 2. | <sup>14</sup> Cornelis de Schepper was married to Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche (†1549), the widow of Pieter Lauwerijns, in 1532. Erasmus approved this marriage because of the widow's wealth, see LUTTENBERGER-BIETENHOLZ 1987, 219, and SKOLIMOWKA-TURSKA 2010, Person #539.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Lauweijns was brother of Pieter Lauwerijns, see IJSEWIJN 1986a.

quod certissimum est, per proprium tabellionem peditem Brugas transmittere. Nam quod hodie vix cuiquam puto satis tutum esse (de meis dico) credere, et pretium tabellario uxor refundet. Quod natum mihi filium gratulatur Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra gratissimum mihi est, optoque illum praesens videre, quod fiet, ubi haec  
145 negotia absolverimus. Nam in Hispanias non est mihi integrum caesarem sequi, cum tandiu id fecerim magno meo incommodo et fortunularum iactura, et sine ulla ipsius gratia, aut attestazione benevolentiae. Insteti, ut mihi istic apud serenissimam reginam provideret de conditione honesta, sed hactenus non respondit. Quicquid sit, ego animum meum obfirmavi, ut nihil praeter opinionem evenire accidereve possit. Neque vero adhuc tam invisus vivo caelestibus auris, ut non possim, si velim, alicubi  
150 emergere, et a contemptu meorum conterraneorum me vindicare, sed de his alias.

[4.] Nunc ad nova, quae hic occurrunt. Scripsi prioribus litteris meis<sup>16</sup> esse in Oeniponte<sup>17</sup> oratorem Polonum dominum Nicolaum a Nyptzitz<sup>18</sup> exspectantem definitionem serenissimi regis Romanorum, an in Poloniam oratores suos mittere vellet  
155 de pace tractaturos. Itidem hic esse Sinil Cunam de baronibus de Constatz,<sup>19</sup> qui a puero fuisse apud Ioannem Szapoliensem et ab eo litteras haberet ad caesarem. Hi ergo cum exspectassent ad decimum tertium Ianuarii, responsum acceperunt tale. Orator Polonus: quod ideo eum retinisset serenissimus Romanorum rex, quia sperabat ipsius opera uti in hac pace conficienda. Nunc autem ex quo Hungari indixissent  
160 conventum in Owaro sive Altenpurgo in diem septimum Februarii prius audituram maiestatem ipsius quid iidem Hungari sint proposituri. Tum deinde si opus sit, recursum futurum ad serenissimum regem Poloniae. Haec responsio fuit. Sinil autem Cuna de Constatz: ego dedi responsum nomine caesaris et ipsius maiestatis litteras, quibus scribebat se ad pacem semper fuisse inclinatam, modo illa aequis conditionibus et honestis offerretur. Cum itaque maiestas sua iam partes suas ad eam interponere vellet, et secundum ipsius Synil Cuna petitionem ad ea loca mittere, quae essent  
165 convenientia ad pacem hanc conficiendam, intellexisse per capitaneum regis Romanorum, Hungariae etc. Ioannem Catzianer coeptum esse tractari cum regnicolis Hungariae et cum ipso adversario, consensisseque in diem septimum Februarii. Proinde nihil esse, quod ad postulata ipsius Cuna maiestas sua amplius respondere  
170 possit, sed exspectaturam, quid istic concludatur. Quia autem idem Sinil Cuna litteras attulerat Ioannis Szapoliensis scriptas manu archiepiscopi Colociensis<sup>20</sup> easque repetebat, ut testari apud Ioannem posset se bona fide omnia transegisse; iussit mihi caesar, ut easdem litteras, nam penes me erant, eidem restituerem, id quod feci, recessitque idem Sinil Cuna decima sexta Ianuarii cum oratore Polono, optime contentus de responso caesaris, sed male de Ioanne Szapoliense. Illum enim asserebat sibi promississe, quod nihil tractaret, priusquam de eo responsum haberet, quod tamen non servasset. Proinde se ad eum profecturum asserebat, et quaecumque illic vidisset, bona fide ad me, ut ad hominem, quem non videbat privatis affectibus magis, quam

<sup>16</sup> See Ep. 310. | <sup>17</sup> Innsbruck. | <sup>18</sup> Mikołaj Nipszyc. | <sup>19</sup> Smil Kuna of Kunštát. | <sup>20</sup> Ferenc Frangepán.



publicae salutis cura duci, ut ipse aiebat, et verum est, scripturum. Nam regios servi- 180  
tores vehementer culpae solebat, dixitque saepius plus invidiae et odii regi obnatum  
esse, quod sui stipendiarii amicis magis essent, quam hostibus formidabiles, quam  
alia ex re. Ita uterque abiit. Quorum vero opera potissimum res haec per Catzianerum  
tractari coepta est, praeterquam unius Thomae Nadasdy, non satis pro comperto  
habeo. Ipse etiam Polonus vehementer permotus est, cum audiret vaivodam non 185  
petere, ut partes suas Polonus rex interponeret, cum praesertim prius semper illum  
esset assectatus, et novissime impulerat, ut legatum suum ad serenissimum Romano-  
rum regem transmitteret. Satis constat post primum congressum Nadasdy cum Co-  
tzianero convenisse alia vice Verbetzy<sup>21</sup> cancellarium et Stephanum Brodericum<sup>22</sup>  
cum eodem, et tunc conclusum esse hunc diem. In quo quid futurum sit, non satis 190  
possunt opinari rerum periti. Ego tamen quae intelligere potui tam ex Polono rerum  
Hungaricarum bene perito, tum ex Synil Cuna et aliis bona fide ad Reverendissimam  
Dominationem Vestram prescribam.

Principio certum est Ioannem Catzianerum hac hieme nihil gessisse praeclari.  
Nam vaivoda voluntarie solvit obsidionem Strigonii quindecima Octobris, tunc cum 195  
Catzianer adhuc ne unum quidem militem haberet, neque aliquot post diebus adven-  
tarit Strigonium.<sup>23</sup> Scio ego, quos rumores sparserint isti Germani. Territum vaivo-  
dam aufugisse, cum audiret Catzianeri adventum et multa alia magnifica, sed nihil est  
tale. Plurimi dolent huiusmodi imposturis regis aerarium exhauriri et Hungariam  
floquentissimum regnum praedae fieri quorundam insolentiae. Idque aperte hic dicunt 200  
vestri. Cur vero ita solverit obsidionem, haec causa fuit, quod timerit, ne Turcae  
ibidem aedificarent, et via sibi ad pacem praecluderetur, prout ipse retulit Sinil Cuna  
pridie illius diei. Nam cur alias recederet, cum in horas haberet exploratores, et sciret  
copias nostras dimissas esse et Bohemos et Moravos iam ex Prespurgo<sup>24</sup> rediisse  
domum, ad quos retinendos frustra missus erat comes Albertus Schlick.<sup>25</sup> Praeterea 205  
haberet ad quadraginta hominum millia sub signis. Et Ludovicus Gritti profectus  
fuerat ad Esseck<sup>26</sup> prope Dravum, ut adduceret duodecim millia Turcarum. Nam cum  
imperator Turcarum Dravum fuisset cum universis copiis transgressus, imperavit  
centum millibus equitum, ut illic quieti manerent exspectarentque, si forte caesar et  
rex Budam venirent obsessum. Cum vero utraque maiestas solutis copiis tenderet in 210  
Italiae confinia. Idem Ludovicus huius recessus nuntium attulit Turcis et iam in iti-  
nere erat, ut ad vaivodam cum duodecim millibus delectis in castra ad Strigonium  
rediret, cum audivit reliquisse illum obsidionem. Nihil ergo cum gesserit Catziane-  
rus, nisi quod amicis iuxta atque hostibus fuerit gravis, magnum odium conflavit

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<sup>21</sup> István Werbőczy (1458–1541) was a Hungarian jurist and statesman, known for his law-book *Tripartitum* (1517), which was used until 1848. | <sup>22</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>23</sup> Esztergom | <sup>24</sup> Bratislava. | <sup>25</sup> Albert Schlick von Falkenau or Albrecht Šlik (1486–1548) was Royal Chamberlain of King Ferdinand I, and Governor of Lausitz, see CSEPREGI 2004, 139, and B. SZABÓ 2006, 121–131. | <sup>26</sup> Osijek.

215 serenissimo regi, ut vestri dicunt, et verisimile est, Cotzkam<sup>27</sup> parantem se dedere subito invasit, cumque unam ipsius arcem expugnaturum se crederet frustratus, illum a deditone, quam de octo arcibus facere volebat, avertit, dicentem malle una virga quam duabus percuti. In summa unicum solum monasterium cepit, cum tamen valde  
220 Hungari videant se passim omnibus praedae esse, deliberasse finem tandem aliquem his miseriis statuere et rebus suis consulere. Cum neque in serenissimo rege satis praesidii, neque in Szapoliensi fiduciae esse ita comparerint. Et super hoc ipso conventum futurum et eos finaliter scituros, quid sibi agendum omittendumve sit. Neque  
225 enim non vigent in regno vestro practicae de tertio assumendo. Cumque ego diligentissime investigarim, quis ille tertius esse posset, deprehendi nonnullos vestrum ad Poloniam respicere, hoc modo iuvenem regem assumendum, illi dandos consiliarios ex corpore regni, viros peritos rerum Hungaricarum. Nam tales paucos apud serenissimum regem esse, et regni illius negotia per extraneos geri, non modo vestri, qui in Hungaria sunt, sed et hii, qui inde huc veniunt. Quique hic curiam sequuntur, con-  
230 queri aperte non desinunt. Hoc medio duas fortissimas nationes Hungaros et Polonis iunctis Valachis et Muldavis, quorum primores aperte sint Turcarum iugum retractaturi, vel facile pacem a Turcis impetraturos, vel si bello agatur, pares etiam aut superiores fore. Quod de Valachis et Muldavis dixi, id omnino habe pro certissimo. Nam ego quaedam novi, dico, ex Polonis, quae scribere non tam possum, quam scio vera  
235 esse. Scio hanc rem practicari per Hieronimum Lasky, nunc in conventu Peterkoviensi cum Polonis. Scio illius gentis quamplurimos aliud nihil petere, quam innovationem rerum. Unus obest: rex senio confectus, cuius tamen autoritas cum prudentia deficere incipit apud suos, adeo ut sermones neutiquam vani sint, illum dimissis gubernaculis regni, et traditis filio et ordinatis per ipsum regnum consiliariis, qui  
240 eidem iuniori regi assistant, concessurum in quietem, et reliquum vitae transacturum sine negotiis, quod mihi fit verisimile. Neque decet quaedam exacerbationes inter nationes, dico, inter Bohemos et Slesicas ab una et Polonos ab altera parte. Nam Bohemi a Polonis repetunt duos ducatus, qui sunt prope Cracoviam. Poloni dicunt se illos obsedis-  
245 debeant respondere Bohemis, aut si bello agatur, quomodo illud propellere. A parte Tartarorum securi sunt. Nam Mendliger,<sup>28</sup> is, qui apud Turcas nutritus, ad eosdem hac aestate miserat decem equitum millia, eratque Polonis cumprimis infestus impe-

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226 dandos] *corr.* ex dacidos

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<sup>27</sup> Péter Koczka. | <sup>28</sup> Mendliger is in all likelihood Crimean Khan Mengli Giray, whom contemporary sources written in Polish and Ruthenian chancery languages simply refer to as Mendligirej. At the same time, it was not him, but his son, Saadet Giray who had spent a longer period of time in Constantinople as guarantor. From there he returned as head of the khanate in 1523, but in 1532 he was forced into exile in Constantinople. The writer of the letter presumably mistook the father for the son.

rator,<sup>29</sup> a fratre suo Assalano<sup>30</sup> sultani, imperio Pzrecopiensi<sup>31</sup> pulsus est, exultatque apud Turcas, nunc quattuor menses sunt. Est autem Assalam plurimum devinctus Polonis, ut qui eum a fratre pulsum susceperint, et minaciter postulatam ad supplicium, defenderint. Neque non fatetur ipse id ipsum. Estque in belli societatem venturus, quocumque vocetur ab iisdem, Bohemi tamen Slesitaeque bellum volunt, sed prudentia sacrae maiestatis Romanorum Hungariaeque id hactenus prohibuit, et prohibitura videtur. Id pro compertissimo habeo: vulgus nobilium in Polonia ad Hungaros respicere. Neque vana esse, quae ad te scribo, puta. Neque enim ex me haec scio, sed ex his, qui iisdem aut intersunt talibus, aut amici sunt iis, qui praesunt. Eventus autem ostendet; mihi certe formidabilis ista practica videtur. Nam exempli novi non est, sed alias id ipsum apud vos usu venit post mortem Alberti.<sup>32</sup> Et nunc longe peritiores estis, quam tunc. Nimiae enim opes vestrae longe maiorem vobis perniciem attulere, quam hostis externus. Nunc autem edocti estis vestro malo. Iterum dico, cum apud me ista considero, vehementer terreor causa nostra. Nam valde magna ingenia nunc ubique vigent, et fere omnia prona ad malum. Quare ego sane, si rex essem, praevenirem haec incommoda et pacem facerem, quanto possem citius. Idem facerem, si vaivoda essem. Nam si pergant ita inter se digladiari, sane timendum erit, ne tertius superveniat, qui utrumque iam exhaustum opprimat. Nisi ea causa sit, quae impulit Szapoliensem maturare hunc conventum, priusquam certum quid haberet de Sinil Cuna, ego aliam profecto haud scio. Ubi primum rescivero, quid in conventu Peterkoviensi conclusum sit, faciam te certiorem. Apertissime autem ostendunt Poloni se neutiquam permissuros, ut serenissimus Romanorum et Hungariae rex toto illo regno potiat; vires enim ipsas et magnanimitatem ipsius suspectam habent. Idem negant Turcas permissuros. Idem Venetos, e quorum corpore Ludovicus Griti magnam auctoritatem apud vos sibi peperit, non tam Turcarum ex commissione, quam vafricia Szapoliensis, qui eo abutitur in castigandis rebellibus, invidiam a se facti in Turcarum saevitiem reiiciens. Quid futurum sit, nescio, sed mirabiliter suspectum est mihi tertium illud, de quo, ut tibi homini amico nominem authores: Pemphlinger<sup>33</sup> cum esset in Oeniponte super hoc locutus est cum Polono oratore,<sup>34</sup> sive id

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259 Nimiae] *corr.* ex Niniae 273 vafricia] *corr.* ex vafricie

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<sup>29</sup> Saadet Giray (1492–1538) was Khan of the Crimean Khanate between 1524–1532. He was expelled by his nephew, Islam Giray in 1532. | <sup>30</sup> Based on the content of the letter and the order of the events, Assalam presumably refers to Islam Giray, nephew of Saadet Giray (†1537), who headed the Crimean Khanate for a few months in 1532, and earlier possessed the title of Galga as Vice-khan. Since he wanted to gain supreme power at all cost, he was in constant battle with the rest of the Giray dynasty. In order to achieve his goals, he did not even refrain from asking for help from Sigismund I, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. On their troubled decade, see KOŁODZIEJCZYK 2011, 64–71, and KATKÓ 2015, 61–63. | <sup>31</sup> Perekop was the entrance of the Crimea. | <sup>32</sup> It is not clear who he is. | <sup>33</sup> Márk Pemfflinger, see Ep. 307. | <sup>34</sup> Mikołaj Nipszyc.

serio fecerit, sive ut illinc animum perterritaret, qualitercumque id est, periculosum  
est talia vel cogitare. Idem Polonus mihi retulit a primis Hungarorum rem hanc pri-  
dem coeptam esse tractari, neque quicquam in causa esse, quominus tale quid sit  
280 reipsa tentatum, nisi auctoritatem regis senis, qui ab huiusmodi consiliis semper  
conatus est suos deterrere. Nunc autem et ipse desperatione ductus gravibusque curis  
pressus, paulatim contabescit, et ad res agendas ut vires, ita videtur animum quoque  
omnino dimissurus. Iste status est nunc regni vestri. Ludovicus Gryti cum duobus  
285 millibus Turcarum venit Budam, neque tamen intronatus est. Quando nos hinc  
simus abituri, nescio. Petiit serenissimus rex Romanorum Hungariae a caesarea maie-  
state, ut ad hunc conventum mitteret unum ex tribus cardinalibus Hispanis et praeci-  
pue cardinalem Sanctae Crucis professione Franciscanum, ratus illum cum Colo-  
ciensi<sup>35</sup> melius transacturum. Cum vero nullus Hispanus Italiusve sese Germanorum  
furori audeat exponere, ne tamen sine persona ecclesiastica conventus iste transiga-  
290 tur, reor caesarem huc missurum esse reverendissimum archiepiscopum Lunden-  
sem,<sup>36</sup> cum quo una res ipsas geremus; is si forte advenerit. Nam certi nihil habeo,  
neque ad me scriptum est, omnino iuncti in rem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissi-  
mae incumbemus. Quamquam si in Poloniam sit eundum, ego me eo solum sine  
collega arbitrer profecturum. Et quod de rege ipso virisque primariis mihi pollicitus  
295 sum, id ipsum spero neutiquam fore vanum. Si non venerit aut ille, aut quisquam  
alius praesul, ego solus rem totam ad me recipio, et Reverendissimam Dominationem  
Vestram bono animo esse hortor moneoque. Et profecto ego satis scio, quam sit  
eidem durum in regione aliena, sub alio caelo, aliisque vivendi modis senescere.  
Itaque bene illi consultum mihi videretur, si tandem ad suos se reciperet, atque ut id  
300 commode honesteque facere possit, omnem operam dabimus, prout vicissim illam  
vellemus in rem nostram, qui procul a patria sumus intendere. De rebus Italicis nihil  
scimus. Duces Bavariae videntur aliquod bellum velle incipere pro recuperandis  
arcibus, quae sunt ad Oenum,<sup>37</sup> quas ab olim perdidit Robertus<sup>38</sup> Rheni palatinus sub  
Maximiliano caesare. In ducatu Virtenbergensi videntur res mutatum iri proxima  
305 aestate. Iunior dux, qui a nobis abiit, fertur latere in Bavaria. Neque deest Francorum  
rex in omnem occasionem; habet enim cum Germanis mirabiles practicas. Nescio, an  
serenissimus Romanorum rex huius sit conventus finem exspectaturus, an prius se  
recepturus in Bohemiam. Namque hi vehementer urgent, ad se ut veniat. Gabriel  
Xanthius noster laborat malo stomachi, negotiatur tamen et sequitur aulam. Haec  
310 sunt, quae nunc occurrunt, quae ideo tam profuse scripsi, quod mallet longas, quam-  
vis inanes, quam breves et succinctas ad te dare. Sacrae reginali maiestati me humil-

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304 mutatum] *corr.* ex mutatae

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<sup>35</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>36</sup> Johan Weze (1490–1548) was a Secretary of King Christian II of Denmark, a diplomat in the service of Emperor Charles V, and Archbishop of Lund between 1522–1532. For more see HEISE 1904. | <sup>37</sup> Enns river. | <sup>38</sup> Ruprecht, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1481–1504).

lime commenda, et maiestatis ipsius res mihi curae fore omnino assevera. Eorum  
vero, quae scripsi, partem, quatenus tibi videbitur maiestati ipsius captata opportuni-  
tate, expone, si forte apud reverendissimum dominum Panormitanum,<sup>39</sup> aut alios mei  
mentio incidere, rogo, velis in bonam partem mei meminisse. Non satis aequiter, 315  
neque pro merito et impensis servitiis mecum illic egere primates nostri, sed nunc  
tempus quaerendi non est; me ab honesto neque indignitas, neque invidia cuiusvis  
aget in transversum. Brevi, ut spero, vos invisam, sed non nisi absolutis negotiis.  
Iterum te rogo, si quando per opportunitatem potes, solare litteris uxorem meam.  
Nam illam de mea salute vehementer anxiam esse, neque mirum est, et ego satis 320  
novi. Maior enim metus, ut Horatius ait, absentes habet. Neque ego vero non sum de  
ea sollicitus, cui plus debeo, quam mortalium ulli, quisquis ille sit princeps vel pri-  
matus, et nunc duplicatae sunt curae. Hoc est, quod Reverendissimam Dominationem  
Vestram rogatam ex animo velim. Nam aliud nihil, in quo eidem molestus sim, oc-  
currit, si quid acciderit tale, non verebor a te officium petere. Bene vale, Domine et 325  
Amice ex animo Observande, et sanitatem tuam curae.

Ex Lincio Austriae die octava mensis Februarii anno 1533.

318 335

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Brussels, 10 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 259–260.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 290–291.

*He has received a letter recently from which he learned that Thurzó has become Royal Locumtenens. He and the Queen are both very happy because governance is in good hands now. He knows this is not without a burden, but he has two consoling things to say: on the one hand, he is fit for this office through his talent and wisdom; on the other hand, during times of peace, which are currently being negotiated, it will entail with less work. He thanks Thurzó for looking after his affairs.*

Ad Alexium Turzonem comitem locumtenentem regium in Hungaria.

Diebus exactis venerunt ex curia ad me litterae, quae te declarabant locumtenen-  
tem regium esse factum.<sup>1</sup> Quod utinam verum sit! Nec regina, nec nos antea id audi-  
veramus, laetati sumus omnes super hac tui promotione, Deus faxit, ut pro miseri  
illius regni quiete, ampliori, siquis hoc esse potest, statu inposterum orneris. Tunc 5  
enim primum provinciae bene et cum quiete gubernantur, cum illis prudentes prae-

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321 Maior... habet] Cf. Hor. *Epod.* I,17–18: “in metu, / qui maior absentis habet”.

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<sup>39</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 318 <sup>1</sup> Thurzó was appointed *Locumtenens* on 4 October, 1532, see FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 69.

sunt rectores. Licet autem sciam non parum esse hoc oneris in rebus praesertim nunc turbatis, duae tamen res me consolantur, quae tibi faciliorem praebiturae sint administrationem: ingenium tuum singulare et prudentia multo iam usu rerum comparata, 10 denique pax, quam nunc istic tractari audimus, quae si futura est bona et firma, pauciores habebis molestias in administrando hoc officio. De rebus meis privatis pauca nunc scribo, nam scio te illas, sicuti mihi saepe scripsisti, curae habere, dum tempus erit. Quarum nunc maxime tempus esse videtur, si quid boni facere volueris, dum negotium pacis tractatur. Rogo igitur, velis mei esse memor et efficere, ut bona mea 15 rehabeam. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Februarii 1533.

319

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 10 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 260–261.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 291.

*He was expecting the merchant today to resolve Szalaházy's 500-forint affair, or should he wait instead until things are better? Since Szalaházy has not written to him for a while, he thought he should expedite the affairs, and the Queen said she would pay. He hears they are negotiating about peace in Magyaróvár, if only they were successful! Szalaházy should not forget about him, either!*

Ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium in Hungaria.

In rebus tuis quingentorum florenorum mercatori per reginam designandis expectavi in hunc diem; an eas sollicitarem vel exspectarem, dum reginae res meliuscule in Hungaria se haberent. Nam neque sola intelligit, quomodo se habeant. Verum cum nihil ad me tamdiu scripseris, putavi meum esse officium rem sollicitare 5 non exspectatis tuis litteris. Hodie igitur sum ipsam in ea re allocutus, quae dixit se resoluturam, ut eius verbo utar his diebus. A qua bonam, ut spero, accipiam relationem, quam per nuntium proximum tibi rescribam. Accepi in Owar pacem per vos tractari, quae utinam felix sit et firma futura! Rogo, mei memineris, ut meis quiete 10 rehabitis possim reverti; velisque eam in meis rebus curam ac favorem declarare, quem crebris mihi obtulisti litteris. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Februarii 1533.

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318,14 tractatur] *O corr. ex tractur* | ut] *O add. sup. l.* 319,10 rehabitis] *O corr. ex rehabetis*

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 10 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 261.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 291–292.

*All Paulus' previous good deeds are surpassed by how Paulus has defended him, his status, and his dignity recently. This protection has never come at a better time, in return he is ready to subordinate his life to his will, he will not forget it.*

Ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Inter omnes actiones, quas tu unquam habuisti in meis rebus, nihil unquam laudabilius mihi que amabilius fuit, quam quibus proxime me, statum, honorem et dignitatem meam summa contentione defendisti. Id tuum factum tam fuit mihi iucundum, ut omnia tua in me pristina, licet maxima beneficia longe superare videatur. Nam quam 5 maxime necessaria erat mihi nunc status, honoris et dignitatis meae defensio, et quam commodissimo tempore tu mihi omnibus viribus adfuisti, facile poteris ex hoc iudicare, quod post illam tuam mirificam honoris mei defensionem in meis rebus omnibus facile conquievi, et tua opera illas in tranquillissimum statum deductas esse non modo iudicavi, sed etiam re ipsa sum expertus. Quare, mi Comes, nihil est, quod tibi 10 hoc nomine non debeam. Ubi cumque usus tulerit et occasio tuas, quas unquam habiturus es, res curandi, non modo meis viribus, curae, labori et studio non parcam, sed etiam paratus sum vitam meam ad tuam voluntatem profundere. Perge me tua auctoritate vel in posterum non modo ornare, sed etiam defendere. Quaecumque in me praestiteris beneficia non in immerentem conferes, et omnium tuorum in me praestitorum beneficiorum habebis me memorem. Vale. Et, ut semper fecisti, me ama. 15

Bruxellae, 10. Februarii 1533.

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Brussels, 12 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 261–262.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 292.

*He could not get to know him as a person as well before as he can during these difficult times. Macedóniai had promised everything and done nothing, but now Oláh knows who he can trust.*

320<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Ad Ladislaum Macedonyay episcopum Varadiensem.

Quem antea habueris modum vivendi, quemque morem et quae fuerit tua natura, prius non tam poteram cognoscere, quam nunc in rebus meis ex gratia Dei nondum deploratis, at variis tamen fluctibus agitatis. Omnia, dum tecum eram, pollicebaris te  
5 in me absentem collaturum; nunc nihil eorum, quae promisisti te servasse comperio, de cetero ero cautior in credendo, et quantum potero, diiudicabo, cui credere debeam. Vale.

Bruxellae 12. Februarii 1533.

322

Miklós Oláh to Gabriel Sanchez  
Brussels, 14 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 262.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 292–293.

*From all his ringleader friends it is only Sanchez whom he can rely on even in his absence, he has him to thank for what he has; in fact, these belong as much to Sanchez as to him. He should continue like this, and he will not forget about him, either.*

Ad Xanthum Gabrielem.

Nihil est, quod tibi, mi Xanthe, non debeam. Inter innumerabilem fere amicorum gregem, quos olim rebus meis florentibus et fovi et magnis prosecutus sum beneficiis, tu unicus inventus es, qui mei absentis rationem haberes, hoc tuo beneficio  
5 omnia, quae habeo, ex magna parte me tibi debere profiteor. Quae profecto omnia tam sunt tua, quam mea, neque ullam rerum mearum partem vellem mihi tam esse singularem et ita mihi esse privatam, ut non tibi eam putarem mecum esse communem. Quare perge, ut coepisti, me amare, et non defatigare meas res tuis ornare beneficiis. Crede mihi, ubi praestiterit se occasio, non patiar me abs te unici beneficiis,  
10 sed quae in me contuleris, superare benefactis adnitar. Vale.

Bruxellae 14. Februarii 1533.

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321,1 Ad...Varadiensem] *O add. et mut. ex Macedonyay 2 modum] corr. ex nondum 322,1 Gabrielem] O add. in marg. 6 tam<sup>2</sup>] O add. sup. l. 9 patiar] corr. ex partiar*



Miklós Oláh to a Provost called Joannes  
Brussels, 16 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 262.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 293.

*He does not know what is happening with his affairs, there is no way he did not present to his friends, who volunteered to look after them, but he does not even know what they have done so far. He thinks they have forgotten about him.*

Ad Ioannem praepositum.<sup>1</sup>

Quid factum sit in meis rebus, non modo scire, sed ne cogitare quidem possum. Nullum censeo modum agendi, quem quidem putaverim ad rem pertinere, quem non in tempore patefecerim amicis meis, qui mearum rerum procuracionem sponte susceperunt, a quibus nihil adhuc certi habere potui, quid fecerint, aut in quem statum mea  
5 collocarint negotia. Arbitror tamen eos non usque adeo oblitos esse meae in ipsos benevolentiae, amoris et consuetudinis, ut illarum nullam penitus habuerint curam; maxime cum me tam accurate ad eos saepius scripsisse intellexerint. Quare, mi Amice, cum sciam te esse mihi benevolum, cum primum scire potero, quid sit in  
10 meis causis actum, faciam te mox certiozem. Vale.

Bruxellae 16. Februarii 1533.

324 (333)

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Linz, 18 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 455–456.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 295–296.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 251–253.

1. After his recent letter he met with the King and talked about the Queen's and Oláh's affairs, and he received the answer that the King has the Queen's affair at heart, and he will not forget about him, either.  
2. Schepper and a colleague of his are going to the negotiations tomorrow; they will first encourage both King Fedinand I's and King John I's men to make peace; they do not yet know who will respond. On King John I's side the following are coming: Ferenc Frangepán, István Brodarics, István Werbőczy, Tamás

323,5 a] *O add. sup. l.* 6 ipsos] *O corr. ex ipsis*

323<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

*Nádasdy, and others; on King Ferdinand I's side: Sigismund von Dietrichstein and Sigismund von Herberstein. Nobody is coming from Poland, and they do not even know what is going on at the Piotrków assembly. 3. King Ferdinand I is in Linz, and he is hesitating if he should go to Bohemia or Moravia. Gritti has crossed the Drava, they do not know anything else about him. If he wants to write to his Hungarian friends who are coming to the negotiation, he should do so through Sanchez, and Oláh should write to his wife that he is well.*

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao salutem. Reverende et Excellens Domine, Maior et Amice Carissime et Honorandissime!

[1.] Nolo longa praefatione tecum uti, cuius perspecta est mihi integritas, proinde ad rem. Post novissimas litteras meas<sup>1</sup> tam in re sacrae reginalis maiestatis, quam  
5 Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae conveni serenissimum regem Romanorum non tam anxius de re praefatae reginalis maiestatis, quam sciebam fratri curae esse, quam de iis, quae ad Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram attinent. Respondit in rem maiestatis reginalis facturum, ut fratrem decet, adiunxit illam esse optime de se meritam et replicavit bis idipsum, tandem subiunxit et sororem postea iterum  
10 talem, et tam bene meritam. Nosti hunc affectum esse magnum. De re Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae dixit se recordari et minime obliturum. Itaque tum ipsius maiestatis benevolentia, tum officio et sedulitate domini Gabrielis Xanthi<sup>2</sup> nihil non debet boni sperare Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra.

[2.] Quod ad me attinet, quae superioribus litteris<sup>3</sup> ad te scripsi, illa facturum esse,  
15 iamque pro parte fecisse ne dubita. Cras hinc sumus abituri collega meus et ego cum aequali potestate. Deus faxit, ut bonum ad finem res haec perducere possit. Primi tractatus nostri erunt, ut adhortemur tam regios, quam vaivodanos ad pacem. Neque nescimus a regiis propositum iri principio, ut vaivoda cedat ea parte regni, quam habet; vicissim maiestatem regiam sese ita gesturam erga eum, ut apparere possit minime  
20 illum poenitere debere huius cessionis. Tum quid sint adversarii responsuri, in obscuro non est; tandem veniemus ad nucleum. De loco mutando et aliis rebus scripsi ad reginalem maiestatem, quas litteras, quia scio Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae communes fore, non amplius addam illis de rebus. Venturi sunt ex parte vaivodae Franciscus de Frangipanibus archiepiscopus Collocensis,<sup>4</sup> item Stephanus  
25 Brodericus et Stephanus Verbetzy<sup>5</sup> et Nádasdy et alii. Ex parte serenissimi regis praeter duos Sigismundos de Dieteristain<sup>6</sup> et de Herbestain<sup>7</sup> erunt ex omnibus provinciis legati et oratores, sed illi primi. Polonorum nemo vocatus est ad hunc conventum, sed nihil id refert. Semper sunt nobis integra omnia eo genere, quo ad Reveren-

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324 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 317. | <sup>2</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. | <sup>3</sup> Ep. 317. | <sup>4</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>5</sup> István Werbőczy. | <sup>6</sup> Sigismund von Dietrichstein (1484–1533) was an Austrian nobleman and Imperial Councillor, and from 1515 to 1529 also the Governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Styria, see VARGA 2008, 1105. | <sup>7</sup> Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566) was a Carniolan diplomat, writer, and member of the Holy Roman Empire's Imperial Council. For his life and his diplomatical relations, see PICARD 1967, 166–174.

dissimam Dominationem Vestram nuper scripsi, praetera valde vicini sumus Poloniae, ut ad omnes casus illic possit nobis esse recursus. 30

[3.] Serenissimus rex Romanorum haeret Lincii dubitans in Bohemiamne, an in Moraviam sese sit collaturus, et vicinus esse possit his tractatibus. Quid actum sit Peterkovie<sup>8</sup> in comitiis Polonorum, nondum scimus. Exspecto ego de die in diem litteras, per quas certior de omnibus sum futurus. Tum nihil Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae celavero. De Ludovico Gritti nihil audimus; abiit trans Dravum. Si 35 qui inter nominatos Hungaros amici sunt, Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra et ad eos quicquam scribere velit, mittat ad me litteras per Gabrielem Xantum. Uni primum aliquid tractare coeperimus, confestim et reginalem maiestatem et Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam de hoc faciam certiozem. Interim dignetur me reginalem maiestati humillime commendare, si sese obtulerit occasio Dominationi Vestrae 40 Reverendissimae scribendi Brugas, nuntiet uxori et amicis rectissime me valere. Mitto ad illos nunc etiam litteras, sed in omnem eventum poterit eam operam amico praestare. Et rectissime valeat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me ex animo commendo. 45

Ex Lyncio die XVIII. Februarii 1533.

### 325

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Brussels, 18 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 254–258.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 296–300.

1. He is hoping that King Ferdinand I will now put an end to those affairs on which his affairs are depending. Czeglédi should know that there are three possible ways: first, King Ferdinand I drives King John I out somewhere so he can possess all of Hungary; second, if they make peace and divide up the country; and third, if everyone keeps the part that they are in possession of today. 2. He is afraid that due to his being and serving abroad he will sustain a loss, namely he has been stripped of all the possessions he had received from King Ferdinand I; thus, he has to go to Magyaróvár. There on the King's side Szalaházy and Stamp will be of help, but he even has old friends on the other side: Brodarics and Nádasdy. He has written letters of accreditation to both of them, which he should hand over and tell them that the title of Custos of Chapter of Székesfehérvár has passed from Gerendi to him, it belongs to him. Somogy county also used to belong to him in the same way, which Bálint Török has taken, as if helping himself to it, although King Ferdinand I had not given it to him, and he has proof of it, a letter. He has tried to recover it, without success. 3. Hopefully the Zala affairs will be fine, since those were entrusted to Tuskanics by Czeglédi. Choron and Móré are also getting their estates back in the same way. Czeglédi should be clever now because he will not have the opportunity later.

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<sup>8</sup> Piotrków.

Nicolaus Olahus ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorum suum salutem.

[1.] Sicuti proxime ad te scripsi, habeo spem, quod in rebus communibus Hungaricis, ex quibus meae pendent, propediem rex noster Ferdinandus finem sit factururus. Nam certo intelligo hoc ipso die in Altemburga<sup>1</sup> commissarios utriusque partis convenire debuisse pro pace tractanda. Regia autem maiestas descendet, vel iam descendit Lincium aut fortasse Viennam, ut prior sit tractatibus. Quare licet non dubitem te omnem moturum lapidem, omnemque facturum diligentiam apud eos, quibus erit agendum, in bonis meis recuperandis, tamen ne ego quoque de his nihil ad te scribam.

10 Volo te scire, quod in rebus ipsis Hungaricis tribus viis finis, ut ego cogito, fieri poterit: prima, ut ipse rex noster Ferdinandus Ioannem in aliquo alio loco contentabit, ut Hungariae totam habeat possessionem. Secunda, quod fortasse paciscuntur, ut diviso regno, unus unam Hungariae partem, alius reliquam deinceps pacifice possideat. Tertia, quod quaelibet fortasse pars contenta erit possidere ea loca, arces et  
15 comitatus, quos in hunc diem possiderunt. Quocumque autem horum trium modo fiat finis ipsarum rerum Hungaricarum, credo modum statui de bonis et beneficiis per regem Ferdinandum et Ioannem iam divisus, quomodo scilicet illa se habeant, posset contingere, ut ex pacto Ioanni permetteretur, ut illi permanerent in beneficiis et bonis, quibus ea ipse contulit. Quod si fieret, nescio, quid in tanta nostra peregrinatione,  
20 tantis servitiis nostris, tantis impensis, laboribus et periculis iam exantlatis consequeremur commodi.

[2.] Nam et ego et omnes alii privarentur suis bonis datis per regem Ferdinandum. Quare accedendum tibi erit Altemburgam in omnem eventum, vel fortasse ita contingere poterit, quod dominus Agriensis<sup>2</sup> ex parte regis nostri unus erit istic commissarius, cum quo eo facilius istic adesse potestis. Si tamen etiam ipse illuc non proficisceretur. Tu nihilominus eo accede, habes istic Iacobum Stampcz<sup>3</sup> bonum, ut saepe ad me scripsisti, amicum meum. Ex altera parte, uti cogito, inter alios erit aut Brodericus aut Nadasdi, uterque mihi magna olim familiaritate coniunctus. Scripsi ad  
25 utrumque litteras credentiae in personam tuam, quas ad te misi, ut actiones tuas melius his accommodare scias, cum quibus aut altero eorum in praemisso casu (fide mea  
30 in regem et reginam salva) agere potes. Ut si viderent esse opus, efficerent, quod custodia<sup>4</sup> ipsa quae per translationem Gherendi ad episcopatum Transsilvaniensem,

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325,11 ut] *corr.* ex aut | Ioannem] *O corr.* ex Ioanne 20 exantlatis] *corr.* ex exanclatis | consequeremur] *O corr.* ex consequeretur 31 efficerent] *O corr.* ex effecerent 32 quae] *O add. sup. l.*

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325,7 omnem...lapidem] Cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,IV,30: "Omnem movere lapidem", MYNORS 1982, 340–341.

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325 <sup>1</sup> Magyaróvár. | <sup>2</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>3</sup> Jakob Stamp was Master of Stables to King Louis II, and also Castellan of Magyaróvár and Bailiff of Zólyom county, see HATVANI 1858, 216. | <sup>4</sup> Custos of the Chapter of Székesfehérvár.

legitime mihi collata erat, ex pacto et vigore concordiae mihi reliquatur. Et nunc ostendant veterem eorum, in me illam benevolentiam, alia item plurima, quae in rem  
 35 facere videbuntur meam, ex tua industria ei, qui adfuerit praesenti dicere ex te poteris, quae scilicet videris eis et tempori esse apta ac convenientia. Si Cornelius Scep-  
 perus caesaris orator, summus amicus meus, de quo proximis meis litteris mentionem  
 feceram, istic aderit, illum quoque convenire et alloqui poteris, huic ego latissime  
 40 proximis diebus in rebus meis scripseram, hic erit unus modus agendi tuus. Alius autem, si diviso regno, una pars cedit Ioanni, alia vero regi nostro Ferdinando, et illa  
 praesertim, in qua sunt bona custodiae, iam in eo casu omnis modus actionis erit tibi  
 in promptu. Nam ad regem regina proximis diebus scripsit in his rebus commendandis. Scripserat etiam ad dominum cardinalem Tritentinum,<sup>5</sup> sed illum nunc intelligo  
 esse Bononiae. Omnem rem meam novit Gabriel Xantus<sup>6</sup> secretarius regis, ad quem  
 45 de te quoque scripsi. Tu ipse in hoc casu agere debebis apud regem medio domini Agriensis et etiam medio aliorum dominorum, de quibus tibi frequenter scripsi; vel etiam per tui-  
 pse meo nomine, ut bona mea Simigiensia<sup>7</sup> meo nomine ad manus tuas remittantur. In hac re omnem adhibeas diligentiam ac operam, quam poteris. Si allegatum fuerit  
 50 Valentinum Thewrek,<sup>8</sup> tamquam capitaneum regis, fecisse gratiam Ioanni Bodo,<sup>9</sup> et bona Simigiensia, vel potius custodiam et donasse ac confirmasse donationem Ioannis regis factam  
 super hac custodia, id facile refutare diversis ex causis poteris. Primum, quod Ioannes rex contulerat custodiam illam, quae erat optimo iure apud dominum Gherendi ipsi Ioanni Bodo, hanc ob causam, quod Gherendi  
 55 secutus fuerat partes regis Ferdinandi, vi itaque ipse Gherendi fuit ea custodia spoliatus ad illud usque tempus, quo rex noster fuit in Alba<sup>10</sup> coronatus. Quo tempore ipse  
 Gherendi recuperata custodia, fuit postea translatus, ut scis, ad episcopatum Transsilvaniensem, et custodia mihi data. Quomodo autem Valentinus Thwrek me spoliando  
 meis bonis, in quibus bono fui fundamento, illi gratiam facere potuerit, praesertim cum rex non admiserit, etiam si quam fecit illi gratiam. Cuius rei id documento est,  
 60 quod maiestas sua statim mandavit Valentino ex Lincz primum per litteras, quas tu illi praesentari curasti, deinde per Stephanum Swliok,<sup>11</sup> qui tunc negotium ipsius  
 apud regem agebat, et hanc gratiam, Ioanni Bodo per eundem affini suo factam, medio Ladislai Macedonis<sup>12</sup> episcopi Waradiensis patefecerat, cui per eundem episcopum,  
 si bene memini, et Stephanum Pemfflinger<sup>13</sup> respondit commisitque, ut

34 ostendant...me] *O del. ex quoque ostendant veterem eorum illum in me veterem* 35 meam] *O del. et add.* 37 caesaris] *O add. sup. l.* | summus] *corr. ex sumus* | mentionem] *O corr. ex metionem* 47 meo] *O del. ex meoque* 48 hac] *O del. ex hacque* 51 factam...custodia] *O corr. ex facta super hanc custodiam* 52 illam] *O corr. ex illa* 54 partes] *O add. sup. l.* 58 fui] *O corr. ex fuit* 61 per] *O add. sup. l.* 62 affini suo] *O corr. ex affinem suam* 63 cui] *O add. in marg.*

<sup>5</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>6</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. | <sup>7</sup> Somogy county. | <sup>8</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>9</sup> János Bodó.  
<sup>10</sup> Székesfehérvár. | <sup>11</sup> István Sulyok. | <sup>12</sup> László Macedóniai. | <sup>13</sup> István Pemfflinger.

65 domino suo nomine regio referret, quo omnia mea omnino remittere dignetur. Postremo eodem ipso tempore, quo haec Lincii per regem illi mandarentur, dedit maiestas sua mihi litteras certificationis, quod bonis meis neque sola privaret me absentem, neque alios id facere pateretur. Exemplum earum litterarum ad te misi, ut scias melius in re ipsa agere. Quod si dicent post meum ex Hungaria cum regina discessum  
70 regem consensisse gratiae illius, quam fecit Valentinus Thwrek de bonis meis Ioanni Bodo (antea enim, ut superius scripsi, non consenserat, immo non modo non consenserat, sed etiam firmiter mandaverat restitutionem bonorum), aut iste post meum discessum praebitus consensus, quem tamen non puto esse datum, aut litterae haec regis mihi in verbo regio datae reddentur vanae. Quod maiestatem suam non arbitrator  
75 facturum. His ipsis modis agere in rebus meis potes, et si quid his deerit, ex tua industria addere convenientia et temporibus et hominibus poteris. Et non improbo, si cum uno aut altero amico meo fido, quem fidum mihi esse certo et congoveris, idque expertus es ex te ipso comunicaveris, consultaverisque, quid esset melius factu. Hoc unum tamen cave praecipue, ne te omnibus patefeceris, praesertim falsis fratribus et  
80 amicis, et qui hoc tempore prae bonis sunt infiniti, neve per tumultum et clamorem rem agas, sed silentio industria et dexteritate, ut pauci sciant tuas actiones.

[3.] In bonis Zaladiensibus, uti spero, minus erit tibi laborandum. Nam illa de manibus tuis dedisti episcopo Tininiensi<sup>14</sup> gubernanda et defendenda; dominus etiam Agriensis saepius hoc ad me scripsit: Ieronimum<sup>15</sup> illa mihi remissurum, quando  
85 voluero, cogetque eum etiam de emolumentis satisfacere. Haec igitur bona et etiam alia, quae Ladislaus More<sup>16</sup> ac dominus Andreas Chorom<sup>17</sup> habet, si pax erit firma, redibunt, ut spero, sine magno labore. Quaeris, ubi sunt expensae ad haec exsequenda? Hinc ego tibi mittere non possum, immo potius exspectavi a te. Neque dominus Agriensis illos ducentum aureos remisit.<sup>18</sup> Attamen expansione mea Posoniensi Andreas Sarson,<sup>19</sup> si eam levavit, aliquid dare tibi poterit, ad quem nuper in  
90 hac re scripsi. Res nunc agitur in cardine. Si nunc fueris negligens aut improvidus, frustra postea et ego et tu laboramus occasione praeterita; poteris nunc me absente tale servitium praesatre, cura opera et diligentia tua et mihi et tibi utile futurum, cuius perpetuo sim memor; damnum vero rursus tale, negligentia, quod Deus avertat in-

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65 remittere dignetur] *O mut. ex remissurus esset* 66 eodem] *del. ex eodem eodem* 69 in] *O add. sup. l.*  
71 non consenserat] *O mut. ex consenserant* 73 quem] *O corr. ex que* 79 fratribus] *corr. ex fratribus*  
et] *O add. sup. l.* 83 dedisti] *O corr. ex dedistis* 87 ad haec] *O mut. ex minima* 92 tu laboramus] *O corr.*  
*ex tua laborans* 93 tale] *O add. sup. l.* 94 sim] *O corr. ex sum*

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<sup>14</sup> András Tuskanics of Klis, Bishop of Knin. | <sup>15</sup> Jeromos Horváth, see Szalaházy's letter: Ep. 222.  
<sup>16</sup> László Móré. | <sup>17</sup> András Choron. | <sup>18</sup> See Ep. 235. | <sup>19</sup> Around 1527, Andreas Sarson was Steward (*provisor curiae*) and *servitor* of Queen Mary, sent to arrange matters regarding Csepel and Óbuda, which were the Queen's possessions, see RHK Reichregisterbücher Ferdinand I. Bd. I. fol. 125. and 124; ÖStA, HHStA UA Fasc. 5. Konv. A. fol. 130., and BAUER-LACROIX 1937, 118.

ferre, quod vel difficulter vel nunquam resartiri poterit. Quare rogo te, sis diligens in 95  
rebus hisce meis, et si pro tempore in illis curandis aliquid melioris viae (ut saepe  
tempori sunt res aptandae), quam ego scripsi, reperire potes, fac diligenter. Ego enim  
de omnibus, nunc semotus a te vaticinari vix possum. Vale.

Bruxellae 18. Februarii 1533.

326

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Brussels, 18 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 258–259.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 300.

*If he has not written Nádasdy for a long time, he should ascribe it to the bad times and that Oláh has been  
away from Hungary for two years, and not to his forgetfulness. His loyalty to the Queen has led him here,  
but he does not think that this makes him less loyal to his friends or his homeland. He has heard that they  
are negotiating peace, and Nádasdy is one of the negotiators. He has entrusted a few things to Czeglédi,  
he is asking him to listen to him, and if he can, to assist in his affairs.*

Ad Thomam Nadasdi salutem.

Si tamdiu nihil ad te scripserim, tribuendum id potius est temporum iniquitati, et  
quod biennio iam fere a limitibus Hungariae abfuerim, quam meae negligentiae  
meaeque tui oblivioni. Mea in reginam meam fides et officium id a me exegit, ut eam 5  
usque huc sequerer, ubi licet ex gratia Dei nihil mihi nec ad honorem, nec ad com-  
modum deesse videam. Non minima tamen deesse arbitror, cum procul absim a  
patria, fratribus, dominis et amicis meis. Intelligo nunc pacem istic Hungariae trac-  
tari; qua nihil aut mihi aut aliis bonis omnibus potest esse amabilius; esse autem ex  
arbitris te unum,<sup>1</sup> qui in ea curanda omnem adhibiturus sis diligentiam. Nonnulla  
igitur meo nomine Ioannes Chegledinus<sup>2</sup> provisor meus tibi dicet. Rogo, velis illi 10  
fidem praestare, et si qua in re opus erit meas res iuvare, velis in rebus meis illi auxi-  
lio esse. Quod salva in principem meum fide, meis officiis a te promerebor. Vale.

Bruxellae 18. Februarii 1533.

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326,9 sis] *O add. sup. l.* 11 velis] *O corr. ex ac*

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326 <sup>1</sup> Probably Oláh knows it from Schepper, see Ep. 324. Cap. 2. | <sup>2</sup> According to Ep. 325. Cap. 2, this  
letter is a letter of mandate for Czeglédi.

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics  
Brussels, 18 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 259.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 300–301; KASZA 2012, 353.

*Brodarics surely knows the reason why Oláh has not written him in five years. What terrible times! Oláh's loyalty to the Queen has driven him here, but he misses nothing as much as his homeland and his friends. He has heard that they are negotiating peace in Magyaróvár, and Brodarics is one of the negotiators. He has entrusted a few things to Czeglédi, he is asking him to listen to him, and if he can, to assist in his affairs.*

Ad Stephanum Brodericum episcopum Sirmiensem.

Quae causa fuerit, quod iam fere a quinquennio nihil scripserim, arbitror te ipsum cogitare. Temporum scilicet varietas et partium dissensio, mutuaque digladiatio. Utinam his malis Deus iam ex alto prospiceret! Mea in reginam meam fides et susceptum officium me coegit, ut eam hucusque sequerer et a patriae meae limitibus tam procul abessem. Ubi, quamvis ex clementia Dei et munificentia principis mei nihil mihi desit, deesse tamen videntur patria, fratres, domini et amici mei, quorum me tenet non parum desiderium. Quia autem intelligam nunc pacem Hungariae in Owar principibus consentientibus tractari, et te esse ex arbitris unum, cuius prudentia ea tractetur.<sup>1</sup> Nonnulla is Ioannes Chegledinus<sup>2</sup> provisor meus tibi meo nomine referet. Rogo, velis illi fidem praestare, et res meas, si necessitas ita exegerit, et curae habere et iuvare, et in illis ipsi esse adiumento, statumque meum defendere. Vale.

Bruxellae, 18. Februarii 1533.

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327,3 cogitare...et] *O mut.* ex Temporum scilicet varietas et cogitare 7 fratres] *corr.* ex fratres

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327 <sup>1</sup> Probably Oláh knows it from Schepper, see Ep. 324. Cap. 2. | <sup>2</sup> According to Ep. 325. Cap. 2, this letter is a letter of mandate for Czeglédi.



Miklós Oláh to Joannes Burberius  
Brussels, 18 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 262–263.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 301.

*He believes it was at God's will that his affairs went wrong two years ago, four years ago at the most, and he is enduring it with patience. If he seems more reticent towards Burberius, he should ascribe it to that.*

Ad Ioannem Burberium.<sup>1</sup>

Dei voluntate factum esse arbitror, quod iam a biennio aut ad summum quadrien-  
nio res meas omnes perversas esse sensi. Et non modo in illis aversis, sed etiam in  
aliis meis omnibus, quas hic in curia habui, magnum animi sensi dolorem. Credo me  
ad haec infortunia perpetienda fato esse detrusum, ut meae omnes res sint mihi con- 5  
trariae; quod tamen fero patienter, omniaque adversa, quae mihi contingunt, Dei  
voluntate inmissa esse existimo, illique, cuius in manu sunt omnia et qui in meliorem  
singula mutare potest statum, gratias ago amplissimas. Tu si me in meis moribus  
mutatum et taciturniorem solito factum esse audieris, fac id in bonam interpretare  
partem, animique mei mutationem mearum rerum tribue successibus non meae in- 10  
constantiae. Vale.

Bruxellae 18. Februarii 1533.

Maciej Przybyło to Miklós Oláh  
Wrocław, 21 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 181–182.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 301–302.

*1. The reason this letter is arriving so late is that if he had sent it to the Royal Court, it would have taken longer, or it would have been lost, and there are few messengers available. He hopes that he will be able to write letters more frequently from here in Wrocław, connecting them with Henckel's letter. 2. Oláh can live a safer and more dignified life here than at home, he should not hope that he is going to get home soon, even if he is missing his old friends, whom he is also missing. If the fight against the Turks is going*

328,6 contingunt] *O del. ex contingunt et 7 sunt...qui] O mut. ex est mala quaeque 8 singula] O add. in marg. | potest] O add. sup. l. 10 non...inconstantiae] O add. sup. l.*

328<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

*to drag on, it will not be safe for him in his homeland, and he would also go where Oláh is to work as a physician.*

Mathias Auctus Doctor Nicolao secretario serenissimae Mariae.

[1.] Occasionem in mittendis litteris in causa exstitisse, cur tardior aut negligentior, quam volebam, in scribendo ad te sim cognitus, et id non nisi verissimum fore credas. Nam si ad curiam regiae maiestatis litteras tibi consignatas dedissem, longius  
5 iusto apud aliquem (ut consuetum est) fuissent detentae, aut facile alio, quam crederemus, divertissent. Nec etiam te fugias rarissime hinc ad curiam regiam tabelliones mitti. Mihi magno solatio semper est amicos scriptis invisere, quos verbis longinquitas loci compellare non sinit. Cum autem te mihi amicissimum fore iampridem persuasum habeam, minime officiose agerem, si data occasione saepius ad te litteras non  
10 darem. Spero me habiturum litteras transmittendi ad te modum, si longe Vratislaviae manebo. Cum Henckelii<sup>1</sup> nostri facile eo iunctim mittentur, curabo, ne iterum negligens in scribendo videar.

[2.] Nullo tibi etiam sit taedio apud gentes exoticas fatis sic volentibus degere. Nam inter omnes indigenas tuos honestior, quietior ac securior tibi condicio (turbine  
15 sic perseverante in Hungaria rerum) a domino est ordinata, nec credas brevi te bene in patriam rediturum. Causas melius longe novisti, sit et hoc exilium dulce ac gratum, privatio amicorum antiquorum sat tibi molesta illic fore potest, quae et mihi in Slesia agenti non minor molestia extat. Unicum namque Henckelium in Slesia amicum habeo, et ob id in patriam rediturum quamplures Auctum credunt. Quod facile futurum  
20 spero, si certo apud me id facturum constituero. Tamen de hisce planius tandem tibi scribam. Magnam habeo tibi gratiam, quod servitia mea maiestati reginali officiose praebuisti, id te iterum diligenter facturum rogo. Lucretiam<sup>2</sup> illam Virginem pudicissimam et solertem et ab omnibus virtuosissimam nuncupatam nomine meo salutari opto. Te vero hominem mihi amicissimum feliciter in longum valere cupio,  
25 per opportunitatem aliquando nobis scribas.

Vratislaviae XXI. Februarii anno 1533.

Si in longum res Christianae a Turcis deberent infestari, cuius gratia minus secure in patria maneremus, facile vos in loco tuto degentes convenirem, agerem, ut consuevi, physicum. Haec reginali maiestati per opportunitatem de me poteris dicere.  
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329 <sup>1</sup>Johann Henckel was granted the Canonry of the Cathedral of Wrocław by Queen Mary, see his letter: Ep. 277. | <sup>2</sup>Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross).

Miklós Oláh to Paulus Comagenus  
Brussels, 27 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 263.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 304.

*He has never doubted that Paulus is looking after his affairs and handles them as if they were his own. That is why he does not understand what led him to write such a cold and stubborn letter, in which he accuses Oláh of having criticized his delay to his Joannes the other day. He would never wish to hurt him, and he would not like him to be angry with him, so he is asking him not to think unfavorably of him.*

Ad Paulum Comagenum.<sup>1</sup>

Non dubitavi unquam, quin tu mearum rerum eam curam haberes, quam mihi te suo tempore habiturum frequentibus es pollicitus litteris, neque putavi te aliud facturum in illis conficiendis, si se tempus offerret opportunum, quam quod facturus esses in tuis propriis. Quamobrem nescio causam, cur motus sis, aut quae causa te ad id 5 adegerit, ut tam rigidas et contumaces ad me dares litteras, quibus videbaris me reprehendere, quod diebus proximis Ioanni tuo nonnullam fecerim mentionem de tua tarditate, eam profecto non in eum finem feceram, ut tu de me aliquid suspicarer mali. Nam fui, ut scis, tui semper studiosissimus et nihil unquam magis vitavi, quam te etiam in minima re offendere, vel praebere saltem materiam, qua suspicari de me 10 aliquid posses. Quare si quid erga me concepisti animi alieni, fac eum deponas, et nihil, nisi bonum de me existimes, ut enim semper benevolo in te fui ab initio initiae nostrae consuetudinis animo et omnia tua commoda maximopere exoptavi, ita etiam nunc nihil aliud cogito, quam me tibi praebere amicum et in rebus omnibus, quibus 15 possum tibi gratificari. Vale et rescribe ad me.

Bruxellae 27. Februarii 1533.

330 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 28 February 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 458–459.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 304–305.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 253–255.

1. After they had arrived to Vienna, Treasurer Bernhard came up to them, then they talked to Eyczinger about the Queen's affairs. He has received his assignment from the Emperor, and he would have traveled to Bratislava today had they not had problems with the promised accommodation. 2. Nothing else has happened, only that Frangepán celebrated mass on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, then King Ferdinand I's men set forth that it would be best if King John I surrendered the territories he possesses. In response King John I's men said that due to the people's sins the Turk is their lord now, and the Sultan wishes to keep the remainder of Hungary if King John I rules there. They do not need any other guarantees for this from the Turks than the letter in their hand. Szalaházy responded that he was very sad this meant that their lord is already the Turk, but no Christian can agree to such a deal, since whatever they hand over to King John I, they are handing it over to the Turks. 3. Laski has gone to King John I with letters, then he is proceeding to Poland. There are four people in the delegation instead of two, and Frangepán is hiding something. The Turks are in Pest and Székesfehérvár, but they are not hurting anybody. He is sending this stack of letters for his wife.

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao salutem. Reverende ac Excellens Domine, Amice Honorandissime!

[1.] Postquam advenissemus Viennam, venit ad nos Bernhardus Bohemus,<sup>1</sup> comes camerae serenissimae regiae maiestatis. Deinde et Ulricus Eytzinger<sup>2</sup> locutique  
5 sunt nobiscum de rebus praefatae maiestatis reginalis, in quibus nos obtulimus et offerimus nos paratissimos, uti decet, neque parte in nostra defectus erit ullus. Non dubito, quin eadem maiestas sit per eos certior facta de iis, quae aguntur Posonii.<sup>3</sup>  
10 Nihilominus pro meo erga ipsam studio observantiaque nolui omittere, quin ad Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram has praesentes darem. Scripsi prius nos expectare aliud mandatum et litteras a maiestate caesarea. Quod mandatum hic accepimus

331,5 obtulimus...6 paratissimos] Ovid. *Ars. am.* I,184: "Caesaribus virtus contigit ante diem".

331 <sup>1</sup> Probably Bernhard Beheim von Friedesheim (1483–1547). Around 1524, he entered into the service of Queen Mary and became Mint Chamber Count [head officer responsible for minting, see GYÖNGYÖSSY 2018, 297.] at Kremnica and Captain of Zólyom and the seven Hungarian minting towns. In 1530, he travelled with Queen Mary to the Netherlands; later he found Queen Anna as a protector. For more on his life, see PROBSZT 1958, 29–31, and HEISS 1971, passim. | <sup>2</sup> Ulrich Eyczinger or Ulrich (IV) Freiherr von Eyczing (†1561) was an Austrian nobleman, see HEISS 1971, 210 and passim. | <sup>3</sup> Bratislava.

et sic hodie fuisset profecti Ponium, nisi commode venisset dominus vicedominus Vienensis,<sup>4</sup> qui iniecit nobis difficultatem de hospitio. Credebamus enim illud pro nobis paratum fuisse, prout fuerat dictum, quod tamen secus fuit. Itaque exspectamus definitionem in ea re, qua accepta statim eo contendemus. Id quod fiet cras aut perendie.

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[2.] Nihil aliud ibi actum est, nisi quod post celebrationem officii divini a serenissimo domino Colocensi<sup>5</sup> XXIII. huius die regii proposuerunt, ut vaivoda decederet illa parte regni, quam habet. Equidem petitioni post unum aut alterum diem responsum est per vaivodanos imperatorem Turcarum propter peccata populi iam esse dominum Hungariae et suum et gratiam Dei in causa esse, quod ipse velit regni illius reliquias praeservare, modo illis dominetur Ioannes. Proinde nihil melius et commodius fieri posse, quam ut serenissimus Romanorum rex decedat sua parte Ioanni vaivodae. Non esse opus alia assecuratione Turcarum, nisi ea, quae est per litteras ipsius. Ipsum Ioannem eidem esse iuramento addictum, et aliud nihil facturum. Replicatum est heri a nostris, audire se cum summo dolore illos fateri Turcam ipsorum dominum esse, quod tametsi prius re ostenderint, nunquam tamen verbo fassos esse, et satis intelligere, si eam partem, quam serenissimus rex adhuc habet, traderet vaivodae, futurum, ut ea statim esset futura Turcarum. Ad quod nemo Christianus consilium suum esset impartiturus. Haec dicta sunt per reverendissimum Agriensem.<sup>6</sup> Post ea nihil actum est. Videbimus, quid sint reponsuri.

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[3.] Hyeronimus Lasky heri inde abiit cum litteris ad vaivodam, postea in Poloniam demum rediturus. Commissio super Collocensi, Broderico,<sup>7</sup> Verbetzy,<sup>8</sup> Lasky, sonat quattuor simul aut duobus coniunctim. Collocensis non dissimulat se solum mittendum fuisse a vaivoda, si voluisset. Hinc credimus illum aliud aliquid secretius habere, de qua re ex Posenio plura. Serenissimae reginali maiestati servitia nostra humillime affero. Rerum tuarum non obliviscar. Turcae, qui sunt Pesti et in Alba Regali,<sup>9</sup> nemini nocent. Hanc sarcinulam litterarum ad uxorem meam,<sup>10</sup> aliam ad eum trans mitte, qui notus est, aut da magistro postarum, et bene vale, Domine et Amice Honorande.

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Ex Vienna ultima die Februarii 1533.

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<sup>4</sup> Probably the vicarius of the Bishop of Vienna. | <sup>5</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>6</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>7</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>8</sup> István Werbőczy. | <sup>9</sup> Székesfehérvár. | <sup>10</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Paulus  
Brussels, 2 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 264–265.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 306–307.

1. He cannot express how much spiritual turmoil has accompanied his time abroad. The worst part is the absence of his friends, but he is consoled by the fact that God will have mercy on Hungary in the end, and they will be able to live happily together again. And if he understands it well, they are trying to make peace, and already the assembly called for 7 February was aimed at this. Paulus, who is closer to things, should write him what they can hope for. 2. He has heard that both Brodarics and Nádasdy are part of the delegation, but he does not know for certain. They used to be his friends, and they always supported peace. Even if they have made mistakes, now they could make them right.

Ad Paulum amicum.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Non possum tibi explicare litteris, quantis in hac mea peregrinatione iactatus fuerim animi turbationibus. Quae magnae licet fuerunt usque adeo, ut more humano non parum me plerumque commoverint, tamen quoad a me fieri poterit, has omnes  
5 perturbationes forti pertuli animo, et semper meliora rebus adversis exspectavi. Nulla autem, mihi crede, res molestior fuit, quam quod ab amicis, quibus ab ineunte aetate assueveram, abfuerim. Quae res una omnem aliam animi mei perturbationem molestiamque longe superabat. Neque putabam illis aut infortunio quopiam meo, aut  
10 iniquitate rerum praesentium a me longe semotis iucundam me vitam vivere posse. In omnibus autem hisce molestiis consolabatur me spes Deum optimum maximum nobis omnibus Hungaris ex clementia sua miserturum, et non passurum, ut in perpetuum his iactaremur calamitatibus ac futurum propediem, ut tecum ac cum aliis amicis nostris laetam acturi essemus vitam. Quam nobis occasionem, nisi nunc Deus ipse  
15 misericors tribuat, quando intelligam principes agere et moliri, ut pax inter eos componatur, profecto tardius postea nobis allatam iri arbitror. Si enim nunc commissarii partis utriusque, qui ad septimum diem praeteriti mensis Februarii in Owar volentibus principibus convenerunt, rebus infectis dilabentur, quae postea spes pacis futurae nobis est reliqua? Quare, mi Frater, cuperem a te maximopere scire, qui illuc propius es et omnia melius, quam nos, certiusque intelliges, quid sit ubi constitutum,  
20 aut saltem quae spes vobis sit de illorum tractatibus pacem an bellum allaturis. Qua-

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332,6 quod] *O add. sup. l. 7 una... aliam] O corr. ex uno omnium aliarum | perturbationem] O corr. ex perturbationam | molestiamque] O corr. ex molestiam 8 putabam] O del. ex putabam me 9 me<sup>2</sup>] O add. sup. l. 14 componatur] O corr. ex ponatur 15 Si] O del. ex Si etiam*

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332<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

rum rerum si me feceris, ut spero, participem non mediocri me afficies beneficio, qui totus ex rebus illis pendeo.

[2.] Audiveram Stephanum Brodericum<sup>2</sup> et Thomam Nadasdy, quibuscum olim quali usi fuerimus amicitia, societate et coniunctione, tute scis, inter alios commissarios partis alterius esse designatos.<sup>3</sup> Tamen verumne id sit, an non, ignoro.<sup>4</sup> Si verum est, non parvam in spem ducor, ut eorum opera res ipsa aliquem optatum consequatur finem. Cognovi enim eos fuisse pacis mutuaeque tranquillitatis semper studiosissimos, cuius etiam nunc eos amatores esse cogito. Quod si fecerint omnem anteaetae vitae errorem, in quem delapsi fuerant, profecto hac re emendabunt. Vale.

Bruxellae secunda Martii 1533.

317 (324) **333** 347

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 7 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 449–455.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 307–315.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 224–232. ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 255–264.

1. Schepper's long letter, a sign of his honest friendship, has made Oláh very happy. He was happy to inform the Queen about Schepper's results, it goes without saying. 2. As far as their affairs are concerned, the Queen has promised to write to her brother herself, that is best, namely she knows that her brother often forgets not only about both her and her other brother but also himself among all the things he has to do, that is why she has sent the letter to Magyaróvár to remind him. The Hungarians can obey their king wholeheartedly if he is present. 3. About making a quick peace agreement he thinks the same as Schepper: it is unlikely to last. He does not trust the Turks' kiss because while the Turk is kissing, he will bite the nose off as well. He lists the cases of the neighboring countries. He does not think it a good idea to have a third king, especially if he is young; they already learned during King Louis II' times that a young and inexperienced ruler is not good. He is also worried about the Polish, where the King has had no support since Szydłowiecki's death. 4. He does not believe in the alliance to be made with the Wallachians and Moldavians, since he knows the Romanians. His father also chose to flee from there lest he be killed by the Romanians, although he could have been Voivode of Wallachia. His uncle Mihnea, who had been Voivode, chose to flee to Sibiu, but even there he met with a violent death. The strength of the Wallachians harms Transylvania more than it helps. 5. About his own affairs: he thanks Schepper for his help, he knows Schepper is doing everything he can. The members of the delegation, Brodarics and Nadasdy, will not object to his possessions being returned to him. Even if they cannot achieve anything else in Magyaróvár, at least the ceasefire will be extended by four months. If there is peace in Hungary, he will not be detained by the glockenspiel or any of the other good things here, not even the fact that some people have codices

<sup>2</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>3</sup> Oláh got this information from Schepper, see Ep. 324. Cap. 2. | <sup>4</sup> Because of this, we can be sure that Oláh had not received Schepper's letter, see Ep. 331.

as if he were in Italy; he will return home at last and conduct conversations with his own. He is as attracted to these as Schepper is attracted to his wife, they should work on getting back to their own. 6. He has recommended Schepper to Carondelet, many have attested to his being an excellent man. Many send their regards. By the time he is writing this, things will have been decided in Magyaróvár, but he will still write to him. 7. He reports on where each friend is. Czeglédi is also with Szalaházy, if he visits Schepper, he should receive him kindly.

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Scepperum responsio.

[1.] Si longa uterer mei officii commendatione, quod tibi, mi Cornelii, ob tuum in me amorem nostramque mutuam amicitiam debeo, viderer morem vulgi servare, qui nonnunquam plura talia scribere, pauciora tamen re ipsa praestare consuevit, sed his  
5 omissis rem aggrediar. Litteras tuas nudiustertius accepi, quae non solum scriptis in eis rebus fuerunt mihi gratissimae, sed sua quoque prolixitate,<sup>1</sup> quae tuum in me sincerum animum facile declarabat. Quis enim unquam longa apud amicos consuevit uti epistola, nisi aut res ardua longiorem expetat scriptionem, aut quis provocatus aliqua iniuria, cum iniuriae illatae acerbitatem evomere et cum eo, qui contumeliam  
10 intulit, expostulare velit, aut magna coniunctus alicui familiaritate, ut initam iamdiu amicitiam et amorem mutuum absens praesertim alere, nutrire et amicus, si non praesentibus, at litterariis amici colloctionibus se oblectare, amicumque absentem, praesentem sibi statuere possit? Huius, quem dixi, amoris et amicitiae mutuae ac iucundae nostrae consuetudinis laetam memoriam scio esse causam tam amicabilem et  
15 fraternae longaeque tuae ad me epistolae; quam quo pluries legi, eo maiori mihi fuit voluptati. Utinam daretur tibi otium, ut inter eas res, quas nunc istic magnas certe geris, et quae magnum tibi gloriae conciliabunt, si duos principes immo plures dissidentes regna et provincias bello iam fere exhaustas in pacem redegeris, frequenter longiores, quam hae fuerunt, ad me dare posses litteras. Nihil profecto mihi esset  
20 gratius.

Quod maiestas reginalis informata per me fuerit, quantum praestiteris laboris, curae et diligentiae in rebus fratrum suorum, agisque ob id mihi gratias, non est, cur magnae mihi a te hoc nomine agi debeant gratiae. Nam feci et facturus sum etiam deinceps officium boni amici ac fratris. Et alioqui maiestas sua iam olim etiam bene  
25 fuit instructa de tuis virtutibus, fide, constantia et integritate in rebus fratrum suorum curandis. Nunc quoque acceptis tuis litteris, quantum in me fuit, nihil praetermisi, quod ad commemorationem tuarum laudum pertinere sum arbitratus. Ac illa quoque, quae ad me scripsisti in his partibus, quae visa fuerunt opportuna, maiestati suae communicavi; quae omnia audivit iucundo animo, nihilque dubitat, quin in rebus

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333,8 quis] *O add. sup. l. 15 quam] O corr. ex quas | fuit] O corr. ex fuerunt*

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333 <sup>1</sup> Schepper's letter on 8 February is one of the longest in this collection.



primum suis eam praestiturus sis, dum tempus erit, curam et diligentiam, quam de- 30  
bes.

[2.] Postremo in meis, quam tuus in me amor et mea erga te obsequia exposcent, dixit se scripturam ad regiam maiestatem cum aliis suis rebus, solet enim in suis propria manu ad regem scribere, ne notam ardelionis subeas, quamvis litterae proxima- 35  
mae, quibus maiestas sua rerum suarum curam tibi demandavit, abunde sufficerent ad eam notam longe depellendam. Scit regina fratres principes ob rerum privatarum multitudinem et magnitudinem aliquando non solum sororis aut fratrum, sed etiam suorum negotiorum oblivisci posse. Et id fuit causae, quod ad consiliarios suos Au- 40  
striacos, quos credo tempore tractatus in Owaro constitutos, et ad te quoque scripserit, cum quibus, si illic aderint, loqui poteris. Regis in eos munificentiam, qui non tantum fortasse meruerunt, quantum consecuti sunt bonorum, omnes mirantur. Nam etsi in principe virtus sit, quam maxima liberalitate in subditos uti; tamen liberalitatis et modum et rationem observare et in eos, qui beneficentiam mereantur, liberalem esse, non in immeritos, id demum magna fuit laudis, satiusque ob eam rem esset maiestatem suam circumspicius esse liberalem, ut sui liberorumque, quorum indies 45  
augetur numerus, ac bonorum servitorum, qui non verbis, sed factis et vitam et fortunam pro regiminis sui augmento effundere curavit, maiorem habet rationem. Si enim fortuna aliquantisper, avertat id Deus, se mutaverit, et frenum aliqui momorderint maxime caesare in Hispaniis constituto ac aliquid etiam externi belli vel potius finitimi, de quo tu ad me scribis, et ego etiam aliunde audivi, motum fuerit: tunc primum 50  
maiestas sua, quod longe absit, sentiet, in quos servitores fuerit munificus, et quos habeat amicos sibi obsequentes. Omnes hi, quos ad me scribis, finitimi eius potentiam, ne crescat, verentur. Qui etiam intelligunt, quid caesar aut possit absens, aut velit facere in fratris negotio, cum opportunitatem hanc, qua facili negotio hostes retundi, Hungaria recuperari, Christianitas a periculo ad multos annos quieta reddi 55  
poterat, tam facile praeter omnium expectationem e manibus emiseric.

Adde, quod Hungaria amore potius et benevolentia maxime, cum reges in regno illo praesentes semper degere non possunt, regi consuevit, quam aliqua exacerbatione. Qua scio Hungaros non parum nunc perturbatos his, quas ad me scribis ex 60  
causis, militum et capitaneorum scilicet nostrorum insolentia, et consiliariorum externorum taedio; quod a quadriennio aut fere quinquennio nostri mussitant, et conquiuntur Hungari. Nam externorum consiliorum iugum non facile ferrent, nisi eos calamitas, qua pressi sunt, id ferre cogeret, huius autem rei culpam conferunt non in regem, quem sciunt esse nostris iuribus ac libertatibus, sicuti in hoc iuramentum etiam praestitit, clementem et propitium, sed aliis nonnullis, qui principes in contra- 65  
riam abducunt sententiam, et quasi cogunt eo tempore, quo illorum eget opera.

[3.] De pace celeriter conficienda, eadem est mea quoque, quae tua sententia, conducibile esse arbitror et principibus et regno, si ea cito conficiatur. Sed quae firma

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59 quas] *del. ex* quas in

70 stabilisque esse possit, vix possum cogitare. Si mentem Turcae cognitam habetis, et  
potest, sed saepe cum magno suo malo Hungari experti sunt, quam fluxa fuerit et  
infirma pacta cum Turco concordia; venisseque apud nostros in proverbium memini:  
basius Turcae et amicabile et perniciosum simul esse. Nam dum solet Christianos  
75 basiare, cum osculo demordet et nares. Si utraque pars diviso regno tributum illi  
dederit, in magnum Christiani nominis dedecus, fortasse interea spirare Hungari et  
finitimae provinciae poterunt, dum illi vel non mutata fuerit voluntas, quis enim  
unquam ab illo fidem servatam animadvertit? Vel alter ei mortuo non successerit, sed  
mox cum viderit se occasionem habere Hungariam occupandi, sperasne tu, mi Scep-  
pere, eum hanc negligere? Versatum a puero in armis ac rei militaris gloria hactenus  
80 insignem et militem habentem praedis continuis iam assuetum? Quae, nisi illi semper  
sit proposita, iam statim tumultuatur, et de caesare bellicoso creando cogitat, si vero  
illi velis resistere, caesar nostra causa non revertetur, arbitror secundo ex Hispaniis,  
principes imperii, sive ob eorum in regem nostrum malevolentiam, sive solitam iam  
ab antiquo tarditatem et avaritiam, quemadmodum affecti sint ad res Hungaricas  
85 defendendas, tu me melius nosti. Quodsi incendium<sup>2</sup> quoque Bavaricum et sua et  
Virtembergi illius causa excitatum fuerit, liga Suevica<sup>3</sup> prope iam, ut audio, exspi-  
rata. Circumspice, quid etiam ex aliis multis locis, in quibus nunc multa latent ab-  
strusa, subsequatur, adeo ut verear, ne pax quoque ipsa, quae fortasse futura tua et  
aliorum opera nunc est, interrumpatur.

90 De tertio illo, de quo scribis assumendo, etiamsi id fieret, non maiorem habeo  
spem boni alicuius sub illo futuri, quam nunc. Quid enim et quale sit imperium pue-  
rile iamdudum Hungaria sub serenissimo olim Ludovico rege edocta est, et ita male,  
ut etiam nunc ob simile regnum Hungari ad mentum usque natent et crucientur. Pru-  
dentes licet, ut scribis, adhibeantur consiliarii et rerum Hungaricarum experti, diffi-  
95 cile tamen est sub principe parum intelligente consiliaros reperire tales, qui non suam  
potius impune rem curent, quam alienam. Praeterea gravissimum est etiam viro iam  
strenuo, aetateque et rerum militarium experientia abunde praedito duo amplissima  
vasta et lata regna bene gubernare, nedum puero hae practicae eo tendunt meo iudi-  
cio, ut quisque dum potest, suam potius rem familiarem augeat, quam publicam  
100 curet. Mortuo Christophoro a Schidlowietz,<sup>4</sup> cuius prudentia vel potius rerum expe-  
rientia res regis Poloniae aliquot annis bene administratae fuerunt, vereor, ne istic  
quoque omnia consenescant. Omnes, quos enumerans scribis tibi singulariter esse  
affectos, sint licet praestantes et insignes viri; tamen satis, ut mihi videtur, habebunt

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88 futura...89 est] *O mut. ex futura nunc est tua et aliorum opera* 95 tales] *O corr. ex item*

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<sup>2</sup> Presumably Oláh means the German Peasants' War in 1525 which swept through Bavaria and Württemberg. | <sup>3</sup> The Swabian League, which helped to suppress the Peasants' Revolt, was disbanded in 1534.

<sup>4</sup> Krzysztof Szydłowiecki.

curarum sub principe iuvene, si patrem mori contigerit, et si quid flammae excitatum fuerit, regnum suum privatum vastum, hostibus undique circumventum bene defendere. 105

[4.] In Valachis et Moldavis in amicitiam nostrorum et Polonorum adhibendis non magnum iacio fundamentum. Nescis enim tu Valachorum vaivodarum quam incerta sit condicio. Memini ego patrem meum,<sup>5</sup> qui erat ortus ex sanguine Drakwla<sup>6</sup> vaivodae Valachiae, mihi aliquando narraſſe, ſe maluiſſe in Transſilvania, quo ex 110 Valachia tempore Mathiae regis, ne per ipſum Draculam ob regnum trucidari poſſet, confugerat, mediocri fortuna eſſe contentum, quam ampla in patria ſua dignitate. Quem Mathias rex ſaepe monuerat, ut ſi vellet, ad vaivodatam Transalpinam cum exercitu remitteret, ſed quid illi reſponderit, non ob puſillanimitatem, aut timiditatem, ſed quod maluerit ad ſenectam uſque in pace privatus vivere, quam in magiſtratu ad annum (ſolent enim vaivodae Valachii eos, qui ſunt ex vaivodarum ſanguine, ob imperium trucidare), ſciunt multi. Audivit etiam aliquando, ſi bene recordeo, Thomas Nadasdy a Ioanne Bornamiſſa<sup>7</sup> mortuo regis Mathiae conſiliario, a quo, ſi tecum aliquando conſtituetur, interrogare poteris. Hoc ideo inſerui privatum exemplum, ut partim ridere poſſis, me longe huc, ubi nunc ſum, aberraviſſe a patria mea 120 paterna, partim, ut ſcias, Valacicum imperium et ſocietatem non eſſe durabilem. Nam ſolus Danubius Transalpinam a Turcia dividit, quem Turcae dum eis placuerit, praesertim occupatis iam arcibus Hungaricis illi vicinis, traicere poſſunt, et vaivodam aut interficere aut expellere. Quod ſi Turci non faciunt, faciunt ſoli plerumque Valachi ſubditi etiam levibus affecti contumeliis. 125

Quemadmodum id fuerat expertus, Myhne<sup>8</sup> vaivoda Transalpinus patris mei, ſi bene memini, patruus, non multo ante mortem regis Vladislai,<sup>9</sup> patris Ludovici, qui poſt multa proelia cum Turcis et ſubditis ſuis in defenſionem capitis ſui commiſſa transfugerat Cibinium<sup>10</sup> civitatem Transilvaniae, ubi quoque practicas Valachorum evitare non potuit. Nam quidam Iaxiſth<sup>11</sup> eum comitatum a patre meo et aliis nobilibus a ſacro ad hoſpitiū ex inſidiis adortus inter magnam ipſius Myhne multitudinem transfodit; tanta erat temeritate et rabie peritus, quamvis et ipſe fuit poſtea in 130

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132 peritus] *corr.* ex percitus

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<sup>5</sup> István or Stojan Oláh. For his family story, see *Hungaria* chapter 12. | <sup>6</sup> Vlad the Impaler or Vlad Dracula (†1476/1477) was Voivode of Wallachia. Oláh outlines his family tree many times, for example, in *Hungaria* (1536), and he always tries to connect himself to the Hunyadis and to Dracula. In fact, he certainly was not related to either of them. | <sup>7</sup> János Bornemiſſa (†1527) was Bailiff of Pozsony county and Royal Chamberlain. He also was *praeceptor* of King Louis II, and after Mohács he remained loyal to the Habsburgs. | <sup>8</sup> Mihnea cel Rau (1462–1510) was Voivode of Wallachia; according to Nagy, he was an illegitimate son of Vlad Dracula, see NAGY 2012, 20–22. Oláh in his will names Mihnea as his uncle. <sup>9</sup> King Vladislaus II died in 1516. | <sup>10</sup> Sibiu. | <sup>11</sup> Dmiſtar Jakſić (†1510), not to be confused with the famous knight of King Mathias I of the ſame name.

hospitio suo, quo confugerat interfectus. Quare Valachorum vires nocere quidem  
Transsilvaniae, dum illa propugnatore vacua est, possunt, sed Hungariae defensionem  
135 non valde prodesse. Mallem igitur hunc eundem regem nostrum, si quomodo fieri  
posset, permanere regem Hungariae, sed is quoque, quam bene illam absens, cum  
tam latam habeat administrationem, gubernare et defendere possit, nescio. Externo-  
rum consilio et magistratibus nunquam certe quiete gubernabit, si ego bene mores et  
140 naturas nostratium cognovi. Si is esse non potest, vellem virum strenuum, qui in  
Hungaria praesens semper esset. Nam absentiam regis vix Hungaria pati potest. Haec  
de rebus publicis, ut chartam implerem, postquam longiores vis habere litteras.

[5.] Nunc venio ad meas privatas, de quibus non video esse necessitatem, cur  
multa scribam, nisi velim adhuc has litteras extensiores facere. Nuper enim satis  
145 multa de his scripsi, et eam esse verae amicitiae legem scio, ut non patiatür amicos  
multis commonefacere de his, quae ad amicorum spectant aut honorem aut utilitatem.  
Is modus in rebus ipsis meis agendi, quem litteris tuis praefinisti, maxime mihi pla-  
cet. Quantum tibi rex et regina Poloniae tribuant pro tuis in ipsis meritis, quem etiam  
dominorum procerum Poloniae habeas favorem,<sup>12</sup> quam familiaritatem, iampridem  
etiam ex aliis cognovi. Si una non satis est segura, alia via tentanda est, ut voto potia-  
150 mur. Ago apud te rem meam tanta fiducia, quam apud me inductus tua humanitate et  
amicis complacendi studio tuaque oblatione. Nam si id non facerem, crederem me  
tibi facere iniuriam, ut ego sum in dominos et amicos meos animo sincero et aperto,  
ita etiam quos novi veros meos, de illis iudico, ac non secus facturos existimo in meis  
rebus, quam ego facturus essem in eorum, si quando casus incideret. Quare fac, uti  
155 decrevisti, mihique te facturum scribis. Non in ingratum amicum conferes, quaecum-  
que contuleris beneficia. Cuperem iam tandem post tot peregrinationes, damna et  
incommoda patriam revisere, si in pace meisque rebus salvus fieri liceret. Quod tu  
facere, ut spero, poteris, si illis curam, uti non dubito, adhibueris.

Commisarii quoque partis adversae, si ex eorum numero Brodericus est et Tho-  
160 mas Nadasdi, non credo multum adversabuntur meis rebus, cum quibus, antequam  
haec inter nos diversarum partium secta orta fuisset, intima usus sum familiaritate, et  
ea, qua maior excepto sanguinis vinculo vix fieri potuit; quam postea studium diver-  
sum et uniuscuiusque opinio, fides et integritas discidit. Nostri etiam regis commissa-  
rii Hungari, si non mutarint animum locorum intervallo, fuerunt semper mihi favent-  
165 tes. Quodsi accesserit regis mandatum, caesaris per te autoritas, credo res meas tua  
opera confectum iri. Si nihil aliud finiveritis in Owaro, saltem hoc arbitror facietis, ut  
induciae quadrimestres prorogentur, et summa tractandae concludendaeque pacis  
reiiicietur ad regem Poloniae.<sup>13</sup> Quodsi fiet, iam principum tibi faventium opera, res

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146 praefinisti] *O corr.* ex praeservisti 149 est!] *O add. sup. l.* 155 amicum] *O del.* ex amicum et  
servitorem

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<sup>12</sup> See Ep. 317. Cap. 4. | <sup>13</sup> Sigismund I the Old.

meas in tutum locare restituereque poteris, praesertim si regiae et reginalis maiestatis  
aut si fas erit, etiam caesaris, cum ille velit, quod hi duo in re iusta volunt, volunta- 170  
tem eam esse illius significaris, ut mea mihi beneficia et bona reserventur reddantur-  
que, hoc modo me liberabis ab exilio, et reddes tibi devinctum obligatumque. Hic  
quidquid ego in honorem, statum et commoditatem tuam facere potero, tam libenter  
faciam, quam pro me facerem, voluntas nunquam deerit, modo non desit aut modus  
aut facultas. Et, mi Domine, pro tua, quam in me absentem ostendisti ostensurusque 175  
es, humanitate Olaum hunc eum perpetuo reperies, qualem tu voles, sicuti dominus  
Xanthus<sup>14</sup> tecum est locutus. Si pacata Hungaria rebusque meis salvis fieri poterit,  
non me hic detinebunt campanularum vestrarum artificiosi sonus, non caminorum  
etsi sanae tamen fuliginosae deliciae, non muliercularum blanditiae, libertas sola et  
doctorum virorum conversatio me quodammodo irritat, at libertas magna erit mihi in 180  
patria homini non admodum ambitioso, sed paucis contento, non deerunt istic etiam  
si non tam multi, quam hic ac non pauci viri, et plures his docti codices, quorum  
conversatio et tractatio me perinde delectabit ac si in media essem Italia, praesertim  
cum non defuturos arbitror in patria abundantem commeatum omnis generis copiam,  
vinorum diversorum nobilitatem, amicorum veterum redintegrandae confabulationis. 185  
Ut hae me revocare videntur rebus pacatis et salvis, ita te uxor, liberi, patria revocant;  
quibus plus debes, ut tute vere scribis, quam omnibus mortalium. Cura igitur, ut  
uterque redeamus in patriam ego in Hungariam, tu in Flandriam. Oceanus etsi ferox  
hisce annis fuit Flandris, Zelandis et suis aliis vicinis, verendumque est, ne in annos  
posteriores crudelior fiat. Tamen tantum iecisti tuarum rerum ubique fundamentum, 190  
ut vivendi honestam propter tuas animi dotes, ubique locorum modo per bella liceat,  
parvo negotio consequi possis conditionem.

[6.] Domino Panormitano,<sup>15</sup> apud quem saepe velim nolim propter humanam  
ipsius frequentemque invitationem prandeo ac coenito, te commendavi, et eam feci  
mentionem facioque honorificam, quam tua virtus exigit. Dixit et hodie se tuum 195  
bonum amicum fore, ubicumque opus fuerit. Cui in tuum honorem quid responderim,  
et qualia de te praedicarim, cancellarius Brabantiae frater<sup>16</sup> domini decani Brugen-  
sis,<sup>17</sup> quem in eo saltem prandio cognovi, et alii praestantes viri, qui una casu prande-  
bant, testes esse poterunt. Domina quoque magistra curiae comes de Salm<sup>18</sup> Alemana  
te salutatur, omniaque prospera tibi precatur. Litteras tuas ad ipsum dominum decanum 200  
et ad dominam coniugem tuam amantissimam eo statim die, quo mihi fuerunt cum  
aliis redditae per fidum hominem misi. Ad quos scripsi, ut si quae res inciderit, in

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178 campanularum] *O corr.* ex campanulatis | artificiosi sonus] *corr.* ex artificiosis sonis 183 si] *corr.* ex  
se

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<sup>14</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. | <sup>15</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>16</sup> Probably Matthias Lauwerijns, see IJSEWIJN 1986b.

<sup>17</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. | <sup>18</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm was Seneschal in the Court of Queen Mary in  
Hungary, and later she accompanied her to the Netherlands, see RÉTHELYI 2007, 1999–2000.

qua in absentia tua eis inservire possim, mihi libere significant. Non patiar, quantum  
in me erit possumque ac valeo, meam ab eis operam desiderari similiter et litteras  
205 semper ad me mittant, quas ad te recte perferendas voluerint. Credo id eos facturos.  
Antequam hae litterae meae ad te perveniant, etsi sciam iam in Owaro rem transac-  
tam, et te omnia fecisse in re mea, quae debuisti, tamen ne putares me esse negligem-  
tem et non accepisse tuas litteras, volui nihilominus has ad te rescribere. De rebus  
novis mihi significatis et de tam amicabile sinceraque omnium rerum mecum com-  
210 municatione ago tibi immensas gratias. Rogo Dominationem Tuam Magnificam,  
velis etiam imposterum hoc idem facere, ut aliquid habere possimus consolationis.  
Illa sola vera putamus, quae a te habemus et habebimus. Nam alia multa ad reginam  
et ad me et ad alios scribuntur, quae plerumque aliter paulo post acta esse reperiun-  
tur.

215 [7.] Hic nova sunt nulla. Financia caesaris laborare videtur, quae calet concione  
frequenti, adeo ut regina quoque cum eius una laboret. Dominus marchio de Naskoth  
aut potius dux de Sora,<sup>19</sup> profectus est ante decimum diem ad caesarem, tum iussu  
reginae, tum privatorum suorum negotiorum gratia, audio enim eum turbari coeptum  
esse in ducatu suo Neopolitano. Dominus de Byren Bewert,<sup>20</sup> Hostrath<sup>21</sup> et alii prae-  
220 sentes sunt. Bergis<sup>22</sup> abest Leodiensis,<sup>23</sup> ab abito caesaris nunquam in curiam venit.  
Sempy<sup>24</sup> missus est in Flandriam ad perlustranda loca, quae oceano consumpta fuere.  
Post eius reditum, quem puto ad quartumdecimum vel circiter adfuturum, arbitrator  
reginam quoque ea loca perlustraturam.

Ex Gallia et Anglia nihil certi audimus. Alere in praecordiis nescio quid latentis  
225 dicuntur moliminis. Orator caesaris de Liquerka<sup>25</sup> est adhuc apud regem Galliae.<sup>26</sup>  
Habeo istic apud dominum reverendissimum Agriensem<sup>27</sup> presbyterum Ioannem  
Cegledinum,<sup>28</sup> qui rebus meis salvus provisor custodiae meae erat. Si venerit ad Do-  
minationem Tuam Magnificam, ut eum id facere iussi, rogo, habere velit commenda-  
tum. Is exsequi res meas debet, si quid deliberatum in eis istic fuerit.

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<sup>19</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ (1496–1549) was Lord of Chateau-Porcéan, Prince of Chimay, Duke of Aerschot, and he was appointed to Grand Bailiff of Hainaut. He was also a member of the order of the Golden Fleece from 1516. See more MOREAU 1985b and GORTER-VAN ROYEN 2009, passim. | <sup>20</sup> Adolphe de Bourgogne de Beveren (1489–1540) was Lord of Veere, Admiral of the Netherlands, and Knight of the Golden Fleece. *Bewert* is probably a misspelling of “de Veere”, see GORTER-VAN ROYEN 2009, passim. | <sup>21</sup> Antoine I de Lalaing (1480–1540) was the first Count of Hoogstraten and Culembourg, and Governor of Mechelen, see STRATENWERTH 1986. | <sup>22</sup> John Lord of Berghes. | <sup>23</sup> Probably Liège. | <sup>24</sup> Antoine de Croÿ. | <sup>25</sup> Jean Hannart or Jehan Hannaert van Liedekerke (†1539), after serving King Maximilian I and Archduchess Margaret of Austria, he was a loyal officer of Emperor Charles V. In 1532, he served as Emperor Charles V’s legate to France, see LUNITZ 1987, 8, and PIOT 1884–1885. On his earlier Hungarian contacts, see LAKATOS 2016, passim. | <sup>26</sup> King Frances I. | <sup>27</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>28</sup> János Czeglédi.

Vale feliciter et ubicumque locorum sis, fac rogo mei memineris, tui ex corde 230  
amici et inservitoris.

Bruxellae 7. Martii 1533.

327 334

István Brodarics to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 8 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 380–381.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 315–316; KASZA 2012, 353–355.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 583–585.

1. Oláh's letter has made him very happy, and he was glad to promise all help to Czeglédi. What could he deny from such an old friend? What is more, he also loves Oláh's nephews as if they were his own, and Oláh's family also always receives him kindly. His affairs have to be postponed, but he will look into them as soon as there is an opportunity. 2. He left Oláh's relatives in good health in May. In turn he would like to ask Oláh to recommend his services to the Queen, who has always been good to him, and whose benevolence he cannot forget, and he will be looking for her forgiveness and grace as long as he lives. As Aeneas also says: he also left the Queen reluctantly.

Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Sirmiensis Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Gratissimae mihi fuerunt tuae litterae, quas Ioannes Cegledinus<sup>1</sup> mihi reddidit, qui et antequam tuas litteras accepissem, mecum de his aliisque negotiis diligenter fuerat locutus, et ego illi operam meam liberaliter fueram pollicitus. Quid enim mihi pro tali fratre et amico etiam non rogato faciendum non erat? Cuius probitatem et multiplices virtutes semper cupidissime sum complexus. Omnia mea etiam penitiora eidem communicavi. Accessit ad priora cognitio etiam et familiaritas cum tota tua domo in Transsilvania, ubi non semel in domo tua sum amanter exceptus; nepotulos ex fratre tuos<sup>2</sup> non aliter, quam si mei fuissent, complexus. Itaque quicquid unquam in rem tuam facere poterō, id erit semper ad tuum votum, immo tibi et omnibus tuis ita paratum, ut non sim rogandus. Satis erit me intelligere tuum id esse vel alicuius tuorum negotium. 5 10

Quod si iste conventus Owariensis, aut potius Posoniensis (huc enim fuerat translatum) non fuisset dissolutus ob eas causas, quas intelligere potuisti, vel certe intelliges, non defuisset rebus Tuae Dominationis hic quoque mea opera, sicut in posterum 15

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334,1 Olao] *del.* ex Olao Olao 3 aliisque] *O corr.* ex hisdemque 9 quicquid] *O(?) del.* ex quicquid facere

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334 <sup>1</sup> János Czeglédi gave the message to Brodarics both as a letter and in person, see Ep. 325. and Ep. 327. | <sup>2</sup> Oláh's brother Máté had two sons, Tamás and Mihály, and a daughter, Anna, wife of Mihály Bidi, see MERÉNYI 1896, 144.

quoque non deerit, ubicumque talia negotia agentur. Nam absque hoc iam non deerit, quantum intelligere possum, quin et pax fiat inter principes nostros et talia inter subditos non transigentur. De quo Deo optimo maximo sunt ab omnibus gratiae agenda. Et de his hactenus.

20 [2.] Reliqui tuos omnes salvos, apud quos fui in mense Maio anno superiore.<sup>3</sup>  
Rogo autem Tuam Dominationem, ut obsequia mea humillima in gratiam maiestatis  
reginalis dominae nostrae clementissimae commendare per omnes occasiones velit.  
Non possum ego, quomodocumque negotia publica vadant, quicquid suae maiestati  
25 de me dicitur, aut aliquando fortassis dictum est, oblivisci tantae gratiae ac benignita-  
tis, qua me indignum et immeritum sua est maiestas prosecuta, et supra omnes non  
solum aequales meos, sed me longe superiores sua autoritate evexerat. Pro quo suae  
maiestatis in me tanto beneficio volo, donec vivam, suae maiestatis erga me gratiam  
omnibus, quibus potero, modis quaerere. Et utinam tam longo terrarum spatio non  
30 disiungeremini a nobis, non potuissem profecto huc usque etiam mihi temperare,  
quin suam maiestatem reverenter adissem. Sed si Dominus Deus pacem dederit, ut  
spero, et plane futurum confido, non gravabit me ista etiam tam longe terrarum spatia  
emetiri, ut suae maiestati vel in parte saltem aliqua animi mei gratitudinem ostendem.  
Rogo autem Vestram Dominationem, velit mihi significare, et in quali me gratia esse  
sentit apud maiestatem suam reginalem, et de hoc exspecto fieri omnino certior a Tua  
35 Dominatione. Est enim mihi in praecipuis votis esse in gratia suae serenissimae ma-  
iestatis, et possum in veritate dicere illud, quod apud Virgilium Aeneas:<sup>4</sup>

*per sidera iuro,  
per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,  
invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.*

40 Me Vestrae Dominationi et aliis amicis, si qui adhuc istic nostri sunt memores,  
commenda plurimum. Et Vestram Dominationem felicem ac semper sanam esse  
cupio.

Posonii 8. Martii 1533.

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39 cessi] *O corr: ex cessit*

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334,37 per...39 cessi] Verg. *Aen.* VI, 458–460.

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<sup>3</sup> According to his letters, he was in Lipova on 9 May and in Gyula on 7 June, so he was able to visit Oláh's family before or after travelling to Lipova, see KASZA 2012, 297–301 | <sup>4</sup> Aeneas abandoned Queen Dido, as a result of which she committed suicide. Encountering her later in the underworld, Aeneas realizes the effects of his actions. Brodarics regretted that he had left Queen Mary and wanted to return to her grace.



Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 8 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 399–400.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 316–318.

1. He thanks for the congratulations, but this office is a burden on his shoulders rather than a reward. There is nothing to congratulate for anyway, the situation is so miserable, nobody is safe, and the horsemen are pillaging the poor every day so much that they are already starving to death; so he should rather send his condolences. King John I has sent Ferenc Frangepán and his people, and they talked about peace with them. Once it is made at last, he will not forget about Oláh's possessions. 2. He writes about his daughter Lucretia. He hears that the English and the French want to join in an attack on Charles V, their only hope.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem. Reverende Domine, Amice Dilecte, salutem!

[1.] Litteras Dominationis Vestrae Bruxellis nona<sup>1</sup> praeteriti mensis datas heri accepimus, ex quibus cognovimus Dominationem Vestram gratulari de officio, quod maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus nobis imposuit verius, quam contulit. De quo quid congratulandum est, non videmus, propterea quod omnis rerum ordo 5 adeo confusus est, ut non nisi angustias et acerbitates privatas, publica hac curatitas dicere liceat. Accedit enim calamitati, quam ex hoste toties reverso et ex miserabili scissione accepimus, equitum, quos maiestas regia alit, effera rapinae aviditas, ut nihil fere miseris colonis sit relictum, ut taceamus interim non dominos, non nobiles, non ullum statum securum esse posse, vel in exiguis fortunis, quas temporum malignitas illis fecit reliquas, adeo in omnium bona equites illi debachati sunt, et indies debachantur, ut miserae plebeculae nonnisi ex fame interitus immineat, nisi divina 10 benignitas res nostras respexerit. Nam non est, quod speret quis raptorum horum violentias legibus ac poenis cohiberi posse; creverunt adeo, ut maiores videantur, quam quibus leges imperare possent, ut leges non silere, sed obrutae potius ac sepul- 15 tae videantur. Unde fit, ut considerantibus nobis praesentium miseram rerum faciem condolendum potius hoc nomine videatur, quam gratulandum de officio imposito, quod nonnisi oneri est in hoc confuso statu rerum. Anget animi dolorem, quod, quando tot malorum sit futurus finis, nequaquam appareat. Miserat huc Ioannes<sup>2</sup> homines suos monachum de Frangipanibus,<sup>3</sup> Stephanum Werbewezy,<sup>4</sup> Stephanum 20

335,1 Reverende] *O del. ex Reverende ac egregie* 3 quod] *corr. ex quem*

335 <sup>1</sup>The Nonae of February fell on 5 February. Oláh's letter was dated 10 February, but its content suggests that Thurzó is referring to Ep. 318. in which Oláh congratulates on his appointment to *locumtenens*. | <sup>2</sup>King John I. | <sup>3</sup>Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>4</sup>István Werbőczy

Brodericum et Hieronymum Lasky, quibus cum egimus, nondum tamen certam liberationem in regni commodum videmus, ubi certa pax convenerit, non erimus Dominationis Vestrae immemores, et de beneficio suo, quod possidere deberet.

[2.] Quod ad filiam nostram dominam Lucretiam<sup>5</sup> attinet, manet apud nos vetus  
25 illa ac debita benevolentia, et nisi tam atrox regnum hoc detinuisset turbo, iampridem  
accepta eiusdem dominae filiae nostrae mente potuisset per nos nonnihil curae adhi-  
beri. Nihilominus si Dei benignitate laetior regno facies reddita fuerit, eam adhibebi-  
mus diligentiam, ut fortasse non frustra parentis nos sumpsisse nomen filia nostra sit  
iudicatura. Quod vero intelligimus Gallorum et Angliae principes apparatu occupari,  
30 ut ditioni serenissimi regis nostri bellum inferant, partibus scilicet illis Flandriae, non  
possumus non vehementer dolere, quippe cum non ignoremus insanissimis principum  
motibus rempublicam Christianam labefactari, et occupato imperatore, in quo salus  
nostra spesque liberationis erat reposita, serius nostram a tot malis liberationem  
expectare cogamur et interim labente seculo minor posteris sit speranda requies a  
35 Turcarum tyrannide, qui nihil non moliantur nostris stertentibus, ut ditionem eorum  
proferant. Cogimur tamen divinae providentiae omnia vel nolentes attribuere, ut ea  
solum sint habenda, quae numen iusserit. Utrumque frustra quidam nitantur. Nos, ut  
praemisimus, Dominationis Vestrae immemores non sumus, ut veteris amici, et cuius  
rebus consuluisse non pigeat. Quamquam, ut diximus, certa nulla salus appareat,  
40 neque voluntati commoditas respondeat. Dominationem Vestram cum his bene valere  
optamus.

Posonii VIII. Martii anno 1533.

### 336

Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
[Bratislava], [8 March 1533]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 401.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 318.

*After his last letter a document of 21 January came from Constantinople, according to which Hieronymus of Zara has had the conditions of peace between the Sultan and King Ferdinand I accepted. The Sultan's envoy and Zara's son traveled towards Dubrovnik, and from there towards Austria. The Sultan embraces King Ferdinand I as his son and has issued an edict to refrain from violence. The mode of the peace treaty is not yet ready.*

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<sup>5</sup> Probably Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). According to Vocht, Lucretia had been adopted by Elek Thurzó, see VOCHT 1961, 242.

Idem Nicolao Olao.

Post scripta venerunt litterae ad dominos regentes Vienenses ex Constantinopoli 21. Ianuarii scriptae, quibus significatur aperte pacem, concordiam et, ut litterae continent, bonum convicinium transactum<sup>1</sup> inter Turcarum caesarem et serenissimum regem nostrum medio Hieronymi de Sara,<sup>2</sup> qui alias maiestatis regiae nautico appa- 5  
tui praefectus fuerat, et quod caesaris illius orator non parvae existimationis cum filio Hyeronimi esse ad principem nostrum dimissus versus Rhagusium,<sup>3</sup> et eas partes Carinthiae aut Carniolae. Iubet Hyeronimus ille universos maiestatis regiae subditos bona spe esse. Immo addit iubilare et Deo gratias agere nec levi verbo. Nam dicit caesarem Turcarum esse nostrum principem amplexum vice filii, edidisse mandata 10  
universis confinium praefectis, ut a violentia inferenda abstineant, et in argumentum huius concordiae amicos et vicinos suos benevolos gaudere iussos. Modus concordiae nondum constat. Arbitramur tamen propediem maiestatem regiam significaturam serenissimae dominae reginae omnem rerum statum lucidius, ex qua et Domina- 15  
tio Vestra intelliget. Utinam iam tandem Domini misericordia respiciat, ut finis flagelli et vexationis fiat.<sup>4</sup>

324 **337** 347

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 9 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 456–458.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 319–321.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 265–267.

*1. Both him and the Queen have received his letters to them; the latter has said that she will respond when she has read it. However, now she is very busy, more so than before, but he will remind her to respond. He thanks him for what he is doing for him with King Ferdinand I; what concerns him is that Sanchez, as he wrote, has been ordered to see the Pope, and so he will be away from the Court, where he will not have a representative any more; if Schepper has a trustworthy man there, he should let him know. May God grant Schepper and Weze's safe arrival. 2. King John I's envoys, Oláh's old colleagues, Brodarics and Nádasdy, will not object to his affairs; he has sent letters of accreditation to them with Czeglédi. Both Werbőczy, with whom he has had a good relationship since their youth, and Frangepán will support him. 3. If Schepper has any questions, he should consult Czeglédi. Oláh has written to Schepper's relatives, as he asked. He will be able to talk about the Queen's affairs with Ulrich Eyczinger.*

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336 <sup>1</sup> The conclusion of paece was on 4 July, 1533, see PETRITSCH 1991, 26–27. | <sup>2</sup> Hieronymus of Zara (†1541) was legate of King Ferdinand I to Suleiman I in 1533. | <sup>3</sup> Dubrovnik. | <sup>4</sup> According to its opening words, this letter was written immediately after the previous one, Ep. 335.

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Scepperum responsio.

[1.] Hodie ad multam noctem redditae sunt mihi tuae litterae XVIII. Februarii Lincii datae, redditae inquam cum litteris ad maiestatem reginalem datis. Eas mox suae maiestati cum ea praefatione, quae debuit, praesentavi, tuamque in suae maiestatis postremo etiam in meis rebus curam et sollicitudinem, ut potui, ei commendavi diligenter. Hilari fronte eam accepit commendationem, responditque se non dubitaturam de tua opera ac diligentia. Oravi, ut ad tuas litteras responderet, dixit se illas praelecturam et postea primo quoque tempore ad eas responsuram. Nam tunc instabant caesaris consilarii pro habendo consilio, quod nunc frequentius est, quam tunc cum adfueras. Indies video emergi quam plurima negotia, quae reginam bis die qualibet in longum detineant. Nolui igitur hunc nuntium interea proficisci ad te vacuum sine meis litteris, reginam sollicitabo, ut respondeat. De rebus meis apud regem promotis gratias ago tibi amplissimas. Non despero, quin rex favore me prosequatur, si grati principis officium facere voluerit hoc unum mihi permolestum est Xantum<sup>1</sup> nostrum, ut ipse ad me scribit,<sup>2</sup> designatum ad pontificem in rebus regiis, et abfuturum a curia, vix enim istic alterum habeo, cui res meas tuto credere possim, et ad quem hinc litteras meas dirigam tibi tuto reddendas. Si quem tu in curia fidum amicum habes, cui tu tuas, ego meas credere possim, fac significes. Deus faxit, ut incolumis cum domino Lundensi<sup>3</sup> collega tuo, cui me unice commendes, velim, in locum designatum pertingere, hincque rebus regiis primum et reginalibus, deinde meis immo tuis confectis ex sententia feliciter reverti possis sive una, sive altera via, de qua et tu prioribus litteris ad me copiose scripsisti, et ego abunde respondi. Cura, rogo, mi Corneli, ut in meis rebus optatum consequamur finem, ut tuo studio me patriae et meis redditum esse laetari possim. Non defuturum esse arbitror ipsius quoque Lundensis collegae tui nostris his rebus calculum, licet non familiari aliqua consuetudine, sed ex facie saltem mihi cogniti.

[2.] Ex vaivodanis commissariis cum Broderico et Nadasdy, altero olim secretario regis Ludovici,<sup>4</sup> collega in secretis meo altero cancellario tantum fuit mihi, dum officiis nostris in Hungaria fungeremur, necessitudinis vinculum, ut maius vix etiam inter fratres fieri potuerit. Credo hoc non refrixisse inter nos, licet diversas partes salva uniuscuiusque fide ac constantia secutos. Ad hos<sup>5</sup> his diebus litteras dedi fidei aut credentiae, ut vocant, in personam mei sacellani Ioannis Cegledini,<sup>6</sup> cui iussi et nunc quoque committo, ut te conveniat, ac iuxta informationem tuam cum illis, si necessarium fuerit, salva mea in principes meos fide agat, huic manda, si quid eum velis meo nomine apud illos agere. Credo, non deerunt illorum suffragia tuo et meo voto, nisi cum tempore refrixerit eorum quoque in me vetus amicitia. Verbewczy,<sup>7</sup> etsi rebus regni salvis me semper ab ephebis amarit, meaque usus fuerit aetate postea adolescente opera, tamen non puto, est nunc admonendus; faciet enim, quod illos

337 <sup>1</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. | <sup>2</sup> This letter is no longer extant. | <sup>3</sup> Johan Weze. | <sup>4</sup> See KUBINYI 2006. | <sup>5</sup> See Ep. 326, and Ep. 327. | <sup>6</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>7</sup> István Werbóczy.

duos velle animadverterit. Cum Colocensi<sup>8</sup> parva vel admodum nulla mihi est con-  
suetudo, nisi quod dum ex monasterio Italico exiverat anno 1526 Posonium, et cum 40  
Broderico tunc una essemus apud reginam, cum quo intima illi erat familiaritas,  
prandio unico apud me ambo fuerant excepti. Is quoque Broderici voto non refraga-  
bitur maiestatis autem regiae commissarii, dico Hungari, qui frequentes huc ad me  
dederunt litteras, nisi sint facti dissimiles litterarum et oblationis suae, ut arbitrator,  
non reluctabuntur voluntati nostrae. 45

[3.] Si quid tibi deerit in informatione accipienda, ipse meus sacellanus,<sup>9</sup> cui res  
omnes meae sunt cognitae, et qui ad te, si sanus est, meo iussu proficiscetur. De eo te  
a primo ovo informare poterit. Scripsi ad tuos Brugas, ut iussisti et scribam frequen-  
ter, non modo non exspectata occasione, sed si modo responderunt, sique opus fuerit,  
mittam meum proprium ad eos familiarem, qui eos invisat. In rebus reginae cum 50  
Ulrico de Eynczing,<sup>10</sup> qui Brugis apud te mecum una coenaverat, consiliario reginali,  
tunc Posonii constituto communicare et tractare poteris. Me, mi Corneli, habebis  
talem, super quem in aliis meis scripsi, et tute voles. Gritum<sup>11</sup> timeo, ne cum Turcis  
suis, vobis et provincialibus regiis in his vestris tractatibus negotium facessat in eum  
finem, ut cogamini regnum adversae parti cedere. Novi enim illorum practicas et 55  
molimina. Quicquid futurum erit et in rebus Hungaricis et Polonicis, fac me certio-  
rem. Vale feliciter et me tuum esse totum existimato.

Bruxellae nona Martii 1533.

### 338

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Brussels, 9 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 265–266.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 321.

*In his letter of 10 February he wrote everything Czeglédi needs to know. Czeglédi should see Schepper; he can consult him, and based on his advice he should speak with Brodarics and Nádasdy. Sarson will help if he needs money. He should pay attention and be careful. He can talk freely with Brodarics, they used to be good friends.*

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337,54 in<sup>1</sup>] *O corr.* ex suis 55 regnum] *O corr.* ex in regiis

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<sup>8</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>9</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>10</sup> Ulrich Eyczinger. | <sup>11</sup> Ludovico Gritti.

Ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorum.

Tam multis a die decima<sup>1</sup> mensis Februarii praeteriti ad te in rebus meis scripsi, ut non putem nunc mihi necessarium esse plura scribere. In me nihil defuit, quin de omnibus meis te docerem, quae in his recuperandis essent agenda. Vide ergo, ne in te  
5 quoque aliquid desit, quod non diligenter istic sis exsecuturus. Cornelius Sceperus orator caesaris istic est. Accede eum,<sup>2</sup> cum eo tuto loqui et eius etiam consilium sequi poteris. Ipse si res in partem adversam casu caderet, uti tibi litteris meis aliis scripseram, omnem interponet suam operam, ea via, quam ipse scit et ego intelligo. Cuius consilio etiam cum Stephano doctore<sup>3</sup> et Nadasdi, si opus erit, agere poteris ad recuperationem bonorum nostrorum. Ad executionem aliam pecuniam, quam poterit, suppeditabit tibi, si aliunde interea nullam contrahere poteris, Andreas Sarson.<sup>4</sup> Ex villa Tharcz<sup>5</sup> quoque ex cathedratice et quarta<sup>6</sup> aliquas praeterea habere poteris. Vide igitur, ne sis negligens. Nam nunc res agitur in cardine. Si tardus aut negligens eris, damnum irrecuperabile mihi et tibi facere poteris. Si diligens, commodum maximum.  
15 Cum Stephano doctore familiariter loqui poteris, quocum mihi olim fuit magna consuetudo, si ea illi non excidit, quod non credo. Vide, si quid expiscari poteris. Age tamen caute. Vale et de omnibus mihi rescribe, quae egeris, audieris, et intellexeris. Reverendo domino Agriensi<sup>7</sup> scribam hoc triduo aut quadriduo.<sup>8</sup>  
Bruxellae 9. Martii 1533.

339

Miklós Oláh to Gabriel Sanchez  
Brussels, 9 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 266.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 321–322.

*He does not know if Sanchez has received his letter. He has written two long letters to Schepper. He regrets that Sanchez is going to Rome because on the one hand, he is taking on a huge task, and on the other hand, nobody will remain in the Court whom he knows. He is asking him to make sure there is someone through whom they can correspond; namely letters somehow get stuck at the court. He has forwarded Sanchez' letter to Mechelen and Antwerp through Carondelet's secretary.*

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338,2 a] *O add. sup. l.* 5 sis] *O corr. ex esses* 7 litteris] *O del. ex litteris ipsi* 9 cum] *O add. sup. l.* 15 familiaris] *O corr. ex familiaris* 17 quae] *O add. sup. l.*

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338 <sup>1</sup> We only know Oláh's long letter on 18 February, see Ep. 325., so either Oláh did not remember the precise day, or he sent another letter. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 337. Cap. 3. | <sup>3</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 325. Note 19. | <sup>5</sup> Nová Lipnica, see C. TÓTH–LAKATOS–MIKÓ 2014, 172. | <sup>6</sup> The Chapter of Bratislava was able to collect and possess a quarter of the tithe in Žitný ostrov, see C. TÓTH–LAKATOS–MIKÓ 2014, 172. | <sup>7</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>8</sup> This letter is no longer extant.

Ad Xanthum Gabrielem Nicolaus Olahus.

Subdubius fui, an te litterae meae<sup>1</sup> in curia reperturae essent. Tamen nihilominus has ad te dedi. Ad Cornelium<sup>2</sup> scripsi abunde binis iam meis litteris,<sup>3</sup> et eum confirmavi in fide. Doleo ultra, quam dici potest, te proficisci in Urbem, tum quod non parvos labores te istic habiturum credam, tum quod ego in curia neminem fere habeam, cui tantum tribuerem, quam tibi, et cui res meas tuto credere possem, parendum tamen est necessitati. Hoc unum rogo, mi Xanthe, ut si adhuc in curia es, velis ex tuis, qui istic sunt, fidelibus procurare, ad quem meas hinc litteras dirigere possim et qui eas aut ad te aut ad partes Hungaricas mittat, eumque mihi nomines, nam absque aliquo tali nec tu mecum, nec ego tecum tuto litteris uti possum. Solent enim litterae haerere in curia, si nemo sit, qui eas excipiat, et eas transmittat. Nihil mihi hac re gratius facies. Litteras tuas medio Ioannis Langhii<sup>4</sup> secretarii Panormitani<sup>5</sup> misi, mox cum accepi, Mecliniam<sup>6</sup> inde Antwerpianam, certificabor de earum redditione. Vale fideliter et mei sis memor ubicumque locorum, quod ego quoque faciam.

Bruxellae nona Martii 1533.

15

### 340

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 15 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 459–460.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 322–323.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 267.

*He has already written two long letters about what Schepper should do. He is sending the Queen's response with this one; she could not answer sooner due to her many tasks. He can talk freely with Brodarics. Whatever they decide about Hungary, he should write him about it. Both Vissenaken and Schepper's wife have sent Schepper letters, he is forwarding them.*

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Sceppero suo salutem.

Non est opus me multis in meis ad te scribere. Scripsi enim binis<sup>1</sup> copiose et compertum habeo te facturum omnia, quae faceres in tuis. Reginae responsum ad te cum praesentibus mitto. Antea non respondit propter suas continuas occupationes financiaras et etiam alias. Si honestum tibi erit et integrum, et res ita expetiverit, familiarius poteris agere in rebus meis cum Broderico salva tua et mea in principes

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339,1 Gabrielem... Olahus] *O add.* 5 ego] *O del.* ex hic 9 Hungaricas] *O corr.* ex Hungaricos

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339 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 339. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 333, and Ep. 337. | <sup>4</sup> Probably John de Lange (†1571), see ALLEN 1941, 185. | <sup>5</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>6</sup> Mechelen. 340 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 333, and Ep. 337.

nostra fide. Is enim fuerat mihi olim longe familiarissimus. Sacellanum,<sup>2</sup> quid agendum sit, informabis. Quicquid erit in rebus Hungaricis statutum, fac me certio-  
10 rem. Si ad reginam scripseris, contigit saepe, ut litteras ne legat, quidem ad multos dies,  
et coniunx tua<sup>4</sup> miserunt ad me hoc die litteras ad te datas, conqueruntur de perfidia  
tabellionum; has decani ad me datas misi ad te, ut scias, quid scribat. Si qua in re eis  
in tui absentia gratificari potero, tam faciam libenter, quam quod libentissime. Cura,  
15 mi Sceppere, rogo, ut meum negotium in portum deducas, quo in utramque aurem  
securus dormire possim. Regina non commendavit tibi nunc illud multis. Nam nolui,  
ut id faceret, ne diffidere viderer tuae operae. Ita commendasset multis, ut nunc pau-  
cis, si voluissem. Scribe frequenter et ad me et ad tuos. Vale.

Bruxellae 15. Martii 1533.

331 **341** 350

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 17 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 460–461.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 323–324.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 269–271.

1. He has received Schepper's letter today, and he has learnt that they are already negotiating in Bratislava. He has given the message to the Queen, as well as the letter for her to read. He wrote Schepper what he suspects about Gritti. He will forward his letters to his wife tomorrow. He reports on what arrangements he has made regarding Schepper's affairs. Schepper should already know what the Danish and the other Northerners are planning against Flanders and Zeeland. 2. There are 4,000 German soldiers at the borders, and desertion has been forbidden as a capital offence. Captain Byren has been appointed to drive them out, or at least to scare them. The English and French Kings have gathered, they do not know for what purpose. 3. Schepper can tell Szalaházy that he has authorization from the King and the Queen to look after Oláh's affairs together with him.

Nicolaus Olaus ad eundem suum amicum.

[1.] Hodie mihi redditae fuere aliae quoque tuae litterae, ex quibus intellexi initium tractatus Poseniensis, qua de re ago tibi gratias. Ea omnia, quae scripsisti, communicavi mox reginae, immo litteras easdem, quia nihil erat in eis, quod eam scire  
5 non sua interesset, ei in cubiculo legendas dedi. De Christiano adversae partis responso et admirati sumus et risimus, scilicet bonis fidei nostrae cultoribus digno et

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340,9 litteras] *O add. sup. l.* | legat] *O corr. ex legaet* 17 tuos] *O corr. ex tuam*

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<sup>2</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>3</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. | <sup>4</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.



conveniente. Reginae et commendavi verbis, et sola legit servitorum tuorum oblationem, quae nonnisi clementi animo tuam accipit serviendi promptitudinem, qua, ut nunc in rebus tibi demandatis, ita de cetero quoque, dum usus erit, utetur. Quid ego de Turcis per Griteum<sup>1</sup> evocatis sentiam, litteris meis aliis perscripti, nimirum id, ut eorum, quod longe absit, excursione cogamini etiam inviti aliquid facere. Litteras tuas mittam cras per fidum nuntium Brugas ad coniugem tuam<sup>2</sup> amantissimam. Advocato Bruxellensi curavi per Levinum<sup>3</sup> suas reddendas, qui me hortatore rescripsit, quas cum praesentibus accipies. Praefecto quoque Mechliniensi<sup>4</sup> mittam hodie vel cras per Ioannem Langium inclusas meis litteris,<sup>5</sup> nam dominus archiepiscopus Pannormitanus<sup>6</sup> eo est profecturus regina hodie ad venationem quadridianam proficiscente, sed longe ante autumnum praefectus Mechliniensis profectus est ad caesarem. Ad quem eo quoque mittere volebam, sed putavi eum iam reditum parasse, et litteras non posse in itinere offendere, sicque perire, nihilominus illas misi ad domum suam, Mechliniam. Sempii<sup>7</sup> rediit.

[2.] Maris diluvium attulit damna Flandris et aliis, quae non minimis impensis restitui posse dicuntur. De Danis et civitatibus septentrionalibus, quid moliantur contra Selandos et Flandros, si hi Selandis auxiliabuntur, credo te intellexisse ex domesticorum tuorum litteris. Tamen scias ex meis quoque illos meditari, immo constituisse, ut maritimam horum navigationem prohibeant. Quod si fiet, paratum erit bellum, hi curabunt suam navigationem armis liberam facere, si caesaris, quam petunt, accesserit voluntas. Scis causam esse veterem et inimicitias inter eos antiquas propter regem Cristernum<sup>8</sup> adiutum. Quattuor millia peditum Alemanorum sunt nunc in finibus Holandiae prope traiectum congregata ex gregariis militibus, quo duce vel clanculario fautore certo adhuc nescitur. Prohibitum est caesarianis militibus sub capitis poena, ne eo confugiant, ut plebs est rerum novarum avida. Designatus est ad eos aut profligandos aut saltem deterrendos dominus a Byren capitaneus,<sup>9</sup> alioqui cum stipendiariis praesidiariisque harum provinciarum militibus, qui post dies aliquot eo contendet. Reges Galliae et Angliae,<sup>10</sup> uti dicitur, brevi rursus convenient; quid moliantur, incertum est. Alia nunc nulla. Responsum coniugis tuae et decani<sup>11</sup> misi

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341,9 tibi] *O corr. ex suis* | quoque] *O add. sup. l.* 12 ad] *O del. ex ad dominam* 15 archiepiscopus] *O mut. ex Ioannes* 16 quadridianam] *O corr. ex quatradianam* 18 litteras] *O del. ex litteras eum* 19 perire] *O del. ex perire, sed* 21 Maris diluvium] *O corr. ex Moris diluviat* | damna...aliis] *O add. in marg.* 23 hi Selandis] *O add. sup. l.* 26 hi curabunt] *O mut. ex bello* | armis...facere] *O mut. ex defendere* 33 provinciarum] *O del. ex provinciarum earundem* 34 Reges] *corr. ex Rex*

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341 <sup>1</sup> Ludovico Gritti. | <sup>2</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>3</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>4</sup> Probably Antoine I de Lalaing. | <sup>5</sup> See Ep. 339. | <sup>6</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>7</sup> Antoine de Croÿ, Lord of Sempy (Sampey). | <sup>8</sup> King Christian II of Denmark (1481–1559). | <sup>9</sup> Adolphe de Bourgogne de Beveren. | <sup>10</sup> King Francis I and King Henry VIII. | <sup>11</sup> Mark Lauwerijns.

ad te hoc triduo cum litteris reginae. De rebus meis rogo, habe curam, ut ex sententia conficiantur nostrum utriusque.

[3.] Domino Agriensi<sup>12</sup> dicere poteris, si videtur, commissionem te habere a rege et regina, et si id addes, etiam caesare, ut si res eo devenerit, cum eo una conficias  
40 meum negotium. Attamen tuae prudentiae et dexteritati relinquo modum omnem  
agendi, qui propius sis rebus, et ideo non ignores, quid sit agendum et quid tentan-  
dum. Nunc non plura. Exspectamus tuas litteras, ut et regina et nos sciamus, quid  
istic agatur. Officiales reginae publica scribunt, sed tu privata et penitiora significare  
poteris. Ioanne Cegledino<sup>13</sup> presbytero meo utare, ut instrumento. Quem doceas, quid  
45 facere debeat, maxime si vis eum loqui cum Broderico. Vale feliciter.

Bruxellae 17. Martii 1533.

### 342

Miklós Oláh to Gabriel Sanchez  
Brussels, 17 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 477–478.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 324–325.

*Although he has sent Sanchez two shorter letters already, he now answers Sanchez' letter. He thanks him for what he has done for him and asks him to continue until they have reached their goal. Schepper's efforts will be of great use to them, if he needs help, he should support him.*

Nicolai Olai ad Gabrielem Xanthum protonotarium Apostolicum, secretarium regis Ferdinandi.

Ut aliquando etiam breves litteras, non semper longas ad te mittam, volo paucis ad tuas,<sup>1</sup> quas cum nuntio Cornelii<sup>2</sup> una nudiustertius accepi, respondere. Binas, ut  
5 arbitrator, litteras meas<sup>3</sup> post meas per praefectum armariorum antea missas ad te dedi, quas omnes te iam accepisse credo. Habeo gratias tibi cumulas, quod rerum mearum communium curam, ut scribis, habes. Ita fac et deinceps rogo, quoad bonum in illis finem habere poterimus. Cornelii Sceperi amici nostri opera et diligentia, si res ad partes Ioannis vaivodae declinari contigerit, multum rebus illis afferet adiuventi.  
10 Si qua in re opus erit, tu quoque cures ex curia favorem regis, quem mihi non denegatum iri puto. Illi si nondum dieta Altenburgensis<sup>4</sup> dissoluta est, eo, aut si res ad Poloniam devolvetur, illuc suppeditare. Modo pax in Hungaria fiat firma resque meae sint salvae, non cogitavi, neque cogito hic manere, meusque status Cornelio, si

41 propius] *O corr.* ex prope 43 penitiora] *O del.* ex penitiora ei per me 45 cum] *O del.*

<sup>12</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>13</sup> János Czeglédi. 342 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> Ep. 322, and Ep. 339. | <sup>4</sup> Magyaróvár.

is illi placuerit, erit vacuus. Qua de re, uti voluisti, ad eum latius scripsi, quas rogo, cito ad eum mitte. Litteras regias ad me missas ea statim hora, qua ad me delatae 15 fuerunt, per fidelem cursorem misi ad imperatoris oratorem in Galliam.<sup>5</sup> Si quid istic fuerit finitum, cura, ut sciam. Vale.

Bruxellae 17. Martii 1533.

### 343

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Paulus comes  
Brussels, 27 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 295–296.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 326.

*While they were all worrying about Hungary's future, a royal envoy arrived to say that a Turkish envoy had arrived to the King to offer peace and return the occupied territories if Andrea Doria also returns the territories occupied in the Peloponnessos in exchange. The King did not recoil from this, and it seems neither did the Emperor. This makes him unspeakably happy. However, it is doubtful if the Turks are also going to return the castles they had conquered before the battle of Mohács.*

Ad Paulum comitem amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Cum essemus omnes, qui amantes sumus quietis et tranquillitatis Hungariae, in maxima animi conservatione, et non modo vaticinari, sed ne cogitare quidem sciremus, quorsum haec tanta Hungariae et reipublicae Christianae mala eruptura essent, quemque finem habitura, praesto fuit nobis ex curia regia nuntius et litterae, quae 5 declarabant Deum iam optimum maximum, ut quisque existimare posset, misertum esse nostrae calamitatis, illisque finem qualemcumque impositurum. Nam his diebus venisse Turcarum nuntium ad regem, qui pacem domini sui nomine a rege peteret, pollicerique omnia, quae ad Hungariam spectarent illum regi redditurum, si caesar noster remitteret, quae Andreas a Dorea<sup>2</sup> in Peloponesso illi hoc anno ademisset. 10 Regem autem non omnino ab hac pacis conditione abhorrere misisseque celeri cursu unum ex suis ad caesarem, qui haec illi renuntiaret, et eum omnibus modis induceret, ut Turcae voluntati consentiret. Non possum tibi, mi Amice, referre, quantum haec res voluptatis non mihi solum, sed omnibus bonis attulerit. Nam si caesar consentiente haec facta fuerint, nihil arbitror residuum, quin ad multos annos pacem quietam 15 simus habituri. Dubium tamen in hoc est nobis non minimum, an Turca velit nobis etiam Taurium,<sup>3</sup> Sabacz,<sup>4</sup> Wylak,<sup>5</sup> Thythel<sup>6</sup> et alia, quae ante annos hinc decem

343,14 caesare] *corr.* ex caesar 15 haec] *corr.* ex hac

<sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely. 343 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Andrea Doria.

<sup>3</sup> Belgrade fell in 1521. | <sup>4</sup> Šabac fell in 1521. | <sup>5</sup> Ilok fell in 1526. | <sup>6</sup> Titel fell in 1526.

amisimus regi resignare. Quod si futurum esset, nihil imposterum multas ob res  
vereri deberemus, si autem illis, quas nominavi arcibus reservatis, his saltem po-  
20 stremo amissi cedere velit, nulli dubium est, quin haec pax brevi sit duratura tem-  
pore, et tantisper dum Turca aliquam sibi placentem arripere possit occasionem nobis  
nocituram. Haec tibi, quem mihi amicissimum semper cognovi, volui esse nota, ut  
quod his de rebus tuum esset consilium, tu quoque mihi significares. Quod ut facias,  
simulque nos consoleris, te vehementer peto. Vale et me ama.  
25 Bruxellae 27. Martii 1533.

### 344

Miklós Oláh to a friend called Paulus comes  
Brussels, 27 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 296.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 327.

*Who can be happier than Paulus? He does not see a reason to complain, but he should still rest so that he can enjoy his possessions in the future.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Quis unquam te visus es felicior, quis beator, quis omnibus et animi et corporis  
bonis ornatior, qui postea, quae tum largiente Deo, tum natura ipsa suppeditante  
maxime consecutus es commoda, ni eo nunc scis statu, in ea conditione vivendi, ut  
5 felicitate ipsa nemo sit tibi praeferendus. Habes principem tuis votis undequaque  
obsequentem; non desunt tibi amici, non parentis loca propinqui, qui te omnibus  
quibus ad vitae tuae sustentationem indigeas, abunde cumulent, ornentque praesidiis.  
Quare esse video causam aliquam, cur tu aut fortunam aut vitae tuae rationem condi-  
tionemque accusare possis. Modo animus non desit tibi, quietus nihil tibi deerit. Fac  
10 igitur primum, si sapis, ut animum tuum reddas quietum, deinde ut tuis, quae habes  
bonis commode fruarer: nihil, si hoc feceris aut ad vitae praesentis necessitatem, aut  
ad honoris tui augmentum tibi deesse arbitror. Vale.

Bruxellae 27. Martii 1533.

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19 nominavi] *corr:* ex nominati 344,3 largiente] *corr:* ex largienae 7 sustentationem] *corr:* ex  
sustentationem 9 quietus] *corr:* ex quietas | deerit] *corr:* ex deerint 11 necessitatem] *corr:* ex necessitate

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344 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Brussels, 28 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 294–295.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 327–328.

*He has heard that they have found some other way to negotiate, i.e. a Turkish envoy has arrived to the King in Vienna. If Czeglédi is in Vienna, he should look into his affairs, and if he is not there yet, he should go there immediately lest Oláh suffer losses due to his delay. He has written to Szalaházy, the Queen will be sending her response with tomorrow's messenger.*

Ad provisorem.

Rem Hungaricam in alium tractandi modum iam incedissee intelligo, ut scilicet sit agendum cum oratore Turcarum, qui venit Wiennam ad regem. Quare hortor te, ut si es, ut credo, Viennae, cures omnibus modis regem, ut bona nostra rehabeamus. Quibus viis agendum sit, iam pridem tibi multis depinxi. Si Viennae non es, dies et noctes 5 eo contende, ne tua negligentia res mea negligatur, in periculum veniat. Si adhuc Scepperus caesaris orator ibi est,<sup>1</sup> cum eo de singulis communicare poteris. Reverendissimo domino Agriensi<sup>2</sup> non scripsi, exspecto enim reginae responsum in negotio ipsius, in quo etiam hoc mane reginam sum multis allocutus et dixit se facturam bonum responsum per nuntium primo hinc abiturum. Commenda me illi, et roga, ut 10 mei rerumque mearum meminerit. Tu cura, ut in negotiorum ipsorum extremo repariaris fidus et diligens ac talis, qualem bonum, fidum et diligentem, accuratumque virum esse decet. Nunc non plura. Si deerunt expensae, Sarsan<sup>3</sup> tibi suppeditabit. Vale.

Bruxellae 28. Martii 1533.

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345,4 cures] *corr.* ex cura 6 periculum] *corr.* ex periculum

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345 <sup>1</sup> Cornelis de Schepper was in Vienna at this time, see Ep. 347, and GÉVAY 1838, 108–109. | <sup>2</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>3</sup> Andreas Sarson, see Ep. 325. Note 19.

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 29 March 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 342–344.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 328–330; ALLEN 1941, 184–187.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 657–659.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 176–179; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 121–124.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 102–105.

*1. It was rumored that Erasmus wanted to go to Besançon, but then Erasmus' letter arrived saying that he wanted to come here, but that Oláh should not mention it to either Jespersen or anybody else. He is happy to hear the news, and he is not telling anybody beside the Queen, Carondelet, and Lange, through whom the correspondence is conducted, but they will remain silent. Then Erasmus also wrote that he is going to visit Conrad Wackers, with whom he was together today, and in the end they talked about this. 2. The Queen has great benevolence towards Erasmus and is expecting him home. For his part, Oláh is doing everything he can for the cause, so he told the Queen that Erasmus would be more relaxed to embark on the journey if he was assured of the payment of his rental fee. 3. The Queen also understands that he wants to avoid the inconveniences of the Court. Now they only need him to wait patiently and calmly. He is sending his letter to Wackers together with his own letter, and he is forwarding Carondelet's letter to him.*

Nicolai Olai ad Erasmum Roterodamum responsio.

[1.] Nuper dederam meas vicario domini Panormitani,<sup>1</sup> qui est Bizontii,<sup>2</sup> ad te litteras, ex quibus intellexisse potuisti nos propter diuturnam tuam taciturnitatem tuum huc reditum paene desperavisse. Non dubia enim hic fama<sup>3</sup> de tua Bizontium  
5 migratione circumferebatur, mirabamurque tam subitam animi tui mutationem. Cum autem in hac essemus dubitatione, recrearunt nos tuae litterae, quae ad me, nescio quo nuntio, his diebus ex Anthwerpia sunt perlatae, quibus significas mihi, Amice, tuam voluntatem ad nos revertendi, praescribisque modum, quibus viis id facere  
10 velis, et mones me, Amice, ne haec tua voluntas non modo Dano,<sup>4</sup> sed etiam aliis sit nota. Ego, mi Erasme Doctissime, gratulor tibi et mihi gaudeo. Mihi, cui dabitur facultas tui hic videndi, tibi, qui patriam non parum sis tua illustraturus praesentia, amicosque tuos tui nominis, honoris et gloriae observantes laetitia affecturus. Ut praescripsisti, rem tuam securius, quo fieri potuit, egi diligenter, quam a me nemo intellexit alius quam regina, Panormitanus, Langius<sup>5</sup> ipsius a secretis, sine quo litte-  
15 rae, ut cogitare potes, confici non potuerunt. Et hi quoque admoniti a me omnes

346,4 tuum...reditum] *O mut. ex de tuo huc reditu*

346 <sup>1</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>2</sup> Besançon. | <sup>3</sup> On the rumor, see ALLEN 1941, 184. | <sup>4</sup> Jakob Jespersen.

<sup>5</sup> John de Lange.

diligenter ut essent taciti. Praeterea tu ipse feceras litteris<sup>6</sup> mentionem tui reditus Conrado nostro Goclenio,<sup>7</sup> qui et Lovanii his diebus et hodie hic mecum fuit. Is, quem semper cognovi tui amantissimum, sua sponte fecit de te mentionem. Ego aliquot diebus rem dissimulavi, postea heri cum iam ad te rescribere vellem, tuum 20  
animum mihi indicatum ei tam meo, quam tuo singulari fidoque amico, aperui, et retuli, praemonito tamen, ut taceret, quae in rebus tuis fecerim. Haec igitur te prius intellexisse volui, quam ad reliqua procederem.

[2] Apud reginam ea fide, cura et amore tuam rem tractavi, quam tibi debui, et quam in meis propriis praestitisssem. Regina, ut tibi antea scripsi, non vulgari afficitur 25  
in te pietate et benevolentia, tum quod tuae virtutes id illustres ab ea exposcant, tum quod inter alios me quoque non infimum semper apud eam habueris, et imposterum quoque habebis, dum opportunitas erit, tuarum laudum praeconem, quae et optat et plurimum desiderat tuum reditum, sed quia et antea facta fuerat apud imperatorem hic tunc praesentem nonnulla de te mentio, non putavit esse consultum, ut te revocaret, 30  
antequam insinuari curaret illi te posse fortasse induci, ut revertereris, si ipsius esset voluntas. Id autem existima me monente esse factum, non magis imperatoris, quam tuorum privatorum commodorum, quietis securitatis et tranquillitatis causa. Nam ut apertius tecum agam, etsi tu non videbaris tam late mihi praescribere, quae ad reditum tuum pertinere videbantur, praeter litteras et viaticum aliquod honestum, 35  
tamen ego cum iam pro parte aliqua hominum et vestratium et nostratium noverim mores, acceptis tuis litteris et promotis apud reginam tuis rebus, arbitratus sum amici veri esse officium, amicorum negotia ita providere et curare et perficere, ne postea posset in eis aliquid aut insecuri aut damni contingere. Quare reginae proposui ex me ipso tuam revocationem et honestiorem et commodiorem fore, si esses certus de 40  
securitate, de praeterita et futura caesaris pensione exsolvenda. Nam non putes hic quoque omnia affluere.

[3.] De honesta vocatione, de vitanda aulae et curialium molestia, et de aliis, quae mihi videbantur in rem tuam pertinere, utiliaque honesta et tibi quietia esse, haec omnia visa sunt et reginae summopereque placuerunt. Quae cupit te esse et securum 45  
et quietem. Verum ut dixi pro tuo et honestiore et securiore reditu, voluit ex causa praemissa, ne ignorante caesare revocaveris. Hoc autem oneris demandavit domino Panormitano, qui tibi nisi sit, ut scribis, χρηστολόγος,<sup>8</sup> vehementer tibi favet. Qui quidem scripsit ad Granvellanum,<sup>9</sup> nunc munia cancellarii apud caesarem cum alium

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18 fecit] *corr.* ex feci

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<sup>6</sup> This letter is no longer extant. | <sup>7</sup> Conrad Wackers. | <sup>8</sup> ‘with eloquence’, see Ep. 316. Note 3. | <sup>9</sup> Frans van Cranevelt of Nijmegen (1485–1564) studied arts and law at the universities of Cologne and Leuven. In 1515, he became pensionary of Bruges. Despite his political and administrative duties, he actively corresponded with contemporary scholars. On the death of Erasmus, he composed several epitaphs, e.g. see IPOLYI 1875, 581. For more on his life, see LEIJENHORST 1985b.

non habeat obeuntem, non ut significarit te id velle, sed quod pertrahi bonis fortasse  
50 posses conditionibus ad revertendum, si ea caesaris esset voluntas et propterea ea de  
re apud caesarem ageret, hic enim praetextus scribendi argumentum visum est mihi  
tibi esse honorificentius. Eas litteras hodie per veredarium misimus. Quia autem scis  
adeo multa tractari negotia in aulis principum, ut aliquando negotia negligantur, et  
cum Nicolaum<sup>10</sup> filium praefecti Mecliniensis successorem Valdesii<sup>11</sup> cognoverim  
55 mihi esse amicissimum et tui etiam honoris et nominis observantissimum feci, ut  
dominus Panormitanus huius rei apud Granvellanum sollicitationem illi committeret.  
Ad quem ego quoque scripsi, ut id negotii et diligenter et celeriter et secreta ageret,  
responsumque remitteret. Credo eum id esse facturum. Opus igitur est te habere  
parumper patientiam et animo esse quieto, ut honestius et tutius Deo volente redeas,  
60 si rem videbo longius nostra opinione produci. Curabo, ut et Granvellanus et Nico-  
laus de ea rursus admoneantur.

Intelligis omnem tuarum rerum statum, quem si putassem agi posse melius et tuo  
honori statui et securitati convenientius, nihil fecissem libentius. Cum primum ali-  
quid habebimus responsi, mox te faciam certiore. Goclenii nostri litteras, qui duo-  
65 bus iam diebus causam canonicatus<sup>12</sup> sui Anthverpiensis hic sollicitavit hodieque  
Lovanium revertitur; item cuiusdam Hispani, qui me vehementer rogavit, ut ipsius ad  
te mitterem, cum praesentibus accipies. Non ingratum mihi erit, si Hispano, quisquis  
is est, significaris te ipsius accepisse. Misi ad te et Panormitani litteras. Financiarum  
laborant. Quaestor aerarii Flandriae non est, neque fuit in curia, apud quem agere  
70 potuissem. Consultius est meo iudicio nos exspectare responsum. Intelligo non solu-  
tae tuae pensionis sive fucatae, sive iustam causam fuisse tuam absentiam. Quando  
Deo dante redieris, ne vereare, ὁ λίκμος τοῦ σώματος σοῦ,<sup>13</sup> ut scribis, erit liberum  
ab aula, nisi quantum tu voles, et in tuo hospitio λικμᾶν<sup>14</sup> poteris ex animi tui senten-  
tia. Id enim ego curabo. Vale feliciter et in amore tuo erga me permane tui amantem.

75 Bruxellae 29. Martii anno 1533.

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70 non solutae] *O corr.* ex modo solitae 72 σώματος] *corr.* ex σώματος 73 et... tuo] *O corr.* ex eo in

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346,72 ὁ... σοῦ] Cf. Am9, 9, 3.

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<sup>10</sup> Nicolaas Everaerts or Nicolaus Grudius of Leuven (1503/1504–1570/1571) studied at The Hague and at Leuven. In 1532, he was named Secretary to Emperor Charles V. In 1535, he was appointed Councillor in the council of Holland at The Hague. More to his life, see LEIJENHORST 1986a. | <sup>11</sup> Oláh styled Nicolaas Everaerts as successor of Alfonso de Valdés, although he did not die until October 1532, see LEIJENHORST 1986a, 139. | <sup>12</sup> See ALLEN 1941, 186. | <sup>13</sup> ‘your sifter: ‘your person will be the sifter tidying up, a reference to Am9, 9,3 where God sifts the house of Israel. | <sup>14</sup> ‘to sift’, metaphorically: ‘to tidy up’.



Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 2 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 461–475.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 330–346.

1. He was very happy to receive Oláh's letter, and he did not respond before only because he only wanted to write what is certain. Many people are spreading different rumors. As far as the length of his letter is concerned, he rather writes at length about empty things than briefly, this is how it befits friends. 2. As far as the Queen's affairs are concerned, he has not been able to make arrangements yet. When they arrived to Vienna, many excellent people flocked to them, including Ulrich Eyczinger and others, and the same thing happened in Bratislava. While they were there, Hieronymus of Zara wrote from Constantinople to say he has the conditions of peace from the Turkish Sultan. He sent this letter to Katzianer, they also read it this way. Then they had a big debate whether they should believe the letter, since it is not even signed properly, but then it turned out that it was true. Laski, who had been sent to the King John I with four envoys, wrote the same. 3. Around this time the Sultan wrote to King John I to send Gritti over to him. King John I's men got scared at this because they realized that they were mistaken in the most important issue. Namely they had firmly believed that the sultan would only make peace with King Ferdinand I if he yielded the whole territory of the country to King John I. This is what the lords in Bratislava were also complaining about, that while they are here, King Ferdinand I is making a deal with the Turks, and not in a very Christian way. 4. In the end, only Brodarics stayed from the delegation, the rest returned to Buda. He has talked to Brodarics a lot, and he understands that King John I would have been willing to resign in favor of King Ferdinand I with fair conditions, and that Brodarics, Nádasdy, and Ferenc Frangepán had persuaded him to do so, who are all absolutely in favor of peace, although they ardently oppose division. Brodarics has told him about Gritti, Nádasdy, and Oláh's family. They talked for eight days, when King John I called for Brodarics, and King Ferdinand I called him to Vienna. Brodarics has written from Buda what he has learned. 5. The day after their arrival to Vienna, 19 March, the Turkish Sultan's envoy arrived, and they all, church and secular dignitaries, lined up on 20 March, and there was a brief conversation. On the following day, after he had received the envoy, King Ferdinand I announced the conditions in German, which was interpreted into Hungarian and Czech. 6. The Count of Salm was sent to present it to the Pope and the Emperor. For Hoffmann to present the conditions of peace in German took two hours. In the meantime Bernhard von Cles arrived, who presented the response to the Turkish envoy on 29 March: King Ferdinand I would take the Sultan as his father, but for his answer they have to wait for the answer of the Pope and the Emperor, but the Turkish officer did not wait for that. 7. In the meantime Gritti wrote to Katzianer to ask if there was a ceasefire now after all. Then they received two letters from King John I's three men that they should not turn to the Emperor but move forward while they can. 8. Based on these, he thinks that King Ferdinand I would also rather reach an agreement with King John I than wait for the Sultan's response. In the meantime, they are waiting for Count of Salm to return with the Emperor's and the Pope's answer, about which they believe that they will prefer to keep Koroni. 9. If the Hungarians elect a third person, he cannot be a youth, so the Polish prince is out. Brodarics believes it is an important

sign that the Turks have not occupied any place since Mohács, they only punished those who attacked them, but they did not come further north than Osijek. 10. Besides, King Francis I was disappointed in his hopes, as he had believed that Emperor Charles V was leading his troops to Italy, as several German princes had done, who did not believe that Emperor Charles V would participate in the 1532 campaign, and that others would not provide help either, even though the Bavarians were among the first, and they were the ones to defeat the Turks pillaging beyond the river Enns. There is no need for the help of the Romanians, either; they really cannot be trusted. 11. He has talked with the King in Weze's presence about the Queen's and Oláh's affairs, they are all doing everything for Oláh, but it seems that they are stuck until things stay this way. 12. He understands what he writes about homesickness, we all are born to feel at home in our homeland. He also wishes for some quiet, and he does not wish to follow the emperor to Spain, his services have not been rewarded very well anyway. He sends his regards to the ladies of the court.

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Amicissimas tuas litteras, Reverende Domine et Amice, plus quam Frater Carissime, partim septima, partim nona huius datas accepi Viennae XXV-a, fuereque mihi longe omnium gratissimae, sed quod hactenus non scripserim, neque ex Posonio, neque ex hoc loco, in causa fuit, quod ego exitum istarum rerum omnino volui exspectare, quo certum aliquid et solidum scriberem; quandoquidem scribendis rebus, quae nondum sunt determinatae, non perinde delector. Sciebam praeterea non deesse quamplurimos, qui vulgaria ista nuntiarent, puta dissolutionem conventus Posoniensis, adventum nuntii a caesare Turcarum, revocationem nostram a Posonio Viennam et cetera id genus. Accedit, quod in hoc celeberrimo conventu omnium 10 vestratum, Bohemorum et ceterorum regnorum procerum et primatium virorum et exhibenda erant ista vulgaria officia et vicissim ab illis ferenda. Quae res et tempus adimit et subinde hominem ineptum facit ad scribendum. Volui igitur finem harum rerum exspectare, et certum quid ad te scribere. Veni igitur principio ad epistolam 15 tuam, deinde vagabor longius in explicatione omnium, quae transacta quaeque transigi posse videntur.

Quod ad longitudinem mearum litterarum et prolixitatem attinet, gaudeo illam tibi gratam, semper enim ego malui longas, tametsi inanes, quam breves dare, quod alterum mihi videatur magis decere amicum. Cum enim absentes non nisi hoc modo 20 fabulari possumus, aequum est, ut ad ea praesidia refugiamus, quae nobis Deus reliqui fecit, hoc est ad scriptionem; vicissim autem omnino tibi persuade multis nominibus tuas fuisse mihi gratissimas. Sed hoc etiam magis quam copiose fuere. De informatione reginali maiestati facta et antea et nunc quoque denuo iterum habeo tibi gratiam. Innotescere enim iis, quibus subesse debemus, existimavi semper conandum 25 esse homini probo et virtutis amanti, vicissim et principibus aliquando prodest eos nosse, quibus imperare debent, ut tanto confidentius illorum opera servitioque uti

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347,23 denuo] corr. ex de nos

queant, neque decepti illis confidant, per quos nihil exsequi possint. Atque ut summatim dicam, nunquam ea res utrique incommoda esse potest, proinde rursum habeo tibi gratiam. Pauca sunt, quae de me dici merentur. Probitatem tamen et fidem nunquam mutavi, neque amicitii bonorum virorum, quas sum assecutus, nihil unquam 30 permisi decedere. Quod si et exercitatio et animus honestus, non avarus, non sordidus, aetas apta ferendis laboribus, aliquantula experientia laudem aliquam merentur, patiar sane eam ipsam, et non invitus eam agnoscam.

[2.] Quod ad maiestatis ipsius reginalis negotia attinet, tametsi uti prius scripsi et serenissimo regi sunt curae, et maiestas ipsius consiliarios habet bonos profecto viros 35 et diligentes; tamen eo tempore, quo ea ego scripsi, visum erat ea expedire; neque tunc quisquam ex iisdem consiliariis me convenerat. Postea autem cum Viennam advenissemus, reverendissimus dominus archiepiscopus Lundensis<sup>1</sup> collega meus et ego confluxere ad nos aliquot nobiles et egregii viri, inter quos dominus Ulricus de Eyntzig<sup>2</sup> et dominus Bernhardus Bohemus comes Zoliensis.<sup>3</sup> Novissime autem et 40 Posonii dominus de Schreiberstorff<sup>4</sup> et demum Viennae dominus de Selthingen.<sup>5</sup> Primi illi negotiorum maiestatis reginalis curam nobis commendarunt, quam uterque nostrum, uti decuit, habuit inter maxime commendata; secutum est tempus cum Posonii ageremus, in quo nihil effici potuit nec determinari. Propterea quod dum illic ageremus, Hieronimus de Zara<sup>6</sup> natione Dalmata, qui secrete paucis consociis missus 45 fuerat a Ferdinando rege ad Turcarum caesarem non sine consensu cesareae maiestatis nostrae eo tempore, quo soluta obsidione Ghyncii<sup>7</sup> alter Constantinopolim, alter in Italiam properabat, rescripserat se pacem obtinuisse a Turcarum caesare longam et diuturnam, et ut ipsius verbis utar, gloriosam. Mandabat vigore commissionis suae capitaneo Strigoniensis arcis,<sup>8</sup> ut desisteret a molestandis vaivodanis, immo scriberet 50 Budensibus se pacem cum Turcis compositam servare velle. Eas litteras idem praefectus Strigoniensis<sup>9</sup> ad dominum Ioannem Catzianer, ut supremum capitaneum inferioris Austriae transmisit, quibus lectis admirati sumus. Nam Posonii eramus et simul coenaturi cum adferrentur, demum post multa, cum nos rogarem, ut sententias nostras exprimeremus, visum est nobis praefatis litteris praefati Hieronimi nullam fidem adhibendam esse, propterea quod illius subscriptione non essent munitae, 55

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347 <sup>1</sup> Johan Weze. | <sup>2</sup> Ulrich Eyringer. | <sup>3</sup> Bernhard Beheim was also Bailiff of Zólyom county, see Ep. 331. Note 1. | <sup>4</sup> Leopold von Schreiberstorff was Seneschal in Queen Mary's court in the Netherlands, see KERKHOFF 2008, 61. | <sup>5</sup> Wilhelm von Zelking was a Representative of King Ferdinand I at the court of Queen Mary from October 1526, and her Lord Steward between 1529–1530, see GORTER-VAN ROYEN 2009, 19; KERKHOFF 2008, 61; HEISS 1974, 175, and HEISS 1971, 127 et passim. | <sup>6</sup> Hieronymus of Zara. | <sup>7</sup> On the siege of Kőszeg see Ep. 275. | <sup>8</sup> The Castellan of Esztergom was Tommaso Lascano and the Captain of Esztergom was a certain Stanislaus, see ÖStA HHStA UA AA Fasc. 20. Konv. A. fol. 84–85. | <sup>9</sup> Tommaso Lascano (†1539) was Commander of Esztergom in the early 1530s with his brother, Martin. Later he became Deputy Commander-in-chief in Upper Hungary between 1538–1539, see JANKOVICS-PÁLFFY 2000, 202, and KASZA 2012, 409.

et viderentur maiorem auctoritatem prae se ferre, quam existimabamus illi concessam a rege Ferdinando. Eventus tamen docuit verum illum scripsisse. Nam et a Hieronimo Lasky, qui cum unus esset ex quattuor oratoribus a vaivoda missis, in eam fere  
60 sententiam scripserat ad collegas suas, et ad regimen Viennense ab eodem Hieronimo a Zara manu ipsius subscriptae litterae allatae sunt, quae omnia dubitationem protinus excussere.

[3.] Scriptum est eodem tempore a caesare Turcarum ad Ioannem vaivodam, iussumque ut protinus Ludovicum Gritti gubernatorem regni sui transmitteret Constantinopolim. Quae res vehementer perterruit vaivodanos, iam aperte cognoscentes  
65 se decipi in praecipuo, quod semper obiecerant, puta: Turcarum caesarem nunquam daturum pacem regno Hungariae, nisi Ferdinandus rex suam partem cederet Ioanni vaivodae. Quare in conventu nostro ipsi sunt miserabiliter conquesti de praefato serenissimo rege, propterea quod dum ipsi essent Posenii, convenissentque ad bonum  
70 Hungarici regni, ipse serenissimus rex non apud Christianos, sed apud Turcarum caesarem mallet pacem eam tractari. Hinc perspicuum esse posse, uter Christianius ageret. Et haec protestati sunt, eodem etiam tempore perlatae sunt ad nos litterae Ioannis vaivodae, quarum superscriptio erat ad omnes omnium principum oratores Posenii pro pace componenda congregatos, per quas scripsit se revocare oratores  
75 suos, quia non esset possibile, ut uno et eodem tempore pax ista in duobus locis tractaretur.<sup>10</sup> Haec acta sunt quinta et sexta Martii. Nos caesarei obtestati sumus utramque partem, ne paterentur hunc conventum dissolvi, propterea quod nesciremus adhuc certo, an litterae a praefato Hieronimo de Zara scriptae essent verae vel adulteratae. Proinde prius ad serenissimum regem Romanorum scribendum esse et rescinda veritas. Interim manerent et procederent in tractatibus, ut prius, caesaream  
80 maiestatem non grato animo auditurum hanc solutionem conventus. Nobis quoque dolere tot pericula in cassum et frustra obivisse, ut tam cito disiungeremur. Haec, inquam, et iis similia cum plurima in medium adferremus. Nondum enim resciveramus mentem aut animum serenissimi regis Romanorum.

[4.] Tandem obtinuimus, ut duobus recedentibus supermaneret unus, reverendissimus scilicet Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Sirmiensis per octo dies. Ipse vero Colocinesis<sup>11</sup> scilicet et Werwevcz<sup>12</sup> ad dominum suum proficiscerentur Budam, libenter redituri Ponium, si aliquid boni existimarent conclusum iri posse. Neque  
85 obscure dicebant se eam habuisse commissionem, ut per eam honori serenissimi regis Ferdinandi longe melius consuleretur, quam per pacem, quae fieri posset Constantinopoli. Ibi enim non defuturos, qui res Ioannis melius procurarent, quam procurarentur Ferdinandinae. Atque ut verum dicam, non semel dederunt intelligere se habuisse potestatem transferendi totum regnum in Ferdinandum regem, modo aliquanta ratio honoris domini sui haberetur. Dicebant enim se nunquam consensuros, nisi invite in  
90 divisionem regni Hungarici, quae divisio haud dubie futura erat et exspectanda a

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<sup>10</sup> See GÉVAY 1838, 85–88. | <sup>11</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. | <sup>12</sup> István Werbőczy.

Turcis. Eam enim divisionem fore exitium regni Hungariae. Quia in re ego profecto vehementer illis assentior. Neque alia via est ad destruendum inclytum illud regnum praeter eam solam. Tandem post multa hinc inde dicta et tractata de induciis et similibus rebus et de solvenda obsidione, quae erat et adhuc, ut puto, est ad arcem, in qua degit insignis latro Ladislaus More, qui se Ferdinandi regis dixerat servitorem, sed 100 praedas egerat tempore induciarum ab utraque parte, et ob id a praefectis induciarum iudicialiter fuerat condemnatus, et ad executionem sententiae vaivodani eum obse- derant permissione facta, ut ipse rex bona ipsius Ladislai, quae ab hac parte sunt, occupare posset. Quia vero reverendissimus dominus Agriensis<sup>13</sup> ipsum tuetur, tunc promissa est solvi post talia, inquam, multa recesserunt duo illi et mansit solus Bro- 105 dericus, cum quo singularem contraximus familiaritatem, multaque cum eo aliquot diebus locuti, intelleximus vere fuisse hunc animum Ioanni cedere de toto regno et ad id inductum fuisse a Collociensi et se et a Thoma Nadasdy. Nihil enim prius esse apud eos salute regni Hungariae, quam videbant consistere, si unicum maneret, sese ne aliquando putarentur res novas moliri velle, libenter migraturos extra regnum. 110 Esse enim Collociensi et sibi conditionem apud pontificem maximum paratam, aut apud Francorum regem ipsum Ioannem pro conservatione regni libenter iturum ad hospitale. Id se dicere posse. De aliis non ita. Nam esse, qui nihil aliud cupiant, quam bellum et dissidium in regno. De Gryti loquebatur, quem dicebat satagere, ut regnum illud maneret divisum. Adiunxit Thomam Nadasdy esse virum integrum et amantem 115 boni publici, qui si voluisset adulari, aut fovere partes Ludovici Gryti, poterat adhuc fieri rex in Hungaria, sed aliud inesse illi ingenium. Nunc autem gratiosissimum illum aiebat esse apud vaivodam. Multa et his similia nobis dicere solebat. De te vero amantissime et honestissime locutus est, dixitque te gratum esse principi suo Ioanni ob virtutes tuas, praetereaque quod pater tuus solitus est hospes esse ipsius Ioannis, et 120 quod nuper divertisset, cum esset in Transsilvania ad domum olim patris tui, quae nunc est, ut puto, fratris;<sup>14</sup> proinde non esse opus commendatione ab ea parte. Bona tua maxima ex parte occupari per latrones, qui se dicunt Ferdinandinos. Omnino curandum ei, qui esset permansurus rex Hungariae, ut latrones illi redigerentur in ordinem. Id nunc partibus divisum fieri non posse. Quando in discordiis principum 125 solet esse omnium consulendum esse, quo modo latronibus imponatur frenum et arceantur ab invadendis iis, quae sua non sunt et ab illis iniuste possidendis. Ea, quae in manibus sint Ioannis principis sui, servatum iri incolumiter pro te. Multaque similia de te sumus locuti. Tandem autem cum per octo dies exspectassemus, a recessu dico priorum oratorum, litteraeque revocatoriae a Ioanne missae essent ad praefatum 130 Brodericum; simul etiam ad nos eodem fere tempore venissent regiae, quibus accer- seabamur Viennam, parentque abitionem Ferdinandi omnes, immo longe plurimi

124 curandum] *del ex. curandum eam* 128 servatum] *corr. ex servata*

<sup>13</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>14</sup> Máté Oláh, and see Ep. 333. Cap. 4.

iam recessissent valedicto Broderico, qui eo, quo nos, die sese Danubio credidit,  
venimus Viennam. Hoc tamen cum praefato Broderico conclusimus, ut si opus esset,  
135 rursus conveniremus; ipseque sese obtulit ad nos scripturum ex Buda de iis, quae  
viderentur agenda, scilicet an bonum esset nos exspectare, an vero nulla ulteriore spe  
tractatus boni suorum ex parte praestaret nos quoque rebus nostris consulere, et ad  
dominum nostrum caesarem quanto citius reverti. Quod idem Brodericus fideliter  
observavit, scripsitque ipse et collegae sui Collocensis et Werwevcz nudiusertius ad  
140 nos sibi videri bonum, ut subsistamus. Quod iudicium est illos omnino velle rebus  
istis finem imponere, sed de hoc posterius plura.

[5.] Venimus itaque Viennam, quo unum atque alterum post diem advenit orator  
caesaris Turcarum, nomine Mehemeth tzaus.<sup>15</sup> Erat autem dies decimus nonus Mar-  
tii. Huic data est audientia, ut vulgo loquuntur, die vicesima. Oratio ipsius fuit brevis  
145 et in haec verba: caesar et Imbraym bassa<sup>16</sup> salutant maiestatem tuam. Respondit rex:  
“valent bene!” Respondit: “Valent et dicunt tibi ita, tu misisti ad nos bis aut ter nun-  
tios tuos, iste postremus est gratus. Vis tenere ea, quae ipse nomine tuo nobis propo-  
suit?” Rex respondit se daturum illi responsum in tempore. Ita recessit ad hospitium  
suum. Admirati sunt circumstantes Hungari et Bohemi, quorum proceres omnes huc  
150 confluerant, brevitatem huius orationis, sed ita se res habet. Rex sedit in sedili sub-  
strato pannis aureis, a dextero latere sedebamus nos duo scilicet reverendissimus  
dominus Lundensis et ego, et post nos magno intervallo, ab eodem tamen latere  
dextro stabant archiepiscopus Strigoniensis Paulus,<sup>17</sup> episcopi Agriensis, Varadien-  
sis,<sup>18</sup> praepositi Albensis,<sup>19</sup> Poseniensis,<sup>20</sup> Quinqueecclesiensis;<sup>21</sup> et ex secularibus:  
155 Turzo, Bothani Ferencz, Valentinus Thwrek, Paulus Bakyth, Petrus Keglowietz,  
Baltasar Banisy, Caspar Horwath de Wingarth, Bonaventura Bathory, Emericus  
Deszhazy et alter eiusdem nominis Nagky, Nicolaus Kostellanssky, Franciscus  
Nyary, Stephanus Mailath, Anthonius Lossanczy, Franciscus Reway, Alexius Bethle-  
hem, item Marcus, Sebastianus, Stephanus de Pempfling, Ioannes Maylath<sup>22</sup> et alii  
160 complures. A sinistro latere stabant episcopus Vratislaviensis et Bohemi: Adalbertus  
de Bernstein, Ioannes Pflong, Albertus Schlyck, Ladislaus de Leippa, Iodocus de

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134 esset] *corr. ex eset*

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<sup>15</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>16</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. | <sup>17</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>18</sup> László Macedóniai. | <sup>19</sup> Lőrinc Kretschmer. | <sup>20</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. | <sup>21</sup> Albert Peregi. | <sup>22</sup> Secular people attending included Elek Thurzó, Ferenc Batthyány, Bálint Török, Pál Bakics, Péter Keglevich, Boldizsár Bánffy, Gáspár Horváth of Vingárd, Bonaventura Báthori, Imre Désházy, Imre Nagy, Miklós Kosztolányi, Ferenc Nyáry, István Majláth, Antal Losonczy, Ferenc Révay, Elek Bethlen; Márk, Sebestyén, and István Pemflinger, and János Majláth.

Rosenbergk, Ioannes Cuna de Constat, Ioannes de Lypnick, tres de Meczericz<sup>23</sup> et alii multi, quos vanus enumerare labor. Ex Germanis aliis non nisi primi ordinis quidam intromissi. Ita hoc die finita est haec comoedia. Postridie illius diei mane hora octava convenit serenissimus rex et nos et alii omnes in eundem locum excepto 165 Turcarum nuntio. Ibi rex iussit domino Ioanni Hoffman,<sup>24</sup> ut exponeret condiciones pacis et oblata Turcarum Germanice. Caspari vero Horwath<sup>25</sup> et Georgio Szapka,<sup>26</sup> ut ille Hungarice, iste Bohemice audita ab Hoffmanno per singulos articulos exponeret suis, qui aderant, ignaris linguae Germanicae. Quod et factum est. Exorsus est igitur praefatus dominus Ioannes Hoffmannus. Prima erant de studio diligentiaque serenissimi regis impensa ad conservationem regnorum, de evocatione caesaris Caroli, de fuga Turcarum, de profectioe caesaris in Italiam, de omisso bello Hungarico propter hiemem, commeatum defectum et seditionem, de soluta obsidione Strigonii,<sup>27</sup> de tractatis mediis pacis et belli, de missa insigni legatione provincialium ad caesarem et pontificem iunctos pro subsidio et benigno responso eorundem; de indicto conventu 170 Poseniensi. Haec omnia eo spectabant, ut ostenderet prudentiam diligentiamque serenissimi regis. Postmodum, cum semper vaivodani iactassent Turcarum caesarem nunquam daturum pacem Hungariae regno, nisi ipsorum medio, misisse regem quendam Hyeronimum de Zara ad ipsum caesarem Turcarum, secreta tamen propter multas rationes et sine scitu multorum. Eum invenisse caesarem et Imbrahimum bassam 180 pronos ad pacem, et ob id misisse istum nuntium ad maiestatem suam regiam, ut scire posset, an ea esset voluntas suae maiestatis, nec ne, prout hesterno die audivissent. Esse autem huius pacis oblatae condiciones non alias, quam eas, quae sequuntur. Quisquis secus diceret, illi non esse fidem adhibendam. Haec ideo dicta sunt, quia Hyeronimus Lasky et vaivodani sparserant rumorem, qualiter ipse rex Ferdinandus 185 deberet cedere Turcis regnum Sclavoniae et pro reliquo regno dare tributum, praeterea dedisset bassis magnas et promisisset maiores largitiones. Dixit itaque has esse cum caesare Turcarum pacis condiciones.

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164 diei] *corr. ex die*

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<sup>23</sup> Bishop of Wrocław was Jakob von Salza; the other Czechs were: Albert von Pernstein or Pernštejn (see WOTSCHKE 1904, 146.), Jan Pflug, Albert Šlik or Schlick, Ladislav z Lipého, Jošt III z Rožmberka, Jan Kuna II z Kunštatu, Jan z Lipník, and the Meziříčtí brothers, see KAMENÍČEK 1886, 28. For more on Rožmberka and Pernštejn see MAŤA 2004, 101 and 450–451, and DILLON 1976, 8–9. | <sup>24</sup> Hans Hofmann (1492–1564) was Court Chamber and a key figure for King Ferdinand I. Thanks to his allegiance, he became Baron of Grünpüchl und Strechau, see WANDRUSZKA 1972. | <sup>25</sup> Gáspár Horváth of Vingárd was Master Seneschal (*magister dapiferorum regalium*), see HEISS 1971, 123. | <sup>26</sup> Jiří Žabka z Limberka na Kounicích was Royal Secretary of King Louis II, and between 1532–1552, he was Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia under King Ferdinand I, see FÖGEL 1917, 44. | <sup>27</sup> Esztergom.

Condiciones pacis

190 I. Caesar Turcarum recipit Ferdinandum regem in filium, Mariam et Annam reginas in filias.

II. Dat pacem illis in iis, quae possident in regno Hungariae.

III. Offert contra adversarios ipsorum subsidium et auxilium.

195 IIII. Per Ludovicum Gryti tractabit cum vaivoda ad inducendum eum, ut cedit partem regni, quam habet, Ferdinando regi, etiam sperat ipsum hoc facturum, immo confidit, non denegaturum.

V. Durabit haec pax per vitam alterutrius. Et si rex Ferdinandus velit longius, poterit deduci.

Vicissim petit caesar Turcarum, ut rex Ferdinandus pro demonstranda filiali oboedientia mittat ad se claves arcis Strigonii. Dixit tamen ipse rex Imbraymum bassam iurasse maximum iuramentum Turcarum caesarem eas non recepturum, sed velle solum hunc honorem. Praeterea de tributo dixit rex nullam mentionem esse factam. Idque omnibus audientibus dixit, affirmavitque nullas alias condiciones per Turcarum caesarem peti a sua maiestate regia, verum esse illum paratum esse facere  
205 pacem cum caesare et pontifice maximo iis condicionibus.

I. Acceptabit caesar Turcarum pontificem maximum in patrem, caesarem Carolum in fratrem.

II. Faciet cum illis pacem quinque annorum aut septem aut diuturniorem, si velint.

210 Vicissim petit, ut caesar noster ipsi restituat urbem Coronem,<sup>28</sup> quam in Peloponneso sitam expugnavit anno superiore Andreas de Auria.<sup>29</sup>

Promittit ipse caesar Turcarum dare caesari nostro propter id recompensam, et id volituum serenissimo regi Ferdinando pro recuperatione totius regni Hungariae.

215 Quod si caesar et pontifex nolint secum pacem facere nihilominus pacem cum Ferdinando rege factam mansuram in suo vigore, condicionibus quibus supra, et non aliis.

[6.] Propter haec missum esse comitem Nicolaum de Salm<sup>30</sup> ad caesaream maiestatem ea omnia expositum tam pontificiae sanctitati, quam ipsius caesareae maiestatis. Quae cum talia essent, regem noluisse ipsos ea ignorare, petereque, ut assertirent  
220 in eam pacem, et nullo modo persuaderent alias esse condiciones aut alium modum. His ita dicendis cum de articulo in articulum Bohemi ac Hungari ad suos referrent audita, et hoc modo interrumperetur sermo oratioque praefati domini Ioannis Hoffman, insumptae sunt horae duae. Eandem tamen non exiguum meo iudicio meritis est praefatus Hoffmannus, quod Germanice egregie oraret, et singula suis locis perquam eleganter et scite explicaret. Quae postquam facta sunt, dixit nobis duobus  
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<sup>28</sup> Koroni or Corone, a town in the Peloponnese. | <sup>29</sup> Andrea Doria. | <sup>30</sup> Niklas II Count of Salm, son of the famous Captain and defender of Vienna. He also was King Ferdinand I's Master of Chamberlains (*magister cubiculariorum*), see Ep. 353.



serenissimus rex ipsum caesarem Turcarum offerre caesari nostro conditionem, qua supra se curaturum, ut Barbarossa<sup>31</sup> et reliqui piratae, Mauri et Turcae, qui solent infestare litora Hispaniarum, abstinerent omnino. Praeterea renuntiaturum omnibus amicitis et foederibus, quae habet cum aliquibus Christianis, hoc modo ut caesari nostro liberum esset praefatos Christianos principes, ut regem Francorum et alios in hoc foedus assumere, vel omnino ab eo excludere. Haec quia non faciebant ad rem horum regnorum, noluisse dixisse Germanis aut Hungaris Bohemisve, sed bene nobis. Nos congratulati sumus isti paci, et hoc modo dimisimus maiestatem ipsius pro eo die; post haec exspectatum est ad diem vicesimum nonum istius mensis. Interim advenit reverendissimus dominus cardinalis Tridentinus.<sup>32</sup> Advenit etiam ex Hungaris Laurentius Pekry<sup>33</sup> et ex Bohemis nonnulli, vicesimo demum nono die convenimus in eundem locum. Admissus est Turcarum nuntius. Ibi responsum est per reverendissimum dominum Tridentinum intermedio interpretis Itali cuiusdam ex Bassano, qui iam amplius quindecim annis mansit in Turcia et novissima obsidione Ghincii<sup>34</sup> transfugit, scitus legere et scribere, quo etiam interprete usus est serenissimus rex in priore illo congressu cum Turcarum nuntio, responsum est, inquam, serenissimum regem velle suscipere caesarem Turcarum in patrem. Deinde ea, quae essent per ipsum proposita, observare velle; demum quia nonnulla concernerent caesarem et pontificem summum atque pro illis iisdem significandis, maiestas ipsius regia misisset nuntios suos, neque desuper haberet responsum, quaesivit ab eodem nuntio caesaris Turcarum, an exspectare vellet idem responsum necne? Respondit se id permittere voluntati et iudicio serenissimi regis. Parte ab altera serenissimus rex commisit ipsius arbitrio. Demum ille sese resolvit firmiterque constituisse se dixit velle abire. Ex quo ad neminem alium, quam ad serenissimum regem esset missus; ita dimissus est domum.

[7.] Multis id consilium placuit, neque mihi displicuit, omnium ratio, quae eos urgeret, haec fuit, ne si diutius moraretur, quia videtur res protrahenda in longum tempus, priusquam caesar et pontifex sese resolvant, quantum ad Coronem oppidum attinet. Est enim loco opportuno situm, et ad multas res innovandas perquam apto et idoneo, posset multa perscrutari plurimaque ad suos referre de rebus nostris. Mihi tamen est longe alia sententia. Nam deesse nobis vires, corpora, animos, opes, referre non potest. Earum autem rerum, quas nollemus vulgo notas esse, alii, qui Turcicarum sunt partium, non pauci bonam habent et longe meliorem, quam is assequi potest peritiam. Accedit, quod iste ex verorum est Turcarum origine, qui nostra non tam despiciunt atque ii faciunt, qui sunt profugi; quorum autoritas fidesque omnis apud eas gentes comparatur, si sese convincant esse maxime hostes illi pro professione, a

247 iudicio] *del.* ex iudicio et voluntati

<sup>31</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha (1478–1546). | <sup>32</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>33</sup> This is an erratum, Schepper wrote *Laurentius* instead of *Ludovicus*, i.e. Lajos Pekry. | <sup>34</sup> Kőszeg.

qua abiurarint; quicquid sit, illi viderint; qua tamen ratione, ignarus sum, hic adhuc  
substiterit aliquot dies. Nisi forte quod missum est Strigonium ad praeparandos ani-  
mos militum, ne moveantur novitate rei, quando praefatus nuntius Turcarum ad eos  
265 venturus est pro clavibus. Nam hinc secundo Danubio iturus eo est, et deinde Budam,  
postmodum Bellgradum<sup>35</sup> etc. His ita actis a Ludovico Gritti allatae sunt litterae ad  
Catzianer, quibus scire cupit, an inducias, aut intermissionem belli observare velit,  
necne? Se vocatum a caesare Turcarum properare Constantinopolim, mittere tamen  
nuntium, qui post se responsum ferat. Eo etiam tempore, hoc est XXX-a Martii,  
270 perlatae sunt ad nos duos litterae a tribus illis vaivodanis, scilicet reverendissimis  
Collociensi, Sirmiensi<sup>36</sup> et Werbevez de data vigiliae Annuntiationis<sup>37</sup> in Buda, qui-  
bus nos rogabant, ne tam cito ad caesaream maiestatem reverteremur, sed subsistere-  
mus, donec videri posset, quorsum haec res tenderet. Has litteras ostendimus serenis-  
simo regi, iussique sumus hic manere. Nam intellegimus non obstante cum Turcis  
275 tractatu facto velle serenissimum regem componere cum vaivoda etiam. Res tamen  
nondum clare nobis declarata est, sed omnino ego id arbitror futurum, et ad te, ut ad  
amicissimum hominem, transscribo. Nam neque fines inter utrumque dominium  
dividi possunt, cum plurima sint, quae alter dicit suae ditionis esse, alter ad se vendi-  
cat. Quod accidit oppidis, ubi sunt fodinae, quae cum Ferdinandi allegassent esse  
280 suae, neque debere citari ad comparandum Budae tempore harum induciarum, vaivo-  
dani responderunt nobis praesentibus illa oppida esse regis sui, et ex illis ipsum reci-  
pere quotannis viginti millia ducatorum; de iis ergo et similibus loquor. Praeterea si  
limitum dividendorum arbitrium Turcae committatur, verisimile est, illum quantum-  
vis polliceatur praeclara, non libenter tantum assignaturum Ferdinando regi, quantum  
285 multi putant, praesertim si caesar et pontifex nolint illi Coronem restituere. Namque  
hoc est, quod sonat articulus pacis restitutionem Coronis profuturam regi ad integram  
recuperationem regni. Accedit, quod ipse Turcarum caesar et Imbraym bassa ali-  
quando litteras suas dedere Ioanni vaivodae, quibus pollicebantur se eundem defen-  
suros in regno Hungariae. Quare probabile non est ipsos eundem spoliaturos. Ne quid  
290 dicam, quod suspectas habet istorum duorum fratrum vires, sin autem suas Ioanni  
litteras non servant, non video, cur multum illis confidere possit serenissimus rex.

[8.] Haec omnia me inducunt, ut credam Ferdinandum regem non exspectata  
resolutione caesaris Turcarum tentaturum, si quid cum vaivoda tractare possit. Quod  
ego sane omnino spero successurum, praesertim tam propensis ad uniendum Hunga-  
295 riae regnum Collocensi, Sirmiensi et Nadasdy atque adeo, ut ipsi aiunt Ioanne vai-  
voda. Neque celare te volo auditas esse a non contemnendis Hungaris voces, prius-  
quam regnum dividetur, se inventuros alium modum non obscure indicantes, de  
tertio, ut aliquando dixi. Eas cum ego ex passione profectas ducerem, ideaque leviter

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283 dividendorum] *corr. ex* dividendorum

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<sup>35</sup> Belgrade. | <sup>36</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>37</sup> Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary was on 25 March.

ferrem comperi, quosdam partis nostrae in Hungaria versatos et rerum illarum peritia  
praeditos, neutiquam tam leviter existimasse eas, sed aliquid tale fieri adhuc posse 300  
dicentes. Neque deerant, qui tertium illum, cui se crederent Turcam esse, dicerent,  
potiusque illi tributum pensuros, quam duobus dominis inservituros. Et praefecto  
nefanda a latronibus utriusque partis in eo regno sunt patrata. Exspectamus itaque  
reditum illustrissimi domini comitis de Salm, qui pontificis et caesaris mentem,  
quantum ad restitutionem Coronis attinet, est perlaturus, secundum quod ipse serenis- 305  
simus Romanorum rex actiones suas intentabit. Nobis tamen videntur caesar et ponti-  
fex concessuri praefatam urbem; primo, quia est utriusque simul aequalique expensa  
tenetur; secundo, quia opportuno loco sita est; tertium autem et maximum, quod me  
inducit ad id non credendum est, quod sub hoc praetextu et specie belli Turcici maxi-  
mam pecuniam pontifex caesarque sibi comparabunt ab ecclesiasticis. Haec ergo 310  
sunt, quae in hunc usque diem, qui est secundus Aprilis, acta sunt. Nam has litteras  
partim in Martio, partim in Aprili conscripsi per intervalla, intervenientibus negotiis,  
quae nos avocarunt. Nunc redibo ad litteras tuas iterum.

[9.] Quod multis de causis arbitraris necessario hanc fieri pacem debere. Hunga-  
ros amore magis regi, quam viribus, satis magnam illam provinciam obire, qui Hun- 315  
gariam regit, ut nequaquam sit onus par humeris iuvenis alicuius vel pueri. Qualiter  
de Polono ad te scripsi, valde mihi probatur sententia tua. Sed non semper mortales,  
quae optima sunt, deligunt; feruntur nonnunquam in ea, quae praesentia sunt, futuro-  
rum immemores. Ipse nostri, mi Carissime Olae, quantas calamitates excitarint in eo  
Hungariae regno, duo Stephani Bathor<sup>38</sup> et Werwevcz, qui si quantam privatae iniu- 320  
riae ulciscendae cupiditatem habuere, tantam habuissent Dei et reipublicae curam,  
nunquam profecto fuissent ea exsecuti, quae ab ipsis patrata sensimus. Neque minus  
probatur mihi, quod subiungis, Turcarum foederi nunquam fidendum esse, quam rem  
vestrate proverbio confirmas, sed speramus Ferdinandum regem tempore ad respiran-  
dum habito firmaturum vires suas, et quod ab eo fieri debet, qui aliorum dominatur, 325  
in pace de bello cogitaturum. Eas intelligo adhuc Hungarici regni vires esse, ut si  
veniat sub unius dominio, possint Turcarum caesari negotium facessere. Dixit enim  
nobis non semel Brodericus hac novissima expeditione Turcarum neminem ex Hun-  
garia abactum, cum tamen possent multa hominum millia abigere. Id se compertissi-  
mum habere, ut qui apud Imbraymum bassam tunc continue fuerit, nonnullos, qui 330  
temerarie Turcas invaserant, caesos, sed nullum locum firmatum praesidio in toto  
regno. In confluyente autem Dravi et Danubii Essek<sup>39</sup> utcumque tenere, sed quod  
occuparint post Mohatzensem cladem,<sup>40</sup> ceterea adhuc integra esse. Nihil officere  
regno, quam latronum istorum inhumanam crudelitatem et insolentiam, quae, uti  
aliquoties dixi, non nisi ab uno rege cohiberi potest. Quid ergo futurum est, cum 335

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315 illam] *corr.* ex illum 323 quod] *corr.* ex quam 327 dominio] *corr.* ex domino

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<sup>38</sup> István Báthori. | <sup>39</sup> Osijek. | <sup>40</sup> The battle of Mohács on 29 August, 1526.

accesserint Austriacorum ducatum, ad haec Bohemorum, Moravorum, reliquarum-  
que nationum praesidia? Haec eo tendunt, ut omnia meliora esse intelligas. Quando-  
quidem humana prudentia assequi nunquam potuissemus rem eo venturam, quo  
illam, et non sine numine divum, ut poëta ait, pervenisse iam cernimus. Neque aliam  
340 possum huius rei rationem invenire, nisi quod duae istae expeditiones vehementer  
illum exhauerint, experientiaque comperit esse sibi cum viris fortibus et intrepidis  
negotium. Omnino id persuade tibi, rusticos et agrestes harum provinciarum longe  
animosiores esse affectos, ne quid dicam de militibus, planeque Turcarum nomen  
345 neque vituperatione tamen usque adeo dignum censeo, aut forte externo aliquo bello  
premitur, cuius ad nos minime adhuc pervenit notitia.

[10.] Praeterea multum lapsus est opinione rex Francus<sup>41</sup> ad distrahendas caesaris  
copias, receperat se missurum in Italiam non exiguum exercitum. Nonnulli Germani  
receperant se neququam daturus nomen in hanc expeditionem, ut Bavari et alii qui-  
350 dam; cum tamen ab illis non contemnenda venerint subsidia, fueruntque Bavari inter  
eos, a quibus profligata fuit illa praedatoria manus Turcarum, quae irruperat trans  
Onasum<sup>42</sup> flumen. Videt ad haec patefactam esse viam in Peloponnesum, caesaris res  
crescere, suas atteri, ut qui confessionem viderit a se expressam esse, mari nihil  
posse, quod hactenus fuit inter incredibilia. Ex hoc uno videre potes omnes practicas,  
355 de quibus aliquando scripsimus, ruere. Neque quicquam ausuros Lutheranos, neque  
Virtenbergenses, neque Gallos, nec eos, de quibus vere et eleganter scribis, curare  
magis, ut rem suam privatam augeant, quam publicae prospiciant. Iam neque Vala-  
chorum subsidio opus est, de quorum infidelitate, quae scribis,<sup>43</sup> mihi valde grata  
fuere, gavisusque sum plurimum illis legendis. Sed quae ego de illis in subsidium  
360 vocandis scripsi, ea ex Sinyl Cuna de Constatis<sup>44</sup> hauseram, neque tam movebar  
authoritate vaivodarum praefatae Valachiae, quam incolarum consensu; neque me  
fugit hoc anno unum ex illis vaivodis a Ludovico Griti capite truncatum esse, quae  
res eorum securitatis est maximum iudicium. Neque parte ab altera contemnendum  
esse in illis, modo velint subsidium, bella a Calepino<sup>45</sup> et Amaruto,<sup>46</sup> postea et a  
365 Mahumete<sup>47</sup> adversum eos dissidentes et minime concordēs gesta docere possunt.  
Quamquam autem Hungariae salutem nunquam ego ex Valachis pendere posse sum  
ratus, accessione autem illius gentis et Transsilvania, uti vere scribis, securior, et

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347,339 non... iam] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 777–778: “non haec sine numine divum eveniunt”.

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<sup>41</sup> King Frances I. | <sup>42</sup> Enns River. | <sup>43</sup> See Ep. 333. Cap. 4. | <sup>44</sup> Smil Kuna of Kunštátu and Luckau (1495–1547) was King John I’s Lord Steward (*magister curiae regiae*) between 1526–1531, see FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 85. He later informed many other people, see IVÁNYI 1935, 329. | <sup>45</sup> Soliman Calepinus or Suleiman Çelebi (1377–1411) was an Ottoman Prince. | <sup>46</sup> Amurath or Murad II (1404–1451) was an Ottoman Sultan from 1421 to 1444, and 1446 to 1451. | <sup>47</sup> Mehmed II or the Conqueror (1432–1481) was an Ottoman Sultan from 1444 to 1446, and 1451 to 1481.

vires Hungarorum alias non contemnendae firmiores redderentur, sed de iis nunc satis.

[11.] De negotiis serenissimae reginae nunc ita habe, si vaivoda partem suam 370  
cesserit serenissimo regi, tunc res maiestatis ipsius sunt in tuto; sin minus, semper  
modus erit, ut eadem bona recuperemus, sed ego in opinione sum nos omnia conse-  
cuturos. Adhuc hodie, qui est secundus huius mensis Aprilis, locutus sum cum regia  
maiestate de super et de negotio tuo praesente reverendissimo domino Lundensi.  
Respondit maiestas sua non dubitare me debere res sororis suae sibi maximae curae 375  
esse. De tuis eadem dicebat, sed de te honorifica quaedam. Conveni et reverendissi-  
mum dominum Tridentinum admonens eum litterarum scriptarum a serenissima  
reginali maiestate ad ipsius reverendissimi domini et responsi sui. Nam utrasque mihi  
iam tradiderat reverendissimus dominus Gabriel Xantus.<sup>48</sup> Respondit: maiorem cu-  
ram utriusque, hoc est maiestatis reginalis et tui esse serenissimo regi, quam dicere 380  
posset. Neque diffidendum esse, immo ne dubitandum quidem. Cum reverendissimo  
Agriensi et saepenumero alias et hodie quoque in palatio regio sum de re tua locutus.  
Is consimilem fiduciam facit; neque quidquam haesito, quominus ex animi nostri  
sententia res componendae sint. Credo praeterea hic nos haesuros, donec omnia 385  
completa erunt, hoc est: vaivoda cesserit, latrones a spoliando destiterint, bona ab  
illis occupata redeant ad pristinos possessores. In quod haud dubie adhuc aliquid  
temporis erit impendendum, sed eo libentius hanc molestiam tollerabo, quod sperem  
hoc modo, homini amico requiem paratum iri. Impense omnes favent virtutibus tuis,  
et adversae partis Brodericus et regiae Agriensis ceterique. Sed a Broderico in testi-  
monium sui in te studii etiam litteras ad te habui, quas nescio an miserim ad Ioannem 390  
Langhium.<sup>49</sup> Nam vicesima octava Martii transmisi certam sarcinulam litterarum ad  
coniugem meam, eamque destinavi Ioanni Langhio. Quod existimarem te iis sacris  
temporibus, quae imminerent, alibi secessurum in monasterium. Et has ad te tamen  
coeperam scribere, sedulo exspectans finem negotiorum Turcicorum, ut certa ad te  
scriberem. Interim litterae Broderici sunt elapsae ex manibus adeo, ut eas nequeam 395  
invenire, et nesciam, an fortuito tunc incluserim. Quicquid id est, namque ego scio,  
quid continuerint, parum est deperditum. Idem petiit a me commendari plurimum  
serenissimae reginali maiestati; quod rogo, mei loco facias. Est dignus vir, qui ame-  
tur.

[12.] Quod autem te scribis tantum optare reditum in patriam, non miror, quod ad 400  
talem patriam aspires. Nam et ego ad meam, tametsi submersam, feror toto animo, in  
qua tamen nihil sum visurus praeter ruinas et luctum meorum. Proinde non est, quod  
me horteris, ut curem utriusque reditum. Nam id longe sum diligentius factururus,  
quam verbis exprimere possum. Neque possum quicquam desiderare in iudicio tuo,

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375 suae] *corr.* ex sui 388 paratum] *corr.* ex paratam 397 petiit] *corr.* ex periit

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<sup>48</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. | <sup>49</sup> John de Lange.

405 quod te neque sonitus campanarum artificiosus, non caminorum fuliginosae deliciae,  
non muliercularum blanditiae remoratus est.<sup>50</sup> Quodque ad solam libertatem prope-  
raturus sis, modo hae res hic pacentur, et alia, quae non minus ornate, quam copiose  
scribis. Natura enim omnes ferimur in eam, quae nobis nascentibus obtigit, patriam.  
410 Cumque posset Ulysses apud Circen et Calypson esse immortalis, maluit Ithacam  
sterilem et montuosam et anum coniugem revisere. Si vaivoda duriosem sese exhi-  
beat ita, ut ad Polonos sit refugiendum, omnia ibi salva et integra futura sunt nobis.  
In summa ego te iubeo non bono tantum, sed firmo animo esse et firmissimo. Patria,  
parentes, libri tibi servantur. Parte alia dixit mihi Gabriel Xanthus, quae ad eum  
scripseras<sup>51</sup> de tuo officio. Ego huic oblationi tuae habeo magnam gratiam, et eam  
415 accepto, forte non futurus incommodus, si quando tu abitionem pararis rebus omni-  
bus tuis prius hic integris et recuperatis. Spero enim hoc modo et mihi quoque quie-  
tem aliquam parare tandem post multos labores. Alias essent mihi novae condiciones  
quaerendae. Nam caesarem in Hispaniam sequi non possum, et tot annis nihil aliud  
accepi, quam verba, video praeterea de die in diem minorem haberi rationem homi-  
420 num proborum et ad res gerendas aptorum. Neque desunt, ut alias scripsi ad te, obla-  
tiones quorundam regum et regnorum mihi factae, sed magis arridet patria. Haec  
ideo, ut intelligas me nihil omissurum, quod ad rerum tuarum promotionem attinet.  
Ioannes Cegledinus<sup>52</sup> aliquoties apud me fuit et adhuc venit, per quem et ego infor-  
mor, et vicissim ipse quid agere debeat, intelligit. Quod me reverendissimo domino  
425 Panormitano commendaris, habeo gratiam, precor iterum, ut id facias. Illustrissimae  
quoque dominae comiti de Salm<sup>53</sup> magistrae curiae reginalis, quae me tam humane  
salutavit, vicissim servitia mea quanto potes offer affectu. Det illi Deus votorum  
omnium complementum, utque et ipsa diu vivat feliciter et subolem videat omnibus  
animi fortunaeque bonis locupletem. Commendabis ad haec servitia mea magnificae  
430 dominae de Baillieu<sup>54</sup> et dominae Lucretiae<sup>55</sup> ceterisque et, si adsit, dominae de  
Sovastre.<sup>56</sup> Quas omnes conservet Christus detque felicissime valere. Pro litteris ad  
coniugem meam missis habeo gratiam. Litteras tuas, quia abiit Xanthus, mitte ad

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408 Natura...patriam] Cf. Cic. *De off.* I,21: "Ex quo, quia suum cuiusque fit eorum, quae natura fuerant communia, quod cuique optigit, id quisque teneat." 409 Ulysses...410 revisere] Cf. Ep. Jodoci Badii Ascensii Joanni Fisschero, 1 June, 1521, see RENOARD 1908, 148: "Quantum vero patria ipsa ad charitatem habeat momenti, non tacuit insignis ille ingeniorum fons Homerus, qui Ulyssem inducit patriam suam Ithacam et sterilem et montuosam immortalitati quam apud Circen haberet, praeferentem."

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<sup>50</sup> See Ep. 333. Cap. 5. | <sup>51</sup> See Ep. 339, and Ep. 342. | <sup>52</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>53</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. | <sup>54</sup> Madame Baillieu or Frau Perseresserin. | <sup>55</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). | <sup>56</sup> Madame de Souvastre was "one of Maximilians's illegitimate daughters (...), was appointed mistress of the Duchess's household, which consisted of six maids of honour, six waiting-women, four pages, and ten gentlemen", see CARTWRIGHT 1913, 85 and 91. Her husband, Philippe de Souvastre was Chamberlain (*magister cubiculariorum*) of Queen Mary, see KERKHOFF 2008, 115.

magistrum postarum in curia regia vel ad Bernhardum Bohemum comitem Zolien-  
sem vel ad vicedominum Austriae. Nam illi facile eas ad me transmittent. Scribe  
praeterea, si in re ea, quam ad Xanthum scribis, sit opus commendatione regia pro 435  
me ad serenissimam reginalem maiestatem rebus hic absolutis, necne. Et rogo te habe  
rem secretam, donec ego rediero, quod nescio, quam brevi fiet. Et bene vale, Domine  
et Amice Honorandissime Humillimeque, si quando potes me reginali maiestati,  
insinua.

Datum Viennae die secunda mensis Aprilis anno 1533. 440

348

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 5 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 479.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 347.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 271.

*He is not sending a letter to his wife now because he has already written to her, and he is busy now, but he will send one soon.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Non mitto nunc ad te pro uxore mea,<sup>1</sup> sicut decreveram, litteras, quia scripsi his  
diebus et sum mirabiliter occupatus, sed brevi sum missurus. Scribe me recte valere,  
et ipsius et decani<sup>2</sup> accepisse, quibus sum rescripturus. Et bene vale.

Viennae die V. Aprilis mane 1533. 5

349<sup>355</sup>

Miklós Oláh to László Macedóniai  
Brussels, 6 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 296–297.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 347.

*He cannot understand why Macedóniai is silent for this long, has he offended him? In any case, he did not think he would not answer. If Macedóniai wants to wash this stain off, he should be more attentive. He is only writing these out of love, Macedóniai should not take offence but consider it a sign of friendship.*

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348<sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>2</sup> Mark Lauwerijns.

Ad Ladislaum Macedonem episcopum Varadiensem.

Non possum cogitare, quid sit causae tam diuturnae tuae taciturnitatis, dicerem te inofficiosum esse, quod amicis, etiam sponte sua ad te litteras crebras dantibus respondere non soleas, nisi te usque ad hoc tempus omnes humanum praedicarint.  
5 Quod falsone, an vere duxerint, et an is titulus honorificus tibi competat, nescio, hactenus vidi te non usque adeo fuisse scribendo respondendoque amicis diligentem, ut eorum votis satisfeceris. Quare si eam, quam tibi et amici intimi, et alii, qui notitiam tui habent, impingere consuevere, notam vis effugere et existimari omnium humanissimus ac officiosissimus. Fac sis inposterum diligentior. Humanitas haec tua  
10 et in amicos ἡ φιλία<sup>1</sup> nihil, mihi crede, tibi obfuerit. Haec tam libere ad te scriberem, nec tam κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμοῦ<sup>2</sup> te adhortarer, nisi essem singulari erga te τῇ φιλανθρωπία τε καὶ φιλία.<sup>3</sup> Bono igitur animo meam hanc scriptionem et ex sincero corde profectam accipe, et non molestiam me tibi ingessisse putabis, cum haec scripserim, sed potius, ut ex meo in te amore te officii tui erga amicos commonefacerem. Vale, et  
15 me ama.

Bruxellae 6. Aprilis anno 1533.

341 350

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 8 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 478–479.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 347–348.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 271–272.

*He wrote quite at length the other day, in the meantime he received Oláh's letter. The Turks' envoy did not go to Esztergom but to Rijeka. Count of Salm has not returned yet. They are awaiting the decision if there should be an Imperial Diet and what should happen to the Hungarian affairs, but there will be no decision until it is clear what they can do with King John I. Sanchez has not left Vienna yet.*

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Salve, Amicorum Observandissime! De secunda huius scripsi ad te copiose.<sup>1</sup> Sub idem tempus allatae sunt litterae maiestatis reginalis ad me et tuae de data XVII. Martii, ni fallor. Non est, quod respondeam amplius, nisi quod te rogo, ut frequenter  
5 scribas. Ad reginalem maiestatem nihil rescribo, nisi commendationes; reliqua tu

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349,10 φιλία] *corr.* ex φιλεία | obfuerit] *corr.* ex abfuerit 11 ψυχὴν] *corr.* ex ψίχην | τῇ... 12 φιλία] *corr.* ex τῇ φιλανθρωπεία τε καὶ φιλία

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349 <sup>1</sup> 'love', or 'friendship'. | <sup>2</sup> 'according to my heart'. | <sup>3</sup> 'with special kindness and love'. 350 <sup>1</sup> For his long letter see Ep. 347.



supplebis. Hodie, hoc est die quarta Aprilis, abiit nuntius Turcarum non Strigonium,<sup>2</sup> prout putaram, sed recta in Carniam ad portum Sancti Viti.<sup>3</sup> Comes de Salm<sup>4</sup> nondum venit. Praefectus consilii Machliniensis<sup>5</sup> huc advenit, nisi fallor, primo aut secundo huius cum nuntio Apostolico. Commissio est, ut indicant (nunquam futurum opinione  
10 mea) concilium generale. Expectant, an rex eos velit ire ad electores, necne. Proceditur hic in particularibus rebus regni Hungariae pacandis, sed ante res roboratas cum vaivoda nihil solidi fiet. Commenda me omnibus et bene vale, Domine et Amice Carissime. Xanthus<sup>6</sup> nondum abiit. Scribam ad te frequenter. Rem, de qua scripsisti ad Xanthum, habe secretam, ne quisquam intervertat. Ego quoque hic nihil obmittam. Rursum vale. 15

Viennae VIII. Aprilis anno 1533.

### 351

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 12 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 479–480.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 348–349.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 272–274.

*1. He was really born for work. When he was about to go home to his wife, an order came from the Emperor for him to go to Constantinople. He had to take it on, he is leaving for Rijeka on horse, from there he will sail to Dubrovnik and then ride to Constantinople. The Turkish envoy is waiting for him in Rijeka. The Voivodes do not know what they should do. Gritti and Werbőczy are going to the Turks, while Brodarics is going to Venice for a cure. 2. He should hide the dangers of the journey from his wife, he should say that he is going to return as a victor. He has brought up Oláh's affairs several times, Szalaházy's men will continue it.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Mi Carissime Domine, Olae! Ego tandem video me vere ad laborem natum esse. Nam cum sperarem finitis his rebus Hungaricis in patriam ad meos redire, et coniugem meam<sup>1</sup> hac spe diu aluissem, ut videlicet rebus meis prospicerem aliquando, quibus nemo adhuc prospexit princeps, ecce subito nova a caesare commissio, qua iubeor regis nomine proficisci Constantinopolim, nam maiestas caesarea non vult videri quemquam illic suo nomine esse. Ego obstupui vehementer, cum primum ea intelligerem, sed quid facerem? Si recusassem, omnia servitia mea perditam fuis-

<sup>2</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>3</sup> St. Veit am Flaum (Fiume), today it belongs to Rijeka. | <sup>4</sup> Niklas II, Count of Salm was sent to Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V to inform them about the conditions of the peace with the Turks, see Ep. 347. Note 30. | <sup>5</sup> Probably Antoine I de Lalaing. | <sup>6</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. 351 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

sent; adduxissem in odium mei caesarem, regem, reginam. Brevibus dicam, acceptavi  
10 et hodie hinc abeo per equos, quos mihi enim pernices, usque ad Sanctum Vitum ad  
Pflaum<sup>2</sup> Carnorum oppidum. Inde traiecturus mari ad Rhagusium,<sup>3</sup> postea equis  
Turcarum Constantinopolim. Nuntius caesaris Turcarum expectat me ad Sanctum  
Vitum. Dic reginali maiestati caesarem, quantum ad Coronem<sup>4</sup> oppidum attinet, non  
defuturum regi fratri suo, si modo Turcae Hungaria cesserint. Vaivodani inter sacrum  
15 et saxum stant. Ad Turcas praeter Gryti venturus est Werwevcz.<sup>5</sup> Brodericus excessit  
Buda, contendit Venetias pro sanitate recuperanda.<sup>6</sup> Haec paucis. Tu habe res meas  
curae, uxorem, liberos, amicos, familiam. Nam vestri causa ego me his subiicio peri-  
culis, et ut cum poëta dicam, sed meliore omine:

*Tu, quaeso, solare inopem et miserere relictæ*  
20 *Hanc sine me spem ferre tui audentior ibo*  
*In casus omnes.*

[2.] Nihil aliud peto, nisi ut quantum potes, extenuis verbis pericula huius itineris  
apud uxorem, ne misellæ relictæ gravius aliquid accidat. Dic brevi rediturum glorio-  
sum triumphatorem et nugas tales. Fac etiam, ut intelligat serenissimæ reginæ non  
25 displicere servitia mea, verbis dico. Nam profecto nihil me aequè habet male atque  
id, quod cogor tam subito proficisci, ne tempore quidem satis relicto, quo ad eam  
possim scribere. Res tuæ a me non semel commendatæ sunt, et promisit rex, Triden-  
tinus,<sup>7</sup> Agriensis<sup>8</sup> operas suas. Dimisi et memoriale bonorum tuorum Zaladiensis  
custodiæ, Simigiensia<sup>9</sup> et Rosthas,<sup>10</sup> ut interim recuperentur, dum huc rediero.  
30 Quodsi nunc non fiat, at saltem meo in reditu cogemus latrones<sup>11</sup> illos ad restitutio-  
nem. Dimisi, inquam, memoriale illud in manibus reverendissimi domini Tridentini.  
Commenda me illustrissimæ dominae meae reginæ, dominae comiti de Salm<sup>12</sup>  
praefectæ domus reginalis maiestatis et ceteris dominabus,<sup>13</sup> ante omnia autem ipsi  
maiestati. Si quid rescriptum velitis, mittentur ad regem, inde mittentur Constantino-  
35 polim. Et bene vale, Domine et Amice Carissime! Solare uxorem<sup>14</sup> litteris. Dic ali-  
quando te intellexisse me rectissime valere et alia.

Datum Viennæ XII. Aprilis anno 1533.

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351,34 mittentur<sup>1</sup>] *corr.* ex mittitur

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351,14 inter...15 stant] Cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 617: "nunc ego inter sacrum saxumque sto". 19 Tu...21 omnes] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX, 290–292: "tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictæ. / Hanc sine me spem ferre tui, audentior ibo / in casus omnis."

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<sup>2</sup> Rijeka. | <sup>3</sup> Dubrovnik. | <sup>4</sup> Koroni. | <sup>5</sup> István Werbőczy. | <sup>6</sup> Because Brodarics had gout, he often visited thermal baths, see his letters about his pain: KASZA 2012, 259 and 303. | <sup>7</sup> Bernhard von Cles. <sup>8</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>9</sup> About Oláh's possessions in Zala and in Somogy counties, see Ep. 325. <sup>10</sup> Rostás in Veszprém county, uninhabited today. | <sup>11</sup> Namely Bálint Török and János Bodó. | <sup>12</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. | <sup>13</sup> Madame Bailleul and Lucretia Caballis. | <sup>14</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 12 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 480.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 349–350.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 274.

*He is sending a small chest for his wife through Andreas, with his clothes and documents. He is asking Oláh to accept the chest, forward it to his wife, and pay for Andreas' expenses.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Reverende Domine, Amice Honorande! Mitto per Andream Hungarum<sup>1</sup> familiarrem domini comitis Zoliensis<sup>2</sup> conductorem vinorum reginalis maiestatis arcam quandam cum vestibus meis et scripturis pro uxore mea,<sup>3</sup> et quia non satis scio, quo pretio quantoque constituta est ea vectura, proptereaue idem Andreas debursaturus est omnia necessaria, rogo Dominationem Vestram, ut tandem arcam ad se recipiat, aut saltem confestim transmitti faciat domum meam, et quicquid idem Andreas pro vectura expenderit, idem illud Dominatio Vestra eidem Andreae persolvat, rehabilitatura ab uxore mea quicquid illud futurum est. Et me Dominationi Vestrae ex animo commendo.

Viennae XII. die Aprilis anno 1533.

10

Miklós Oláh to Paolo Giovio (?)  
Brussels, 15 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 297–298.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 350–351.

*He believes his friend knows Count of Salm well. Count of Salm was sent to the Emperor the other day, to present the offer of the Turkish emissary of peace. It is rumored that they only want the castles that Doria captured last year. King John I would concede the territories to King Ferdinand I, except for Slavonia. As soon he learns of something, he will write.*

352 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>2</sup> Bernhard Beheim. | <sup>3</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Comitem Nicolaum a Salm<sup>2</sup> praefectum cubiculi regii bene te cognovisse arbitror. Is nuper a rege, dum orator Turcarum ad eum venisset pacem oraturus,<sup>3</sup> missus fuit ad imperatorem, ut animum Turcae illi significaret; qui eas cupit ab imperatore modo  
5 arces, quae in Peloponesso anno praeterito per Andream a Dorea<sup>4</sup> illi sunt ademptae. Quod si fiet, pollicetur se facturum, ut Hungariae regnum Ioannis remissurum regi Ferdinando esset Sclavonia excepta, quam Ioannes sibi concedi cuperet. Qui quidem comes Nicolaus apud imperatorem in Alexandria constitutus, scripsit huc ad nos se ab imperatore licet expeditum, tamen missum ad pontificem in Urbem, ut cum eo  
10 quoque ea de re ageret. Ut igitur accipio, pax Hungarica bonum habitura est finem, quandoquidem Turca non abhorret etiam a foedere cum pontifice percutiundo. Quod si futurum est, nihil dubito, quin non solum in Hungaria, sed etiam omni Christianitate, qua a Turcis pace optata frui possimus. Haec tibi volui significare, ne earum rerum, quas intelligo, sis ignarus. Vale.

15 Bruxellae 15. Aprilis anno 1533.

314 346 **354** 379

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 19 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 345–347.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 351–353; ALLEN 1941, 198–200.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 660–662.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 179–181; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 124–126.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 105–107.

*1. He thanks Oláh for his help. The Emperor already wanted to pay his debt a few years ago, even the French King offered him a position as provost, but he has subordinated everything to literature. His accommodation debt still has not been paid. He has left because he was charged with managing the Lutherans' affairs, which in the end did not go as he had planned. This city is unpleasant, he should leave; he lists where he could go. 2. As far as Lieven Algoet is concerned, he is sorry to hear Algoet was so foolish. He is a clever boy, he should have become a physician in Leuven, but then he squandered his books and all his money. Erasmus warned him to choose a rich wife, like Schepper, but he went on and married a poor one. He is not wasting any breath on Scaliger. If he does not get well before the summer, he will not dare embark on the journey.*

Erasmi Roterodami ad Nicolaum Olaum responsio.

[1.] Lege solus!

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353 <sup>1</sup> According to Fest, he is Paolo Giovio, see FEST 1927, 202. | <sup>2</sup> Niklas II, Count of Salm. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 347. | <sup>4</sup> Andrea Doria.

Accepi proximas litteras tuas et singularis tuae prudentiae et eximii cuiusdam in me favoris testes locupletissimas. Utinam aliquid gratiae liceat referre. Caesaris assensum suspicor ideo requiri, quo meliore fronte exigatur pensio, alioqui non exulo 5 istinc, et cum bona venia discessi, nec defuisse, quod agerem Basileae, res ipsa declarat. Caesar ante complures annos scripsit amitae suae dominae Margaretae, ut mihi pensio extra ordinem solveretur. Nam ceteris solutio suspendebatur, ne mihi esset causa conferendi me ad alium principem. Magnis etiam promissis sollicitabar a Francisco rege Galliarum, idque litteris ipsius manu scriptis. Iamque destinarat mihi praeposituram Tongrensem<sup>1</sup> magni proventus summaeque dignitatis, sed ego omnia posthabui otio litterario. Domina Margareta re in concilio transacta per litteras egit gratias, quod a caesaris familia non recederem. Ceterum quominus esset soluta pensio, meam absentiam fuisse in causa, si redire vellem, non solum pensionem, sed longe maiora fore parata. Cur abirem, praecipua causa fuit, quod istic quidam caesari 15 persuaserant, ut mihi negotium Luteranum delegaretur; huius consilii author erat Ioannes Gelapion.<sup>2</sup> Sensi id mihi amico animo fieri, sed quoniam habebam suspectus, licet falsissime, studebant me in id muneris coniiicere, ut aut carnificem agerem in eos, quibus ut putabant benevolebam, aut meipsum prodens haererem illorum retibus.

Multorum me poenitet, illius abitus nunquam poenituit, etsi non incidisset pietatis 20 dissidium, illic sat commode videbar consenescere posse. Hoc oppidum frigidum est, caelum pestilens, vulgus ἄξεβον,<sup>3</sup> nec est, quo expatier, nisi continuo rumoribus variis perstreperant omnia. Et tamen conduceret valetudini, si quando mutarem locum. Oecolampadiani<sup>4</sup> non vulgariter me oderunt, idque facimus mutuo. Besontii<sup>5</sup> grave dissidium est inter clerum et senatum. Senatus invitat, clerus horret adventum meum. 25 Istic sunt ingenia mitiora, nec usquam senex honestius agat, quam in patria. Inter Germaniae principes parum convenit, vereor, ne absente caesare cooriantur hic tumultus; gliscunt enim exordia. Non tam sum sollicitus de pensione, quam de honorifico titulo hinc remigrandi. Nihil his evangelicis loquatius aut vanius. Arbitror autem monachis ac theologis satis iam declaratum esse, quam mihi non conveniat cum 30 sectarum authoribus, a quibus mihi hic non mediocre periculum est. Non enim desinunt moliri, neque quicquam est hoc hominum genere magis vindex.

[2.] Livino<sup>6</sup> bene cupio, sed doleo illum tam laeva esse mente, ut toties oblatam occasionem semper amittat e manibus. Erat natus ad litteras et convenerat, ut Lovanii daret operam medicinae. Lusit illic, mox Lutetiae<sup>7</sup> fecit idem. Tandem venditis libris 35 et consumptis omnibus institit mendicare venans hinc atque hinc munera, nec in ea res felix. Augustae<sup>8</sup> satis arrisit aula, collegit bonam pecuniam, prodegit universam.

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354 <sup>1</sup>“There is no mention of this Tongres provostship in any extant letter. Erasmus clearly means the treasurership of Tours”, see ALLEN 1941, 198, | <sup>2</sup> Jean Glapion (†1522) was a Fransiscan monk and the confessor of Emperor Charles V. He and Erasmus corresponded and Glapion urged Erasmus to attack Luther in writing, see BIETENHOLZ 1986. | <sup>3</sup> ‘inhospitable’. | <sup>4</sup> The adherents of Oecolampadius. <sup>5</sup> Besançon. | <sup>6</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>7</sup> Paris. | <sup>8</sup> Augsburg.

Monui, ut exemplo Scepperi venaretur uxorem<sup>9</sup> bene dotatam. Duxit nudam. Nunquam ulla in re paruit amicorum consiliis, et ipsi more laeva mens est. Nunc quod  
40 vitae genus spectat, nescio. Accepi litteras tuas,<sup>10</sup> quibus significabas de temere invito matrimonio. Verum id prudens dissimulavi certis de causis. Accepi et Dani<sup>11</sup> naenias, quem optarim esse episcopum in sua Dania; fortasse me non odit, sed plus nocet intempestiva benevolentia, quam faceret inimicus. Quid inutilius, quam inceptis versiculis lacerare Scaligerum<sup>12</sup> et eam movere Camarinam<sup>13</sup>, quam satius erat  
45 non tangere.

Haec scribo liberius, quia per famulum<sup>14</sup> mihi fidelissimum nihil periculi sit, si istic erumpat rumor hoc agi, ut in Brabantiam honorifice revocer, tutius tamen est id a paucis sciri. Certe me hoc ambire nolim sciri, aut credi. Nisi revocor adhuc vigente aetate, non sine corpusculi periculo me commisero itineri. Quod si res cesserint ex  
50 sententia, non morabor reditum Quirini mei ex Anglia, sed advolabo. Sin minus, durandum erit hic hac hieme, sed condito testamento, quod Basileae condideram. In eam rem habeo regis Ferdinandi litteras ad huius oppidi magistratum; habeo diploma caesaris apertum ac generale, habeo breve pontificis. Et tamen si quid reliquero, vix tutum fuerit ab hoc magistratu, quantum ex multis exemplis divino. Praedabundum  
55 hominum genus. Bene vale.

Friburgi 19. die Aprilis 1533.

349 355

László Macedóniai to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 25 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 408.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 353–354.

*Oláh should not be angry with him for writing so rarely, he has so much to do. He thinks it advisable for Oláh to stay where he is; he and István Pemfflinger mediated between the King and the hussars, as well as about returning the possessions. He met with Bálint Török separately to discuss Oláh's possessions, but he has not achieved anything yet. The King's clerk has some business with the Queen's physician concerning the Berehove parish, he should help him.*

Ladislavus de Macedonia electus Varadiensis Nicolao Olao secretario et consiliario reginae Mariae.

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<sup>9</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>10</sup> Ep. 314. | <sup>11</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>12</sup> About the conflict between Erasmus and Scaliger, see Ep. 216. Note 12. | <sup>13</sup> Sometimes in minuscule it refers to a proverb: “movere in Camerina”, see RAMMINGER: “camerina, -ae f. mit Pest infizierender Sumpf (aus Serv. *Aen.* 3,701)”  
<sup>14</sup> Quirinus Hagius.

Reverende Domine ac Frater et Amice Honorande! Ignoscat Dominatio Vestra, quod rarius ad illam scribo. Faciunt curae quaedam et sollicitudines, in quibus iam consenuimus, ut ne in mentem quidem venire possit tale quidpiam quod ad hunc, aut  
5 illum amicorum scriberem. Res enim ita se habent, praesertim vero negotia pacis, cuius tanta est fama, ut consultius existimem Vestram Dominationem adhuc ibidem manere, quam ut patriae desiderium eam huc pertrahat. Cum dominis enim hussaronibus transegit aliquatenus maiestas regia, tum de stipendiis, tum de aliis, fuimusque  
10 mediatores ego et dominus Stephanus Pemfinger<sup>1</sup> inter regiam maiestatem et ipsos hussarones; egimus autem cum eis etiam de remittendis bonis ecclesiarum. Cum domino autem Valentino Therek<sup>2</sup> habui specialiter tractatus de bonis beneficiorum Dominationis Vestrae, sed adhuc res non est confecta. Itaque antequam a nobis aliud cognoverit, contineat se Dominatio Vestra ibidem. Dominus Emericus de Fyzme-  
15 gyer<sup>3</sup> director causarum regia maiestatis, habet quiddam negotii apud dominum physicum<sup>4</sup> reginalis maiestatis ex parte plebaniae de Berekzaaz.<sup>5</sup> Rem igitur ipsam comendo Dominationi Vestrae rogoque, ut praestet in negotio ipso diligentem operam. Quicquid diligentiae adhibuerit in ipsa re id omnibus nobis, qui ipsius magistri Emerici sumus amici, perquam gratissimum erit, existimabimusque nobis ipsis impensum, quicquid in ea causa operae impenderit. Reliquum est, Dominatio Vestra felix  
20 valeat.

Ex Vienna in festo beati Marci 1533.

356 <sup>374</sup>

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Rijeka, 26 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 481.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 354.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 275.

*He has arrived to Rijeka, from here he will sail on to Dubrovnik, and from there he will ride to Constantinople together with the Turkish envoy. He asks him to look after his family and sends a stack of letters for his wife; he sends his regards to the ladies of the court.*

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355 <sup>1</sup> István Pemfflinger. | <sup>2</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>3</sup> Imre Füzesmegyeri was *Homo Regius* and loyal to King Ferdinand I, see the donation on 6 December, 1529: Vienna, ÖstA HHStA Reichsarchiv Reichsregisterbücher Ferdinand I. Bd. 33 fol. 5v. He was Chief Royal Attorney (*director causarum*) between 1531–1533, see FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 113. | <sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>5</sup> Berehove or Beregovo.

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Nihil est, quod in praesentiarum scriptu dignum occurrit. Ego veni et nunc sum in oppido Sancti Viti ad flumen, quod est in Liburnia inter Histriam et Dalmatiam, hodie Deo volente soluturus anchoram navigaturusque Rhagusium.<sup>1</sup> Inde terrestri  
5 itinere profecturus Constantinopolim una cum oratore Turcarum,<sup>2</sup> qui hic me praestolatus est. Cupio tibi res meas commendari, uxorem, familiam, amicos, non in aliud, nisi ut subinde litteris eos tuis soleris prospera de mea valetudine scribens. Mitto sarcinulam litterarum ad uxorem meam, rogo, eam cum fido nuntio transmittas. Sacrae reginali maiestati humillime hunc Cornelium commendabis, praeterea domi-  
10 nae comiti de Salm,<sup>3</sup> aliisque dominabus meis istic existentibus, scilicet de Bailleiul, Lucretiae, de Sovastre,<sup>4</sup> ceterisque servitia mea offerre dignaberis. Et rectissime vale, Domine et Frater Honorandissime.

Ex oppido Sancti Viti Liburniae ad mare Adriaticum XXVI. die Aprilis anno 1533.

357

Nicolaas Everaerts to Miklós Oláh  
Barcelona, 27 April 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 384–385.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 354–355.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 168–169.

*Oláh's letter about Erasmus' case made him very happy. He should not doubt him, he will do everything he can, and he is grateful to the Queen for promoting the issue, and how well she sees that during such times such excellent talents are needed.*

Nicolaus Grudius caesareae maiestatis secretarius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Litteras tuas<sup>1</sup> de Erasmi negotio<sup>2</sup> 28. Martii ad me datas heri primum accepi una cum Langii<sup>3</sup> nostri de eadem re litteris, quibus nihil contingere potuit gratius, neque optatius, quam videlicet occasionem mihi viderem dari, hactenus mihi saepe frustra  
5 desideratam gratificandi aliquando tanto viro et cui olim cum patre meo pia memoriae necessitudo fuerit plane inviolabilis. Itaque nihil addubites, velim, quin ego quantum quidem in me erit et libenter et diligenter, summaque cum fide, et (quemadmodum cupis) secreta omnia sim facturus, quae idonea ad id, quod volumus, esse videbuntur. Debeo sane id et longe maiora Erasmo, non tantum ut amico paterno,  
10 verum etiam ut meo et studiosorum omnium parenti, sed longe magis id debeo pa-

356 <sup>1</sup> Dubrovnik. | <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>3</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. | <sup>4</sup> Madame de Souvastre. 357 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Oláh probably wrote on Erasmus' plan to return home.

<sup>3</sup> John de Lange.



triae, cui quantum per illius reditum commodi atque honoris sit accessurum, dici facile non queat. O, oculatissimum, neque unquam satis laudandum serenissimae reginae ingenium, quae rem tantam et perspicit et promovet. Recte nimirum ac vere illa iudicat eiusmodi incorruptis ac sani iudicii viris hac praesertim turbulenta tempestate opus esse. Nam de te quidem, ne in os laudare videar, nihil dicam aliud, nisi  
15 optare me, ut quam plurimos tui simillimos habeant nostri principes consiliarios; rectius enim et quies publica sese haberet et litterae. Si quid ad Erasmum scripturus es, quaeso, ut me illi commendes omniaque de me pollicearis, non solum, ut de amico eius studiosissimo, sed etiam observantissimo servitore. Bene vale, Magnifice  
20 Domine et brevi commodum responsum exspecta.

E Barcinona die 27. Aprilis 1533.

352 (356) **358**

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 1 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 475–477.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 355–357.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 275–279.

1. *The Queen has been unwell for a month now, she has heart problems and fever as well. About the news: they already knew about Hieronymus of Zara's letter; the dissolution of the assembly, etc. The situation of the border castles in the South is doubtful. They have heard that Count of Salm has returned. 2. He has received Brodarics' letter. The majority of his possessions are in the hands of robbers who pretend to be King Ferdinand I's men. It will be better if he does not tell the Queen that Oláh is planning to return home, he does not want to prematurely scare her with it. 3. King Henry VIII, having sent Catherine of Aragon away, has married Anne Boleyn.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Scepperum responsio.

[1.] Maximo gaudio affectus fui, mi Corneli, cum tuas litteras his diebus accepissem, quas iam a multo tempore summo desiderio exspectabam. Hae nos de omnibus rebus, quae istic actae sunt et publice et privatim, tam diligenter et aperte edocuerunt, ut nihil ulterius desiderare potuerimus, habeo tibi gratias cumulatatas, qui tam officio-  
5 sum praestare te sis solitus in rebus et publicis perscribendis et meis privatis procurandis. Maiestas reginalis a mense iam fere uno aegrotare coeperat, et nescio, qua cordiana passione et febre statis temporibus urgebatur. Quae tamen convaluerat diebus aliquot, sed rursus postea recidiverat, et hoc triduo meliuscule se habere coepit, ut eam speremus Deo volente pristinam propediem recuperaturam sanitatem. Ego  
10 ei licet imbecilli adhuc tamen communicavi omnia tua scripta, quae illis et etiam

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358,8 urgebatur] *corr. ex vigebatur*

litteris Ferdinandi regis domini mei clementissimi, quae per idem fere tempus adve-  
nerant, mirum in modum fuit recreata. Nihil magis desiderans, quam fratris commo-  
dum, regni Hungariae quietem ac firmam pacem.

15 De litteris Hieronimi a Zara,<sup>1</sup> de conventu Poseniensi dissoluto, de nuntii Turca-  
rum adventu iam antea eramus certiores facti. Quae tibi Brodericus et alii Ioannis  
commissarii de mente domini sui explicuerint, videntur esse verisimilia. Nam credo  
illum per eos, quos scribis omnes, si eos bene noverim amantes pacis salutisque  
20 Hungariae inductum fuisse, ut publici potius boni, quam privati sui habeat rationem.  
Quare etiam nunc videretur esse non inconsultum, si cum eo aliquid tractari et finiri  
posset, ut habita aliqua honoris sui ratione Hungariam regi relinqueret. Et cum Turca  
per occasionem restituendae Coronis,<sup>2</sup> de remissione Nandor Albae, Sabacz, Titulii,  
Varadini Petri<sup>3</sup> ac aliarum arcium a nobis occupatarum ageretur, inireturque his  
recuperatis foedus inter caesarem et pontificem et regem eo ordine, ut tu scribis, et ut  
25 oblatae sunt conditiones pacis. Quod si futurum esset, quid melius regi ad imperium  
Hungaricum stabiliendum contingere posset, sed fortasse inquires Turcam non posse  
induci, ut Nandoralbae cedat, fateor illum eam arcem magni aestimare, credoque eum  
omnia prius tentaturum, quam ad id consentiat, sed certe in Peloponeso non parvo  
fieri poterit ei quoque nocumento Coronis amissio, quae utpote nostris praebet por-  
30 tam libere semper invadendi illius dominia. Si igitur videret regem concordasse cum  
Ioanne, et se non habere occasionem, qua repetere posset Coronem, fortasse leniorem  
se praebiturus esset ad Albae remissionem. Comitem de Salm<sup>4</sup> et a pontifice et cae-  
sare optata relatione ad vos rediisse audivimus; utinam res cito transigatur, et ex  
animi nostri sententia.

35 [2.] Litteras<sup>5</sup> Broderici accepi inter alias litteras mei sacellani,<sup>6</sup> ad quas tam subito  
rescribere non potui, cum nuntius repentinam abitionem pararet. Meas res tuae iam-  
dudum commendavi, mi Frater, fidei et patrocinio et nunc quoque singulariter  
commendo, quas scio tua sollicitatio bonum finem habituras, si rex uti imperio volue-  
rit, praedonesque<sup>7</sup> illos, qui sub nomine suae maiestatis aliorum bona detinent, et tam  
40 divina, quam humana vexant, facile a maleficiis prohibere poterit, ego quoque mea  
rehabebo. Nam maior meorum bonorum pars, ut credo te iam intellexisse, est in  
manibus eorum, qui sub umbra et nomine regis sunt hactenus latrocinati, et ditari per  
omne scelus quaesiverunt. Agendum igitur erit, ut e faucibus eorum illa extrahantur.  
Quod fiet, si rex litteras suas, quibus me assecuravit huc venientem, uti in hoc non  
45 dubito, observaverit, quarum exemplum te habere puto. Aut si res agenda erit apud  
Ioannitas, ut tempus postulaverit, tu me, qui sum longius, commodius et melius sta-

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33 optata...rediisse] *O mut. ex ad vos redisse cum optata relatione* 39 praedonesque] *O corr. ex praedones* 42 ditari] *O corr. ex dotari* 44 assecuravit huc] *O mut. ex consecravit huc*

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358 <sup>1</sup> Hieronymus of Zara. | <sup>2</sup> Koroni. | <sup>3</sup> Belgrade, Šabac, Titel, and Petrovaradin, see Ep. 343.  
<sup>4</sup> Niklas II, Count of Salm. | <sup>5</sup> Ep. 334. | <sup>6</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>7</sup> Namely, Bálint Török and János Bodó.

tues, quid cum illorum commissariis maxime cum Broderico et Nadasdy sit agendum. A me hic nemo meum et tuum negotium intelliget. Nam uti tu, ita et ego cupio rem adhuc esse secretam. Nollem enim ante tempus reginam intelligere me ab ea parare abitionem, fac igitur de litteris commendaticiiis, quod e mea et tua re esse videbitur. Mihi tamen, si meum vis habere consilium, videtur, quod non esset bonum, si singulare de me aliquid explicares, propter eam, quam praedixi causam. Nam nec regem nec reginam vellem aliquid tale de me ante tempus suspicari, praesertim cum sciam reginam non valde abhorrere ab Hungaria, cuius est nunc quoque cupidissima ad breve tempus solatii gratia adhuc revisenda, si pax futura esset. Haec tibi mihi amicissimo soli scribo. Nollem aliis esse nota. Tu tamen videris, quid melius in his sit facto. Et quicquid absque meo et tuo incommodo fieri poterit, fac. Quicquid iam aut cum Ioanne aut cum Turca actum est vel adhuc agatur, fac rogo nos certiores. Heri allatae sunt ad me litterae coniugis tuae amantissimae; eas ad te cum praesentibus mitto. Scripsi ad eam secundo statim die, cum tuas accepissem te sanum esse et felicem. Quaesivi etiam Iohannem Langhium,<sup>8</sup> an litteras tuas ad eam misisset, dixit se illas misisse. Nunc rursus Flandrenses tui huc venerunt, curant negotia illa Danica, Australia, nonnullaque eorum gravamina.

[3.] Regem Angliae<sup>9</sup> repudiata Catharina<sup>10</sup> regina nuptias iam suas solemniter peregisse cum matrona Anna,<sup>11</sup> quam tenerrime multos annos deperibat scio te audivisse, quae, ut dicitur, ad festum Georgii<sup>12</sup> coronari debuit. Titulus reginae Catharinae verus mutatus est, nominatur per totam Angliam vidua principis illius, cui prius erat, ut scis, despondata. Vale et scribe frequenter.

Bruxellis prima Maii 1533.

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48 ita...ego] *O mut. ex et ego ita* 52 singulare] *O mut. ex in specie* 53 suspicari] *O mut. ex scire*  
54 sciam] *O mut. ex non temore suspicer* 57 quicquid] *O corr. ex quid* 58 cum<sup>1</sup>...vel] *O mut. ex. est*  
cum Ioanne sive cum Turca aut 59 coniugis...amantissimae] *O mut. ex ex Brugis a coniuge tua*  
amantissima 64 Catharina] *O mut. ex vetere* 65 Anna] *O mut. ex illa* 67 verus...est] *O mut. ex abolitus*  
est

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<sup>8</sup> John de Lange. | <sup>9</sup> King Henry VIII (1491–1547) was King of England from 1509 until his death.

<sup>10</sup> Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536). | <sup>11</sup> Anne Boleyn (1501–1536). | <sup>12</sup> In Hungary, we celebrate this feast on 24 instead of 23 April.

Miklós Oláh to János Czeplédi  
Brussels, 1 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 411–412.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 358–359. BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1904, 247–248. (excerpt)

1. *He has received three of Czeplédi's letters, but not the attached letters; he should pay more attention to these. He does not understand why Bálint Török is so implacable towards him: he considers János Bodó faithful, is he then saying Oláh is not faithful? 2. Sebestyén Pemfflinger will oversee the abbey of Tapolca, the rest he will foresee. Czeplédi should be beside Szalaházy lest he misses something. He should find out what Várday thinks of him. He wrote to Ferenc Révay the other day, but he has not responded; he will write again.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorem.

[1.] Ternas eodem tempore tuas accepi litteras,<sup>1</sup> variis tamen temporibus partim Posonii, partim Viennae datas, quae me certiores fecerunt de mearum rerum statu. Illas, in quibus scribis te responsium Broderici et domini archiepiscopi Strigoniensis<sup>2</sup>  
5 ad me misisse, non vidi. Interceptae fortasse sunt aut amissae. Litteris meis superioribus, in quamcunque partem res regis et nostra devolvatur, amplissimam tibi dederam informationem. Tuae igitur erit prudentiae in eam partem vela tendere, unde prosper adspiraverit ventus. Non credo futurum rem devolvi ad partem Ioannis. Nam quid Turca cum rege agat, intelligo; attamen, ut res se obtulerit et occasio, ex consilio  
10 Cornelii<sup>3</sup> te tempori et rebus accomoda, salva semper mea in principes meos fide. Dominus Valentinus Thewrek<sup>4</sup> nescio quare est in me difficilis, cui gratificatus sum potius semper apud principes, ut testes sunt et iidem ipsi, et illius servitores, cui non unquam in re aliqua obfui; credo tamen eum futurum mitiorem, quando cogitaverit me non iniqua petere, dum mea peto. Dicit fidelem esse servitorem regis Ioannem  
15 Bodo,<sup>5</sup> et propterea bona mea se non posse extrahere ab illo; ergo ego sum infidelis? Fides utriusque patet ex initio rerum et ipsarum progressu. Esto sit, ut dicit, fidelis, bonane mea ob eam rem illi dari debent? Cur aliorum non dantur? Mira res certe esset, si meis vel aliorum bonis hi, qui ex infidelibus facti sunt vel timore vel necessitate ferente fideles, Deus scit, quales munerarentur, et fidelium servitia, qui ab initio  
20 unicam non duplicem aut triplicem, ut ille, viam sunt secuti, cum talium servitiis iniqua lance conferrentur, non arbitror tamen id futurum. Si magnopere delectatur meis bonis, conferat mihi rex alia aequalia meis. Non me regis commodis privata-

359,8 futurum] *O del. ex futurum esse* 12 cui non] *O corr. ex quam*

359 <sup>1</sup> These letters are not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>4</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>5</sup> János Bodó.

rum rerum ductus amore interponam. Si rex habebit, ut spero, Hungariam, non erit opus, ut scribis, magna defensione in ipsis bonis possidendis, vel si ipse dominus 25  
Valentinus Thewrek te in illis defenderit, non habebit me ingratum amicum, sed memorem beneficii ab eo accepti. Tu enitere utcumque fieri poterit, ut bona ipsa, sicuti promissum est, recuperemus. Memineris verbi Evangelici: neminem posse 30  
duobus dominis servire. Sub longas preces poteris res meas negligere, et earum expectatione praeterire. Quod quam non conveniret fidei et honori tuo, tu ipse iudica. Quare cura, ut nihil a te desiderari possit. 30

[2.] Abbatiae de Thapolcza<sup>6</sup> Sebastianus Pemfflinger providebit, de archidiaconatu Strigoniensi, cum exiero, videbo, quid sit agendum. Canonicatum Iauriensem curabo, quantum in me est, ut tu habeas;<sup>7</sup> Theophilus<sup>8</sup> non erat illius possessor, sed ego. Verum quidem est me beneficium hoc illi voluisse dare et eum etiam praesentasse capitulo. Litteras ipsas canonicatus requiram et vel mittam ad te vel mecum 35  
adducam, cum Deo volente exivero. Tu interea insta apud Agriensem,<sup>9</sup> ne quispiam autoritate regis manus illi praebendae iniiciat. Scribe ad me, si Turcae vel in regressu ultimo vel antea bona mea desolarunt et quae sint desolata et quae integra. Cura, ut missa Strigonii<sup>10</sup> continuetur. Ego solvam stipendium, si tu aliunde id praestare ex meis non potes, hoc est ex archidiaconatus et canonicatus proventibus. Cu- 40  
rabo, ut in hoc non desit defectus, modo mihi significa. Quo in me sit animo Strigoniensis, fac me certiolem, an pristino benivolo, an novo alieno. Id quamvis et tu tamen medio aliorum quoque meorum amicorum expiscari poteris, fac me hac de re et de aliis certiolem cito. Ad Franciscum Reway<sup>11</sup> dederam litteras, nescio, an hae sint redditae, nunc mitto rursus<sup>12</sup> breviusculas propter nuntii celerem abitionem. 45  
Domino praeposito Albensi<sup>13</sup> commenda me et dic, si qua in re ei obsequi possem, nihil facerem libentius, maxime in hac sua necessitate. Compatior enim illius penuriae, paratus essem, si adessem mea omnia illi communicare. Saluta et Albertum praepositum<sup>14</sup> ac alios amicos meos. Vale et scribe de rebus omnibus. 50

Bruxellae prima Maii 1533.

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47 facerem] *O del. ex facerem me*

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359,27 neminem...28 servire] Mt6, 24: "Nemo potest duobus dominis servire." Lc16, 13: "Nemo servus potest duobus dominis servire."

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<sup>6</sup> Tapolca. | <sup>7</sup> About these see BEDY 1938, 359–360. | <sup>8</sup> We do not know him more closely. | <sup>9</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>10</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>11</sup> Ferenc Révay. | <sup>12</sup> See Ep. 360. | <sup>13</sup> Lőrinc Kretschmer. | <sup>14</sup> Albert Peregi.

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Révay  
Brussels, 1 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 412–413.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 359–360.

*Czeglédi has reported what benevolence Révay has towards Oláh, this feels especially good to him, who is far away. Révay has not responded to his letter from the other day, so he is writing again. He is asking him to recommend him to Várday. He does not know why, but Bálint Török hates him, even though he did nothing to deserve it, and it is Török who is usurping Oláh's possessions through János Bodó.*

Nicolai Olai ad Franciscum Reway praesentiae regiae locumtenentem.

Magister Ioannes Cegledinus<sup>1</sup> provisor meus me certiore reddidit de tuo in me singulari amore, benevolentia, opera, studio, quo me absentem et res meas istic prosequeris singulariter. Id tuum factum tam mihi gratum est, ut dispeream, ni perpetuo  
5 velim tibi esse pro eo gratum. Nam ea maxima sunt beneficia valdeque grata, quae in absentem amicum conferuntur. Dum quis praesens est, utique per se sine amicorum auxilio rebus suis prospicere potest, sed absens non eodem modo. Opus igitur est in absentia maiori verorum fratrum et amicorum amicitia ac patronicio; quod quo maius est et ferventius, eo hominem facit ei, a quo praestatur, obligatiorem. Quare, mi  
10 Francisce, rogo te, prosequere etiam deinceps me absentem measque res ea, qua solitus es, benevolentia, favore et promotione. Non in ingratum conferes, quicquid contuleris. Nuper scripseram ad te, credo litteras non fuisse redditas. Nihil enim ad me rescripsisti. Commenda me reverendissimo domino Strigoniensi,<sup>2</sup> cui et volui semper et volo etiam nunc ac deinceps in rebus omnibus, quibus possum valeoque  
15 inservire. Valentinus Theurek<sup>3</sup> me unicum ex omnibus Hungaris habet, quem oderit, nescio, ob quod meum factum. Beneficium certe potius ab eo mererer, quam malevolentiam, si non propter mea multa officia in rebus illius aliquando exhibita, at propter meam operam, quam, dum opus fuit, apud principes nostros semper in illius utilitatem et commodum praestiti. Mea bona adhuc possidet medio Ioannis Bodo.<sup>4</sup> Faciat,  
20 ut vult, credo, aliquando resipiscet. Commenda me illi et bonum redde pro malo. Opto te et dominum Varadiensem<sup>5</sup> feliciter valere. Quos Deus faxit, ut pace in regno, ut non dubito, facta propediam videre possim incolumes. Provisorem meum tibi commendo.

Bruxellae prima Maii 1533.

360 <sup>1</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>2</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>3</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>4</sup> János Bodó. | <sup>5</sup> László Macedóniai.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 2 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 414.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 360.

*He has made sure that his debtors receive the 500 florins from the thirtieth custom of Bratislava. He has also sent the Queen's words in a letter. He could not arrange it sooner than this, especially because of the Queen's ill health, which has been going on for a month now and is getting worse. All the riding was not good for her weak constitution, but she is better now. He has not received a response to his letter about Lucretia.*

Nicolai Olai ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium Hungariae.

Curavi, ut regina consiliariis suis, qui rerum et proventuum suorum in Hungaria curam haberet, illis quingentos florenos creditori tuo ex tricesima Poseniensi solvendos mandaret. Litteras ad illos datas, una cum eiusdem exemplo ad te misi, ut intelligas, quibus verbis regina illis praecipiat. Si iam casu satisfacisses mercatori, cui prius debebas, potes nihilominus alium reperire, a quo res ad eam summam leves, et cui tandem ex tricesima satisfiat. Citius res expediri non potuit, primum propter multas occupationes, deinde propter malam reginae valetudinem, qua iam mensem integrum vel circiter graviter laboravit. Ea illa est, quae ipsam Posonii statim post regis Ludovici interitum<sup>1</sup> occuparat. Quae subinde cum febribus redire consuevit ita, ut timendum sit, ne ad ultimum aliquid maximi mali, quod avertat Deus, maiestati suae sit allaturum, hinc mali non parvam ipsa quoque praestare a medicis dicitur occasionem propter intemperatas inordinatasque equitationes, aliaque id generis exercitia inbecillitati sui corporis dura et minus convenientia. Nunc meliuscule se habet, sed malum hoc recurrere ad temporis momentum solet. Haec tibi de reginae statu volui significare. Nuper in Lucretiae Virginis<sup>2</sup> negotio dederat ad te litteras, nihil responsi habet, quod tamen sollicitè exspectat, ut posset prospicere rebus suis, ut etiam antea scripseram, plus in te spei habet, quam in parente. Animus eius in Hungaria est, quare fac in eius re responsum, rogo. Mea negotia non est, cur multis commendem. Rogo, efficias tua autoritate, ut in illis iam finem habeam et ut rex in ea gratia promotionis meae, quam mihi et verbis et litteris saepe non solum pollicitus est, sed etiam corroboravit tua promotione, me conservet. Vale.

Bruxellae 2. Maii 1533.

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361,21 non solum] *O add. sup. l.*

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361 <sup>1</sup> King Lous II died at the battle of Mohács on 29 August, 1526. | <sup>2</sup> Lucretia Caballis.

Nicolaas Everaerts to Miklós Oláh  
Barcelona, 4 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 199.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 361–362.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 169.

*Since his last letter the Emperor has written to the Queen, and Perrenot has written to Carondelet in Erasmus' case. He recommends himself to the Queen and Erasmus.*

Nicolaus Nicolai Grudius caesareae maiestatis secretarius Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario etc. reginae serenissimae.

Post alteras meas litteras, quas<sup>1</sup> ante paucos dies ad Dominationem Tuam scripsi, negotium Erasmicum ut pollicitus eram, quantum potui diligentissime fidelissimeque  
5 sollicitavi, et quidem (quod vehementer gaudeo) non sine successu. Scribit enim per hunc ipsum veredarium caesar ad reginam, et dominus a Granulea<sup>2</sup> ad Panormitanum<sup>3</sup> plane favorabiliter, ut ipse plenius vel ab ipsa regina vel Panormitano cognoscet. Nam mihi non suppetit in praesentia otium fusius cum Tua Dominatione  
10 agendi. Serenissimae reginae, cui me iam olim devovi, servitia mea humillima, si dabitur occasio, offeres, et vicissim mihi, quidquid voles, imperabis. Cupio me Erasmo a te fieri commendatum. Vale.

Ex Barcinona 4. Maii 1533.

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Gabela, 6 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 482.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 362.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 279–280.

*They left Rijeka on 29 April, it took eight days to get here, and they will move on tomorrow. They wanted to go to Dubrovnik, but then due to the Moorish pirates and the plague they came this way instead. He is asking Oláh to forward his letter to his wife.*

362 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 357. | <sup>2</sup> Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (1486–1550) was a diplomat, chancellor of Emperor Charles V, and one of his most important councillors. There is no record of a direct connection between Erasmus and him, “but in March 1533 Jean (II) de Carondelet wrote [...] to Granvelle in an effort to facilitate Erasmus’ return to the Netherlands”, see AULINGER 1987. | <sup>3</sup> Jean II Carondelet.



Cornelius Sceperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Reverende et Excellens Domine, Amice et Frater Honorandissime! XXIX. Aprilis solvi ex portu Sancti Viti. Octavo autem die venimus ad flumen Narentam,<sup>1</sup> quod labitur in mare non adeo procul ab insula Lesina<sup>2</sup> prope Corcyram,<sup>3</sup> ubi nunc sumus, cras summo mane hinc abituri. Credebamus autem venire Rhagusium,<sup>4</sup> sed ob metum 5 pestis et aliquot biremium Maurarum piratarum defleximus ad laevam. Estque haec pars Bossinae. Recte valeo. Intra dies quindecim spero esse Constantinopoli. Id quod te nolui latere. Nihil habeo, quod scribam, nisi quod te vehementer amo. Litteras unas et breves ad coniugem scripsi. Nam ad alios amicos scribere ob brevitatem 10 temporis non potui. Eas transmittes ad eandem simul et consolaberis miseram cum familia et amicis. Sacrae reginali maiestati humillime cupio commendari. Neque minus domino comiti de Salm,<sup>5</sup> dominabus de Baillieul,<sup>6</sup> Lucretiae<sup>7</sup> et si adsit Honastras,<sup>8</sup> ceterisque, quibus omnibus felicissima quaeque apprecor. Si potes, commode commendabis et illustribus dominis de Simpy<sup>9</sup> et Molenbays.<sup>10</sup> Nam reverendissimo domino Panormitano<sup>11</sup> non nunc modo, sed semper cupio esse commendatissimus. Et 15 bene vale, Domine Amice et Frater Observandissime, et me ama.

Ex Gabala ad Narentam VI. Maii 1533.

### 364

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 7 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 511–512.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 362–363.

*1. Even though he can tell that Weze is not taking Schepper's travel well, he should be consoled by the fact that Schepper is of great use to the ruler and Christianity. He has shown Weze's letter to the Queen, then it was forwarded to Carondelet; in any case, he could not get an answer. 2. The King's affairs can be dealt with after Schepper has returned home; as far as his affairs are concerned, if he wants to help him, Czeglédi and Szalaházy will enlighten him.*

Nicolaus Olaus Ioanni archiepiscopo Lundensi suo.

[1.] Etsi Cornelii Scepperi nostri praesentia videbatur tibi non parum ferre apud exterarum nationes et consolationis et adiumenti, tamen aequè tibi gratum esse arbitror, cum istic principibus nostris et reipublicae Christianae serviat, quam si tecum existens eadem praestaret obsequia tecumque iucundissime viveret. Utinam feliciter 5 istic omnia curet et perficiat, bonoque omine cum optimo responso ac regiae mai-

363 <sup>1</sup> The Neretva River. | <sup>2</sup> Hvar Island. | <sup>3</sup> Korčula Island. | <sup>4</sup> Dubrovnik. | <sup>5</sup> Niklas II, Count of Salm. | <sup>6</sup> Madame Baillieul. | <sup>7</sup> Lucretia Caballis. | <sup>8</sup> Madame de Souvastre. | <sup>9</sup> Antoine de Croÿ. <sup>10</sup> Molenbais was probably Seneschal of Queen Mary, see ORTVAY 1914, 345. | <sup>11</sup> Jean II Carondelet.

stati et reipublicae Hungaricae proficuo propediem revertatur, ut tandem haec diutina  
bella pax secure sequatur. Litteras tuas<sup>1</sup> ea statim hora, qua accipi, reginae praesen-  
tavi praehabita tuorum servitiorum commendatione, quae tuam oblationem grato  
10 suscepit animo, litterasque ipsas perlectas misit ad Panormitanum.<sup>2</sup> Literas etiam  
advocato curiae curavi praesentandas, qui dixit litteras alias Mechliniam<sup>3</sup> missurum  
fideliter. Reginam nescio, an sit opus sollicitare pro responso. Non enim id mihi  
commisisti, nec scio, quae res apud eam agatur. Quod si etiam voluissem eam sollici-  
tare tam brevi tempore, nuntius enim cito post redditas litteras abivit, responsum  
15 habere non potuissem. Si quid me velis facere, iube et significa, facturus sum omnia,  
quae meae erunt possibilitatis.

[2.] In negotio suae maiestatis non puto finem fieri posse, donec Sceperus redeat.  
Ex illa enim legatione res maiestatis suae pendere videntur. Si tamen interea contige-  
rit aliquid, in quo maiestatis suae rebus gratificari poteris, hortare suos consiliarios,  
20 qui sunt Viennae; illi dabunt informationem, in qua re maiestati suae inservire et  
gratificari possis. Quod vero tuum in rebus meis polliceris favorem, habeo tibi gratias  
cumulatas. Eam in me tuam singularem humanitatem obsequiis meis a te emereri  
curabo. Si quid erit rerum mearum, in quo mihi sit subveniendum, sacellanus meus  
Ioannes Cegledinus,<sup>4</sup> qui nunc est in curia domini Agriensis,<sup>5</sup> te edocebit. Commisi  
25 enim ei, ut id faciat. Cupio per te mea servitia maiestati regiae commendari. Si vicis-  
sim hic aliquid est, in quo tibi inservire possim, tam faciam libenter, quam quod  
libentissime. Modo intelligam voluntatem tuam. Vale.

Bruxellae septima Maii 1533.

### 365

Miklós Oláh to Bernhard von Cles  
Brussels, 8 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 414–415.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 363–364.

*He has learned from Schepper's letter how much Cles is helping him, for which he is saying thanks. He is asking to keep his benevolence towards him and help him recover the benefices he received from the King, which were usurped two years ago.*

Nicolai Olai ad Tridentinum cardinalem.

Ex litteris<sup>1</sup> Cornelii Sceperi amici mei intellexi te, Reverendissime Domine, singulari fovere res meas patrocinio, pro quo nihil aliud est nunc mihi, quod tibi offeram, quam meam affectionem et obsequendi promptitudinem; quam utinam in re

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364 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>3</sup> Mechelen. | <sup>4</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>5</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. 365 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 317.

aliqua factis declarare possem, nihil profecto esset mihi optabilius. Ago igitur im- 5  
mensas tibi gratias, qui solita tua in omnes regios et reginales servitores humanitate  
praestare te solitus sis patronum et fautorem liberalissimum. Eo me tuis obsequiis  
obligatiorem facis, quo res mei absentis curae habes, idque multis iam documentis, ut  
ipse Cornelius ad me scripsit, aperte declaraveris. Rogo igitur, te maiorem in modum  
velis in hac tua singulari in me benevolentia permanere, et meas res apud maiestatem 10  
regiam, propter cuius fidem non modo mea, quae habui beneficia, sed etiam patrimo-  
nium et haereditates in periculum posui, et non paucos etiam et labores et expensas  
ab initio electionis ipsius in regem obivi, fac commendatas, et tua effice autoritate,  
ut bona mea, quae pro parte maiore servitores regii Hungari, qui rapinam potius  
quam alia curant, contra regis mandatum iam biennio vi detinent,<sup>2</sup> ad manus mei 15  
hominis remittantur; qua re facies me ex obligato tuis mandatis obligatissimum.  
Valere te feliciter cupio.

Bruxellae VIII. Maii 1533.

366

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Brussels, 18 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 415–417.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 364–367.

1. Since Bálint Török has promised, partly at King Ferdinand I's order, partly at his friends' entreaties, to return Oláh's possessions, now Czeglédi should make sure that it actually happens. He should not commit to Szalaházy under any circumstances because he cannot serve two lords, and if he manages Oláh's affairs though a vicar, it is not worth anything, he should remember the saying: the eye of the master fattens his cattle. 2. Even if they have no problems with Török, they might with others. He might want to hire people so that he can protect the estate at least from minor pillaging. He should be brave and determined. It is not a problem if he has less income from the estate because of the soldiers' pay. Pekry may disturb Czeglédi, as Pekry is Bodó's relative. Peace is not certain, everything depends on Schepper's legation. 3. He agrees to what he wrote about the bishoprics of Győr and Nyitra. But he does not really believe that bishops have more free time than others, does he? He briefly reports whose letters he has received and who is helping his cause in what way, and he is planning his return home.

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365,6 humanitate] *O add. sup. l. 7* sis patronum] *O corr. ex es patrocinium*

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<sup>2</sup> His possessions in Somogy county were usurped by Bálint Török and János Bodó.

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorum.

[1.] Ad litteras tuas priores respondi<sup>1</sup> ante octavum et decimum, ni fallor, diem satis copiose. Respondere antea non potui, quia eo momento erant mihi redditae. Hodie ad noctem allatae fuerunt mihi ternae rursus litterae tuae<sup>2</sup> sub diversis datis, ex  
5 quibus, quid actum sit in meis rebus, cognovi. Tua in his sollicitudo, cura et diligentia, quam te praestitisse scribis, sunt mihi gratissimae, quarum si vixero et si res meae secundiores erunt, non ero immemor. Posteaquam Valentinus<sup>3</sup> et ad commissionem regiam et amicorum preces tuamque instantiam pollicitus est bonorum meorum remissionem, cura tu, ut executionem non negligas et te tam diligentem praestes,  
10 quam te esse semper existimavi. Si obligaris te domino Agriensi,<sup>4</sup> nescio, quam utiliter rebus meis satisfacere possis. Nam scis illud Evangelicum verum esse de duobus dominis serviendis. Cura igitur, ut haec res te ne remoretur aut abstrahat a rebus meis et curandis et administrandis. Qui, qua mihi obstrictus fueris et sis fide ac  
15 obligatione, tute scis, si hinc exire Deo volente potero, voluerisque esse a rebus mundanis quietus, reperiemus modum et viam, ut opinor, honestam, quibus contentus eris et qua cum tuo honore quiete et pace et utilitate futura id fieri licebit. Interea nihil minus te cogitare et honestum est et honorificum, quam duobus dominis servire obstrictum. Nam obligatus alteri, quod non credo, quam mihi, quo pacto audacter res meas curare potes?

20 Praeterea si vis per tertiam personam, hoc est vicarium, bona mea reoccupare et gubernare, nescio, quando erit huius rei bonus finis et quae utilitas mihi hinc sequi possit. Scribis te iam iam missurum famulum, qui bona mea reoccupet. Non valde improbo te praemisisse aliquem, sed si tu non sequeris, quid aliud facies, quam nihil? Et res meas in turbam aliam fortasse maiorem, quam in qua sunt, me absente conii-  
25 cies? Scis urgere negotium, praesentiam Turni etc. Et oculos domini equos pingues reddere, si tu longis in curia precibus deditus per famulum ea negotia vis curare, quae ad officium et servitia tua pertinet, tarde perveniamus eo, quo volumus. Vide igitur, quid famulus reportarit, et tu ipse accinge te bonis ipsis et recuperandis et postea cum commodo meo gubernandis. Dominum Agriensem credo te non remoraturum a servi-  
30 tiis et rebus meis, immo incitaturum potius, si recensueris ei tuum officium in me fidemque id a te petere. Dices fortasse tibi esse grave tempore turbulento a potentioribus bona defendere et possidere. Nihil certe fieri potest sine labore.

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366,2 priores] *O del. ex priores non 6 te] O add. sup. l. 11 verum] O corr. ex verbum 13 qua] O corr. ex quam 18 obstrictum] O corr. ex obstrictus 26 per] O add. sup. l. 31 turbulento] O del. ex turbulento iam*

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366,11 de...12 serviendis] Mt6, 24: "Nemo potest duobus dominis servire." Lc16, 13: "Nemo servus potest duobus dominis servire." 25 urgere...Turni] Verg. *Aen.* 9,73: "urget praesentia Turni". oculos...26 reddere] Cf. proverb after Arist., *Oec.* 1,1345a: "Oculus domini saginat equum".

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366<sup>1</sup> Ep. 359. is dated 1 May. | <sup>2</sup> These letters are not extant. | <sup>3</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>4</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

[2.] Si res ita est, ut scribis, quod Valentinus te in illis deinceps non turbabit, non puto, habebis ab aliis molestiam. Si videris instare necessitatem, adscribe tibi servitores, deliones tales, quorum viribus et opera, non dico Valentino Theurek aut Pekry,<sup>5</sup> 35 sed aliis minoribus volentibus te impedire, resistere possis. Si in initio rebus et necessitate ita ferente coloni nutritione tuorum gravantur, opus est eos id ferre ad tempus propter pacem futuram et quietem. Alii quoque ex bonis tales alunt, si tu hoc non facies, facient alii alieni. Melius est nos nostra ex nostris defendere, quam in ignominiam et contumeliam nostram. Latrunculus quispiam ex pharetra nostra nos persequatur, sed opus est animo. Scis exercitum leonum non tantum valere duce cervo, 40 quam cervorum duce leone. Si timidus eris, et cum timidis uteris servitoribus, nihil facies. Sis, si necessitas tulerit, saltem interea animosus cum tot animosis servitoribus, quot bona sufferre citra desolationem poterint; dum commode exire potero, postea Deo volente omnia in bonum statum redigam. Si propter nutritionem talium 45 servitorum non tam in initio ampli redditus intraverint ad manus nostras, quam olim tempore pacis intrare solebant, satius est intrare minus, dummodo possideamus bona, quam aliis ea et possidentibus et cruciantibus nihil habeamus et praeterea etiam magna contumelia afficiamur. Haec ideo scripsi, ut inter duo mala maius est vitandum. Ludovicus Pekry in Dobza<sup>6</sup> te turbare posset propter affinitatem Ioannis Bodo.<sup>7</sup> 50 Tamen eum inducere, ut nobis bene velit, poteris; ad quem ego quoque scripsi.<sup>8</sup> Scio nondum esse pacem firmam. Tota res pendet pacis consummandae et firmandae in legatione Cornelii. Ille revertetur rebus omnibus perfectis, postea unusquisque sciet rebus suis providere, verum interea quoque dum revertetur, tu nihil, ut praemisi, praetermittas. 55

[3.] De episcopatu Iauriensi et Nitriensi<sup>9</sup> intellexi, quid scribas, si rex promissa servare voluerit, et si ea erit voluntas Dei, velim, nolim, non negligam. Interea in custodia quoque, si eam recuperabimus, non moriemur fame. Scis, quale sit beneficium. An putas episcopos plus habere quietis et otii, quam non episcopos? An plus comedere, quam alios? Episcoporum officia, si quis exacte perpendat, non sunt 60 otiosa, non voluptaria, non somnolenta, non indocta, de quibus lege Paulum, lege Chrysostomum, cuius titulus est *De dignitate episcopali*. Quae nisi velimus ab aeterna secludi vita, observare nos necesse est. Quare Deus scit, qua vocatione nos

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35 deliones] *O del. ex deliones et* 36 volentibus] *O corr. ex volentes* 37 coloni] *O del. ex coloni talium eos] O add. sup. l.* 42 leone] *corr. ex leonum* 43 tot] *add.* 51 eum inducere] *O corr. ex ei indicere* 58 fame] *corr. ex famae*

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41 exercitum...42 leone] Cf. Latin proverb, Plutarchos translated by Ianus Pannonius, see ÁBEL 1880, 55. "Solebat enim dicere magis metuendum esse cervorum exercitu leone duce, quam leonum copias cervo imperante."

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<sup>5</sup> Lajos Pekry. | <sup>6</sup> Nagydobsza in Somogy county. | <sup>7</sup> János Bodó. | <sup>8</sup> Ep. 367. | <sup>9</sup> Bishoprics of Győr and Nitra.

vocet. Consiliarii reginae facient etiam sine litteris meis et commendatione, quod  
65 facere poterunt. Sunt enim omnes mei amici et rebus meis faventes. Dominus Lunden-  
densis<sup>10</sup> scripsit ad me, et obtulit operam suam, cui ego et rescripsi et gratias egi et te  
commendam diebus superioribus, faciet, quod facere debet, modo intima illi, quid  
sit facturus. Praeposito Albensi<sup>11</sup> maximas age gratias de rebus oblatis. Ego quoque  
vicissim ei in omnibus rebus inservire volo. Praeposito Alberto<sup>12</sup> dic me accepisse  
70 hac hora litteras<sup>13</sup> ipsius et aliorum amicorum meorum. Ad eorum voluntatem et  
perita rescribere hoc momento non potui. Rem habeo curae et primo quoque tem-  
pore rescribam. De Ieronimo<sup>14</sup> non tanta mihi cura est, videbo suo tempore, qua vi  
mea retineat. Cura modo, ut alia rehabeamus. Quomodo beneficia Strigoniensia  
ordinaris, nihil scribis, fac, ut sciam quamprimum et vide, ne damnum in eis patiar.  
75 Missa non negligatur, ut proxime ad te scripsi. Ad unum mensem quattuor ducati  
erunt solvendi. Ego meum redditum, ut tempus feret, moderabor. Vale et sis et dili-  
gens et mihi commodus, uti in tua erga me fide non dubito. Tempora meliora, quae  
spero propediem futura, Deo volente omnia praeterita mala resarcient.  
Bruxellae 18. Maii 1533.

### 367

Miklós Oláh to Lajos Pekry  
Brussels, 18 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 418.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 367.

*He has always been glad to be at his service, and it has been mutual. Therefore, he is asking him to arrange that his villages in Nagydobsza, located next to Kálmáncseh, which is in Pekry's possession, are returned to his man; they will look for another estate for János Bodó.*

Nicolai Olai ad Lodovicum Pekry praefectum Croatiae, Sclavoniae, Dalmatiae  
etc.

Quemadmodum tu ipse bene et scis et vidisti, in omnibus meis actionibus nihil  
libentius curavi, quam ut tibi, dum opus esset, inservire possem. Quod reipsa dum  
5 istic apud regem fui, pro meo posse aliquoties praestiti, cuius rei testes sunt tui servi-  
tores, qui diversis vicibus res tuas apud regem egerunt, hoc etiam nunc sum animo, ut  
semper tibi inservire velim, dummodo intelligam animum. Vicissim scio te quoque in  
me esse benevolum et res meas omni, quo possis, libenter prosequi patrocinio, sicuti  
aliquoties id mihi verbis declarasti. Hac fiducia scribo ad te confidenter rogoque, tua  
10 autoritate efficias, ut villae meae Dobzae,<sup>1</sup> quae sunt prope oppidum Kalman-

<sup>10</sup> Johan Weze. | <sup>11</sup> Lőrinc Kretschmer. | <sup>12</sup> Albert Peregi. | <sup>13</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>14</sup> Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő. 367 <sup>1</sup> Nagydobsza, see Ep. 366. Note 6.

cheth,<sup>2</sup> quod nunc tu possides, iuxta regis mandatum ad manus hominis mei remittantur, et pro servitiis meis velis hominem meum in illis usque ad meum reditum defendere, ac per servitores tuos, qui sunt in Kalmanchet defendi facere. Ioanni Bodo<sup>3</sup> consanguineo tuo alia ordinare poterimus. Nam ista bona sunt mea, nonque convenit me illis privari. Affini tuo alia apud regem curabimus suo tempore. Patrocinium 15 tuum, quod in me absentem nunc ostenderis maioribus in rebus, resarciam meis obsequiis. Vale.

Bruxellae 18. Maii 1533.

361 **368** 377

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 19 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 376–377.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 368.

*He has completed his task in front of the King and the thieves. The King has not only said so but also committed it to writing that Oláh should get his possessions back. They will know more when Schepper returns home, all is uncertain until then. Oláh should make sure that the Queen gives 500 florins to Szalaházy's debtors. He would like to receive from the Queen purple and black baize for two sets of attire because valuable fabric is not available here nowadays.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Egi tuam causam apud regem et praedones nostros publicos, propugnatores volebam dicere, non praedones. Mandavit rex ipse suis verbis, dedit etiam litteras, ut tua bona reddantur, quod velint, nolint, facient. Res nostrae nondum adeo secundae sunt, speramus meliora, idque his mensibus duobus. Cornelius Scepperus vir doctus et tui 5 amantissimus ubi ex Constantinopoli redibit, sciemus omnia. Effice, rogo, apud maiestatem reginalem, ut meis creditoribus deputet in hac Posoniensi tricesima florenos quingentos. Nollem eius maiestati molestus esse, nisi paupertas cogeret. Nisi nimium esset, supplicarem maiestati reginali, ut eius liberalitate habere possem violacem ac nigrum pannum ad vestimenta duo. Hic enim pannus, qui quidem alicuius 10 esset pretii, hoc tempore non invenitur. Et alioqui gloriam doni reginalis pluris quam ipsas vestes facerem. Tu videris, an facienda eius rei sit mentio, nollem notari impudentiae. Vale et me diligas.

Viennae XVIII. Maii 1533.

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368,6 apud] *del. ex apud apud*

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<sup>2</sup> Kálmánca. | <sup>3</sup> János Bodó.

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 19 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 512–513.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 368–369.

*He has nothing to write, except to offer his services. He is sending Schepper's wife's letters to her husband, he should forward it with the royal mail.*

Nicolaus Olaus archiepiscopo Lundensi suo salutem.

Nunc nihil aliud ad te scribere possum, quam quod meam omnem operam tibi commendem, quae ad tuam omnem voluntatem parata sunt omni tempore. Restat modo, ut in iis, quibus aliquid gratificari possim, iubeas, quid velis. Coniux<sup>1</sup> Corneli<sup>2</sup> nostri misit mihi ad eum litteras, quas cum praesentibus ad te misi. Rogo, velis eas, si tutum erit, vel Constantinopolim per regios tabellarios mittere, vel si ita videbitur, istic retinere usque ad ipsius reditum. Ego, ut mihi iussisti, quotiescumque datur occasio, non praetermisi neque praetermittam apud reginam tui facere mentionem, et tuam, qua ei affectus es, serviendi promptitudinem declarare. Meas res, si  
10 quae erit particularis aut generalis congregatio Hungarica, velis apud maiestatem regiam et reverendissimum dominum Tridentinum<sup>3</sup> aliosque, apud quos opus erit, habere commendatas, simul etiam sacellanum<sup>4</sup> meum et patrocinio et favore in rebus meis iuvare, quod omni opera a te promerebor. Vale feliciter.

Bruxellae 19. Maii 1533.

370<sup>382</sup>

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 27 May 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 418–419.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 369.

*He surely knows that the King promised him the bishopric of Transylvania, but Gerendi cut in front of him. He stood down in his favor on his own accord, since they have been friends from childhood, but now he would like to enforce his appointment, he should help him in this.*

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369 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>4</sup> János Czeglédi.



Nicolai Olai ad Agriensem, cancellarium Hungariae.

Non dubito te scire, quas maiestas regia promissiones non vulgares, sed in verbo regio quaternis, ni fallor, litteris fecit de mei promotione, cum ageretur de episcopatu Transsylvaniensi. Optimum licet ius habuerim, et meae litterae in data praecedebant uno die litteras domini Gherendi, rexque promiserat se contra ius meum nihil acturum, tamen partim, quod putavi eum in officio suo quaestorio, quod tunc rex ei dederat, plus servire posse in corradenda pecunia episcopatu consecuto, partim etiam quia antiqua mihi cum eo intercesserat familiaritas a puero et fere a primis elementis in Transsylvania inita, non urgendo meam causam, neque ut ius reiudicaretur utriusque nostrum, sicuti rex fuerat pollicitus sollicitando, illi sponte cessi, cuius rei me non poenitet, postquam vidi et amico illi et tibi rem gratam facere. Nunc igitur te rogo, velis tum ex tua singulari in me benevolentia, quam semper declarasti, curare, ut regis promissio et vetus et nova, non vulgariter facta in promotionem mei, si tempus erit, observetur, qui fuerim tum in servitiis, tum in regiis promissis non aliis posterior. Neque regi esset honestum, si dignitas considerabitur, tot promissiones suas, dicere volebam assecurationes praeterire. In hac re plurimum me iuvare poteris tuo patrocinio. Vale.

Bruxellae 28. Maii 1533.

### 371

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
[Freiburg im Breisgau], 1 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 349.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 371–372; ALLEN 1941, 230–231.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 662–663.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 181–182; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 126–127.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 108.

*He is recommending him Pieter van Montfoort, who is not only an excellent person, but Oláh could also be of great use to him. The Emperor has also seen him and praised him, but since he is inexperienced in courtly affairs, he is in a lot of danger, so he should look after him. He is awaiting news from Quirinus.*

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370,13 facta] *O del. ex facta et 16 assecurationes] O corr. ex assecrationes*

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao secretario serenissimae reginae.

Si hic Petrus a Montfort<sup>1</sup> tibi aequae ac mihi notus est, non dubito, quin sit aequae carus. Nam mihi quidem ob eximias virtutes fortunae naturaeque, quas in eo domestica consuetudine perspexi, longe carissimus est. Eas tibi, quo vir es oculatior, hoc  
5 penitius esse perspectas arbitror, ac proinde quo vir es humanior et virtutum amantior, hoc reor abs te pluris fieri. Videtur et caesar hominem introspexisse, qui praeclarum illi munus ultro gratisque detulit, sed meo iudicio dignus erat splendidiore dono. Sed nosti rerum aulicarum non imperitus talibus praedibus multas inhiare harpyas, nec raro fieri, ut virtutem superet improbitas. Habet ille et caesarem et Mariam caesaris  
10 germanam pari studio faventes, ut nihil addubitem, quin negotium eius et vento et aestu secundo feratur. Celerius tamen in portum optatum appellitur, si tempestiva admonitio veluti remigis opera accedat. Quas partes, ut suscipias, magnopere roga-rem, nisi confiderem eas abs te iamdudum sponte susceptas esse. Erasmi tui miserias melius e Montfortii nostri sermone cognosces. Per Quirinum<sup>2</sup> meum exspecto πάντα  
15 περί πάντων.<sup>3</sup> Ἐρρώσο φιλάττη μοὶ κεφαλῇ, ὡς πρὸς τὸν φιλέλληνα τι ἀνθελληνίζω.<sup>4</sup>  
Die Pentecostes 1533.<sup>5</sup>

372

Miklós Oláh to Sebestyén Pemfflinger  
Brussels, 5 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 419.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 372.

*In Hungarian:* HUSZTI 1998, 625–626.

*The Queen is feeling better, but she has to take it easy. He knows he is looking after the Tapolca abbey and the Miskolc parish, but he would also like to ask him to look after the sacraments. If the monastery has been destroyed by the godless, the priests should conduct the services in the Miskolc church. He should choose a loyal man to rebuild the ruins from the income.*

Nicolai Olai ad Sebastianum Pemfflinger.

Proximis meis litteris<sup>1</sup> scripseram abundantius, nunc sum brevior scribendo. Regina ex gratia Dei pristinae reddita est sanitati, quam spero diuturnam fore, si

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371,15 φιλέλληνα] *corr.* ex φιλέλληνα

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371 <sup>1</sup> Pieter van Montfoort of Harlem, documented 1530–1537. Erasmus recommended him both to Queen Mary (Ep. 2812, see ALLEN 1941, 229–231, or IPOLYI 1875, 369–371.) and to Oláh too, see LEIJENHORST 1986b. | <sup>2</sup> Quirinus Hagius. | <sup>3</sup> ‘everything about everything’. | <sup>4</sup> ‘I hope you are in a good health, my best friend, to say something in Greek for a Greek-fan’. | <sup>5</sup> We only presume that Erasmus was in Freiburg im Breisgau. 372 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant.

cautius deinceps ab immodestis equitationibus se continuerit. Abbatiae de Thapolcza  
et plebaniae de Myskoltz<sup>2</sup> defensionem ac provisionem scio tibi curae esse,<sup>3</sup> propte- 5  
rea non opus est me multis in ea te rogare, nam non dubito, quin omnia sis facturus,  
quae possibilia erunt, et quae ad commodum meum pertinere videbuntur; hoc pri-  
mum a te peto, cures, ut servitia divina non negligantur. Si monasterium destructum  
est per sacrilegum illum,<sup>4</sup> monachi, quos ordinaveris interea, dum habitationes illis  
circa monasterium parantur, divina servitia in ecclesia de Myskolcz peragere pos- 10  
sunt, ut proximis meis litteris ad te latius ea de re scripsi. Rogo deinde, ut constituas  
meo nomine fidum aliquem hominem, qui tibi placuerit, ad proventus Abbatiae pro  
ratione danda percipiendos, ex quibus fac etiam circa monasterium, si interea exire  
non potero, ruinas reparari. Viceplebanus de Myskolcz<sup>5</sup> nihil unquam ad me scripsit.  
Cuperem ab eo, ut non modo scriberet aliquando, sed etiam significaret, quomodo res 15  
meae istic starent, de qua re illum, rogo, meo nomine admoneas. Amici tui hic omnes  
bene valent. Vale tu quoque cum coniuge tua carissima et liberis amantissimis.  
Bruxellae quinta Iunii anno 1533.

373

Miklós Oláh to János Czeplédi  
Brussels, 5 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 419–421.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 372–374.

*1. If Török returns his estates, Czeplédi should hasten there and occupy it, defend it with those he has written him about. He is happy that Gerendi has returned safely. Gerendi's bishop title also depends on Schepper's trip as an envoy. 2. Czeplédi should recommend him to Pál Várday, and he should ask for his payment. He should mention it to Szalaházy that the Croatians should pay him back the 150 ducats he had written him about.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorem.

[1.] Posteaquam XXVIII. Maii praeteriti meas ad te litteras<sup>1</sup> dedissem, accepi tuas hodie Viennae XIII. Maii datas.<sup>2</sup> Non multa in eis reperio, ad quae prius non responderim. Si Valentinus Thevrek<sup>3</sup> remisit bona, proficiscere illuc et possideas, defendas-

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372,14 reparari] *corr.* ex reparatori 16 admoneas] *O mut.* ex iube

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<sup>2</sup> Abbey of Tapolca and parish of Miskolc, see Ep. 148. Note 2. and the correspondence between Oláh and Czeplédi. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 359. Because Sebestyén Pemfflinger was Castellan of Diósgyőr and Bailiff of Borsod county, Oláh entrusted these possessions to him. | <sup>4</sup> Ferenc or Imre Bebek, see SZAKÁLY 1998, 445. | <sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely. 373 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant, unless Oláh wrote 28. instead of 18., see Ep. 366. | <sup>2</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>3</sup> Bálint Török.

5 que te medio servitorum talium, de quibus tibi litteris meis prioribus satis copiose scripsi. Id tamen fac sine bonorum desolatione, dico destructione. Nam hoc tempore turbulento defensio sine gravamine illorum aliquo fieri non potest. Dominum Transylvaniensem episcopum<sup>4</sup> ad regem salvum rediisse gaudeo. Commenda me illi, dicque me etiam ad Transsylvaniam usque ad eum plures dedisse litteras, cogito  
10 tamen illas non fuisse redditas, quia nihil rescripsit. Ex Cornelii legatione<sup>5</sup> et reditu pendere videtur episcopatus sui remissio et aliarum rerum finis. Hominem illum, de quo scribis, ad me, nescio, quo sit animo, hoc tamen scio me illi semper voluisse gratificari, et velle etiam deinceps, si voluerit. Et simulare et dissimulare sapientis est semper habitum. Tu fac, quod debes, si volet, auxilietur, si noluerit, vi ab eo extor-  
15 quere non possumus. Tempus nos separabit. Modica bilis aliorum te non absterreat a rebus meis sollicitandis et curandis. Regias litteras Macedo<sup>6</sup> vel Wilaky<sup>7</sup> subscribi facere potuissent, vel Maius secretarius<sup>8</sup>, nisi adhuc post tantas a Deo immissas nobis calamitates alius alteri invidere, et malevolentia invicem uti malint, Deique afflictione eius moresque nostros emendare. De tua apud illum, quem scribis, nunc per-  
20 mansionem vel obligationem nec unquam cogitavi, nec audivi; etsi audivissem, non credidissem. Nam quomodo id facere potuisses salvo tuo honore, non possum cogitare, an potes duobus esse obligatus? An duobus servire? Quid mihi debeas, qua obligatione sis astrictus, bene scis, scilicet fidei et eius, qua est astrictus officialis domino suo, donec finem servitii fecerit. Quare non puto te honoris tui fuisse obli-  
25 tum. Nam si id, quod non credo, fecisses, vide, qua facie inter amicos degere posses, et quid de te omnes non modo cogitare, sed dicere possent. De hoc tibi scribere aliud aut aliam informationem dare non possum, quam tibi litteris meis XVIII. Maii ad te hinc datis<sup>9</sup> satis copiose dedi. Cura ea, quae scripsi, facere et meis rebus interea, dum exivero, et diligenter et fideliter providere. Tempori servire ac dissimulare et fistula  
30 praecinenti more curiali assultare ac, ut ille noster comicus ait, dum aiunt probare, dum negant negare verbis poteris, sed mea, uti teneris, reipsa non negligas, sed ut

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373,6 destructione] *O corr.* ex desolatione | Nam...7 defensio] *O mut.* ex Nam in necessario casu  
7 aliquo] *O add. sup. l.* 8 episcopum] *O add. sup. l.* 16 Macedo] *O corr.* ex Macedonii 17 nisi] *O corr.*  
ex misi 27 quam] *del.* ex quam quam 30 praecinenti] *corr.* ex praeciente | assultare] *corr.* ex adsaltare

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373,22 An...servire] Cf. Ep. 359, Ep. 366, and Mt6, 24: "Nemo potest duobus dominis servire." Lc16, 13:  
"Nemo servus potest duobus dominis servire."

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<sup>4</sup> Probably Miklós Gerendi, Bishop of Transylvania under King Ferdinand I, but it might also be János Statileo, Bishop of Transylvania under King John I, see KASZA 2012, 471. | <sup>5</sup> Cornelis de Schepper went to Constantinople, see his letters on this trip: Ep. 351., Ep. 352., Ep. 356., and Ep. 363. | <sup>6</sup> László Macedóniai. | <sup>7</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. | <sup>8</sup> Johannes Maius of Sélestat (1502–1536), Royal Secretary of King Ferdinand I from 1526, and provost at the Cistercian abbey of Zwettl in Lower Austria, see GUENTHER 1986. Probably, he also was Archdeacon of Torna from 1531, see KEMÉNY, 1915, 100. | <sup>9</sup> Ep. 366.

Graecum illud est πᾶσιν ἴχνεσιν ζῆται τὰ ἐμοῦ<sup>10</sup> damnunq̄ue mihi non facias, pecunias, quas undique et collegisti et collegeris, conserva fideliter, postea scribam de his, quid sis facturus.

[2.] Domino Strigoniensi<sup>11</sup> commenda me et roga, ut proventus mei reddantur. Tu vero cura, ut missa Strigonii<sup>12</sup> non negligatur. Directores praeteritorum proventuum, dum tempus erit et si Deus voluerit, reperiam. Tu quoque interea vel prosis vel non sollicita ad satisfactionem. Vicearchidiacono de nassada scripsi. Quartam Camaronensem<sup>13</sup> arceas pecunia praesenti, ut poteris et commodum erit. Si bona custodiae remissa sunt vel remittentur, credere ea nemini volo ex causis multis. Primum, quod solus ea possidere volo, deinde, quod bona arendata quam crudeliter tractentur iampridem novi, ut id nec arendatori, nec arendanti est salutare; praeterea, quid tu faceres negotii, si illorum curam non haberes? Ioannes Zalay<sup>14</sup> si vult facere amicitiam, poterit tibi etiam sine arendatione defensionem esse. Hic annus vel finem belli et initium pacis dabit, vel tempora erunt deteriora. Domino Agriensi<sup>15</sup> fac mentionem de illis centum et quinquaginta ducatis, curabit fortasse, ut Croati eam summam reddant, de qua re ego quoque proxime scripseram. Scribe de omnibus et cito et frequenter. Dominis Bathyani,<sup>16</sup> Horwath,<sup>17</sup> Zalay, Pemfflinger et aliis, qui ibi sunt, me commenda. Blasium praepositum<sup>18</sup> resaluta; coloni de Tharz<sup>19</sup> quomodo sint, nihil scribis. Quid fiet per Czoron<sup>20</sup> et Hyeronimum,<sup>21</sup> scribe. Vale.

Bruxellae V. Iunii 1533.

356 **374**

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 5 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 481–482.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 374–375.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 280–281.

*He is happy to hear that Schepper has reached Constantinople safely. He has sent his wife's letter to Weze; otherwise he has assured his wife of Schepper's being unharmed. The cup arrived to his wife, not to him.*

39 arceas] *corr.* ex arcenda 44 defensionij] *corr.* ex defensione 49 Tharz] *O corr.* ex Thanz

<sup>10</sup> 'everyhow look for my interests'. | <sup>11</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>12</sup> Esztergom. | <sup>13</sup> Komárom. | <sup>14</sup> János Szalay. <sup>15</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>16</sup> Ferenc Batthány. | <sup>17</sup> Probably Ferenc Horváth or Jeromos Horváth. | <sup>18</sup> Probably Balázs Csézy, Provost of Szenttamás (Esztergom), later Archdeacon of Lutzmannsburg and Canon of Esztergom and Győr, see MOLNÁR 2017, 202. | <sup>19</sup> Nová Lipnica, see Ep. 338. Note 5. | <sup>20</sup> András Choron. | <sup>21</sup> Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő.

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Scepero suo salutem.

Litteras tuas ad litus Adriatici maris XXVI. Aprilis datas accepi. Gaudeo te sanum esse et partim navigasse, partim equitasse Constantinopolim. Pluribus ad te non scribo, nam tutius est nunc te hanc provinciam obeunte paucis tecum agere, quam  
5 multis, faxit Deus, ut incolumis et responso reipublicae Christianae et honesto et proficuo revertare. Quod non parum addet cumuli ad alias res a te hactenus praeclare administratas. Litteras uxoris tuae<sup>1</sup> pluribus iam vicibus ad manus Lundensis<sup>2</sup> Vienne nam misi. Nunc mitto alias recentiores. Sunt domi uxor, filius, familia tota et hic amici bene sani. Uxorem, ut iussisti, saepe per litteras admonui, ut tuam parvi temporis absentiam aequo ferret animo non minimum decoris et ornamenti posterioribus  
10 temporibus et tibi et ei et vestris allaturam, feci etiam de tua incolumitate eam certiorrem, et omnes, quas huc misisti, litteras ad eam per fidum tabellarium misi. Nec defuit per me neque deerit tui apud reginam commendatio. Quotiescumque et tempus fuit et futurum est, senties meam in te commendando operam. Mulieres et virgines,  
15 quas salvere iussisti, te contra resalutant.<sup>3</sup> Si quid erit, de quo tu possis, scribe ad me frequenter. Poculum tuum delatum est recta non ad me, sed uxorem et ei redditum quoque, ut intellexi. Navis reginae nondum applicuit, quae cum adpellet, curabo scrinium tuum mitti sine damno Brugas. Vale et me tuum esse scito, scribeque, si tutum est, quid effeceris.  
20 Bruxellae 5. Iunii 1533.

375

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 5 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 513–514.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 375–376.

*He sent his letter to Schepper's wife with a trustworthy messenger. It was his wife, not him who received the snuff box with the silver cup; however, the chest of clothes has not arrived, nor did the Queen's wines. If he wants to help him, he should turn to Czeglédi. He recommended him to the Queen and told her that he thinks Weze will stay as long as the Hungarian affairs are resolved.*

Idem Archiepiscopo Lundensi suo salutem.

Quas litteras<sup>1</sup> VI. Maii praeteriti ex Vienna ad me dederas, accepi prima Iunii. Ad omnes priores alias tuas prius responderam,<sup>2</sup> quas iam puto tibi esse redditas. Ad has novissimas brevibus accipe. Litteras Cornelii<sup>3</sup> nostri misi per fidum tabellarium  
5 Brugas ad coniugem suam<sup>4</sup> et decanum Brugensem,<sup>5</sup> priores quoque litteras omnes

374 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>2</sup> Johan Weze. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 356. 375 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant.

<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 364. | <sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>4</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>5</sup> Mark Lauwerijns.

ipsius, quas acceperam, misi eo fideliter. Thecam cum poculo argenteo<sup>6</sup> ego non  
accepi, scriptum tamen mihi est eam esse redditam per postham fideliter coniugi suae  
Brugis. Arca<sup>7</sup> cum vestibus nondum venit. Nam et vina reginae nondum appulerunt,  
cum primum advenerit, curabo et diligenter et fideliter eam Brugas adferri. Quod te  
tuamque operam mihi humanissime polliceris, si quid in rebus meis apud regem esset 10  
agendum aut sollicitandum, ago tibi gratias immensas, et si qua in re potero, hanc  
tuam in me humanitatem omnibus et obsequiis et officiis meis promerebor. Si quid  
erit, in quo sit agendum, magister Ioannes Cegledinus<sup>8</sup> te edocebit, quem cum meis  
negotiis una tibi commendo. Huius accepta informatione fac rogo, quod facere tum  
apud regem, tum apud alios, quibus opus esse videbitur, debebis. Imprimis velim 15  
commendari servitia mea regi et Tridentino.<sup>9</sup> Maiestati reginali iterum te tuaque  
obsequia commendavi, quae interrogavit me, an apud regem mansurus esses aliqua-  
mdiu. Dixi me existimare te mansurum, dum negotia Hungarica essent finem habi-  
tura. Nescio, an id ita futurum sit. Magistro Stansarth<sup>10</sup> advocato curiae reddidi tuas  
litteras, ad quas cum meis rescripsit. Et meam quoque operam omnem, studium et 20  
laborem in rebus tuis liberaliter sum ei pollicitus; dixit se admoniturum, quando mea  
aut reginae opera in his ei essent necessaria. Ego vero accepto ipsius animo nihil est,  
quod facere recusem, curaboque, ut etiam reginae non desit favor ac patrocinium, ubi  
opus erit. Vale et me habe commendatum. Mitto ad te cum praesentibus litteras co-  
niugis domini Cornelli, eas vel mitte ad eum, vel si tutius erit, retine apud te usque ad 25  
illius reditum.

Bruxellae V. Iunii 1533.

376 380 381

Giovanni Antonio da Burgio to Miklós Oláh  
London, 7 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 381–382.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 376–377.

*He has not heard from Oláh for a long time, then he met the Scottish envoy of the Emperor, who told him that Oláh is doing well. He was very happy to hear this news and asks that when the envoy visits him, he should embrace him, this man will be of great use to him. He should recommend him to the Queen and write him what is new in Hungary.*

<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 374. | <sup>7</sup> See Ep. 352. | <sup>8</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>9</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>10</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Ioannes Anthonius baro Nicolao Olao salutem.

Sunt multi dies transacti, quod nihil intellexi de Dominationis Tuae prosperitate, quod cum summopere desiderarem, obtulit se mihi dominus de Rosumbos<sup>1</sup> orator caesaris ad regem Scotiae, quem diligentissime de te percontatus sum, is mihi retulit  
5 non solum de tua prospera valetudine, id quod optaveram, verum de tua humanitate, probitate et morum facilitate ea, quae mihi iampridem nota erant. Laetatus sum maximopere de te audire ea, quae et semper opto et cupio, et cum inter fabulandum invenissem hunc dominum tibi deditissimum, et cum eum audio, qui plurimum possit et auctoritate et opere, cum tu sis peregrinus, non ab re esse duxi, si his meis litteris tibi  
10 id significarem ac commonerem, quod hominem amplectaris, qui tibi poterit esse et honori et decori. Is inviset te, ut mihi est pollicitus, quod et suo nomine et meo te salutabit, te igitur rogatum velim, quod vicissim et tuo nomine et meo non solum resalutes, sed ames et amplectaris, et ubi ei poteris esse honori, si te promptum exhibebis, facies rem dignam exspectatione sua et mihi gratissimam. Ceterum est, ut me  
15 commendatum detineas assidue apud serenissimam reginam dominam nostram et, si quid novi habueris ex Hungaria, non pigeat mihi significare. Ego audivi, nescio, quae de conventu quodam, qui celebratur Strigonii per serenissimum regem Romanorum et Hungariae Ferdinandum et de altero, qui habebatur Budae per regem Ioannem. Utinam is sit eventus, quem ego opto et me tibi commendo.  
20 Londini VII. Iunii 1533.

368 377 382

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 12 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 421–422.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 477–478.

*He thanks him that due to Szalaházy's persistence the King has now committed it to writing that Oláh is going to receive his estates back. If Belgrade is taken away from the King, Hungary is always going to be at risk, but such a peace is still better than constant clashes. He is trying to figure out what will happen if Belgrade is returned in exchange for Koroni. He has already arranged for paying the Bratislava creditors. In addition, he is trying to bring Erasmus home, but it is quite difficult.*

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376,11 ut] *O corr.* ex et

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376 <sup>1</sup> Probably Peter/Pierre Equitis Lord of Rosimboz, or Rosunbos, or Rossynbose was Emperor Charles V's Chamberlain in Flanders, see GAIRDNER 1882, passim, and GORTER-VAN ROYEN 2009, 136. Another Rosimbos, François de Rosimbos was Councillor of Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy, see GORTER-VAN ROYEN 1995, 115.



Nicolai Olai ad episcopum Agriensem cancellarium Hungariae.

Litteras tuas Viennae XVIII. Maii datas<sup>1</sup> ad me hodie accepi. Habeo gratias cum-  
mulatas, quod tua promotione et instantia rex bonis illis viris, boni et quietis publicae  
turbatoribus et verbis et litteris commiserit, ut bona mea remittant, his et aliorum  
beneficiorum tuorum in me praestitorum non ullo tempore ero immemor. Statum  
rerum Hungaricarum iam pridem intellexi. Sceperi reditus et legatio utinam eas, quas  
rex et vos speratis, referat pacis conditiones. Verum cogito illum bonorum omnium et  
rei Christianae hostem omnem moturum lapidem, technasque omnes suas emissu-  
rum, ne omnibus optatis potiamur. Quo enim ex Hungaria exclusus ire aut posset aut  
auderet? Suorum scelerum et ipse conscius et aliis ubique bonis exosus.

Denique si Nandoralba<sup>2</sup> alienabitur a rege etiam aliis omnibus locis in ditionem  
regis reversis, quid aliud confecerimus, quam Hungariam semper fore dubiam, trepi-  
dam et in eventum etiam levem, tumultuosam. At melius est qualemcumque spe  
etiam nostra viliorem pacis inire conditionem, quam perpetuo conflictari et in media  
conflictatione Hungariam tacitus perire. Fateor etiam vilem pacis conditionem ali-  
quando commodiorem esse bello iusto, sed nisi nostri iusto tardiores fuissent, dum  
hostis Viennae fores pulsabat, iam pridem pacem haberemus reoccupata tota Hunga-  
ria et, ut spero, maiori etiam Graeciae parte. Deinde hac data occasione divinitus  
elapsa a manibus, si Ioannem<sup>3</sup> instruissent aliquibus conditionibus cum eo privatim  
actis in monasterium vel locum aliquem abstrusorem, quem iam dudum eum optasse  
accepi, atque in Coronis<sup>4</sup> ac aliorum locorum Peloponesiacorum restituere, actum  
fuisset cum Turca de remittenda Alba Graeca,<sup>5</sup> fortasse induci ille ad hoc faciendum  
potuisset. Hoc modo rex libere Hungaria fuisset petitus, et vos libertate fuissetis usi.  
Dico autem Turcam fortasse ad hoc induci potuisse. Nam ut Albam si hostilis sit  
Hungariae, sic Coronem Graeciae nunc Turcis tributariae semper obfuturam arbitror,  
sed quid ego noctuas Athenas, aut sus Minervam.

Omnia haec forte iam acta sunt vel tentata et Cornelio de his commissa data.  
Ignosce igitur meae impudentiae, si liberius calamum extendi. Antequam litterae tuae  
ad me venissent, iam ante quartum et decimum diem rem tuam de creditoribus Poso-  
nii solvendis expediveram miseramque litteras reginae per postham, quas arbitror in  
hunc diem esse redditas.

Erasmi Roterodami sum studiosissimus, et ipse, ut creberrimis litteris asserit, mei  
amantissimus. Ago, ut eum huc ad reginam pertraham. Quod etiam iam fere perfeci,  
licet antea fuerit difficilior. Fidit mihi, faciam, ne illius fiducia fallatur, percuperem

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377,9 potiamur] *corr.* ex patiamur 34 Fidit mihi] *O mut. ex* Confidet in me et

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377,26 noctuas Athenas] Proverb, cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,II,11. "Uluas Athenas", see MYNORS 1982, 152.  
sus Minervam] Proverb, cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I,1,40. "sus Minervam", see MYNORS 1982, 88–90.

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377<sup>1</sup> In fact, Szaláházy's letter is dated 19 May. | <sup>2</sup> Belgrade. | <sup>3</sup> King John I. | <sup>4</sup> Koroni. | <sup>5</sup> Belgrade.

35 tales esse plures apud reginam. Curabo igitur eum reducere, nisi quis malus genius  
vel eius valetudo rem turbarit. Vale.  
Bruxellae 12. Iunii 1533.

378 389

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Constantinople, 20 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 482.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 380.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 281.

*He arrived to Constantinople on 20 May. Everything was confused here. They agreed on the peace treaty, which was announced on 23 June. The Queen was represented by him, and the Emperor ordered King John I to return his estates to him. Now everything is calm.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem. Reverende Domine!

XX. die Maii veni Constantinopolim. Res omnes erant in ancipiti. Coepimus de  
novo tractare. Concluserimus, Deo gratia, pacem firmam et perpetuam inter potentissi-  
mum caesarem Turcarum et serenissimum regem nostrum. Die XXIII. Iunii ea publi-  
5 cata hic est. Pro serenissima reginali maiestate, cuius ego procurator hic fui, obtinui  
restitutionem bonorum, quae habuit in Hungaria. Iubetque magnus caesar vaivodae,  
ea ut restituat. Tui non fui oblitus. Bene firmiter et optime spera et confide. Nam  
omnia sunt tranquilla. Sis memor mei apud serenissimam maiestatem reginalem. Sit  
10 tibi curae uxor mea<sup>1</sup> et familia, ad quam has breves mitte, nam non licet pluribus  
scribere. Commenda me omnibus et bene vale.

Ex Constantiopoli 20. Iunii 1533.<sup>2</sup>

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378,4 XXIII] *corr. ex* XXXIII

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378 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>2</sup> Obviously the dates are contradictory. He could not have written on 20 June about the proclamation of peace that took place on 23 June. Oláh possibly wrote *publicata* instead of *publicanda* in the letter, but we are not certain. As Oláh in Ep. 389. quotes this letter as dated on 20 June, we let that remain date of the manuscript.

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 21 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 352–353.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 380–381; ALLEN 1941, 255–256.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 663–664.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 182–183; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 127–128.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 108–110.

*He promised to let him know what the Emperor's response was. In the meantime Quirinus has arrived with the letters, from which he can understand that everything has turned out according to their expectations, and they are expecting him home. Both the Queen and Philippe II de Croÿ are expecting him with love, there is nothing to hold him back. He will have a better life in his homeland among his loved ones than where he is now. Lieven Algoet will tell him what he cannot entrust to letter.*

Nicolaus Olaus thesaurarius Albensis, secretarius et consiliarius reginae Mariae Erasmo Roterodamo salutem.

Quid nuper, mi Erasme, in rebus tuis egerim, solita mea, qua in amicorum negotio uti consuevi, diligentia proximis meis litteris<sup>1</sup> copiose perscripseram. Pollicitus autem fueram me tibi significaturum, quid a caesare responsi habituri essemus, quod non abs re feceram, nam nolui in tuis praecipitanter quippiam aut aggredi aut agere. Interea advenit tuus Quirinus<sup>2</sup> cum litteris, ex quibus tuum animum facile intellexi; omnia ita, ut voluimus, evenerunt, nec aliquid est, quod te ad revertendum, ut te ab initio exhortati sumus, et ob amorem, quo afficior in te sollicitavimus, non invitet. Principes licet habueris etiam antea faventes, fecimus tamen et nos, quantum in nobis fuit, ob eximias tuas virtutes animique dotes tibi faventiores. Quid caesar de te scripserit, intelliges ex exemplo<sup>3</sup> litterarum suarum praesentibus meis incluso. Quid postea regina mea me sollicitatore caesaris nomine decreverit, accipies ex litteris domini Panormitani.<sup>5</sup> Animum autem et benevolentiam in te reginalem ex litteris ipsius propriis cognosces, dominus dux quoque ab Askoth<sup>6</sup> mirifice te amat, quos omnes in tui amorem ac desiderium excitavi.

Quare nihil est, mi Erasme, quod te istic remoretur, si commodo, quieti, saluti et aetatis tuae iam gravidae tranquillitati, et id quidem in patria, in caelo tibi et propitio et favente, inter propinquos amicos ac veteres tuos familiares vis optime esse consultum, fac citissime redeas, malisque in solo tuo nativo, et ibi extremae huius aetatis tempus transigere, ubi et principes et omnes boni te esse velint, quam ubi et paucos habeas principes tibi propitios et multos ingratos cives. Scis me ab eo tem-

379 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 346. | <sup>2</sup> Quirinus Hagius. | <sup>3</sup> Not extant. Charles V wrote to Queen Mary, see IPOLYI 1875, 361. | <sup>4</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>5</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>6</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ.

pore, quo amicitiae et familiaritatis nostrae prima iecimus per litteras fundamenta, nunquam tecum temere egisse. Nunc multo minus de reditu tuo tecum agerem, si  
25 arbitrarer aetati iam ingravescenti et quieti tuae eum non usui futurum. Velis igitur, quamprimum poteris reverti. Quia autem non omnia putavi esse litteris committenda, curavi per reginam, ut Levinus<sup>7</sup> ad te mitteretur. Qui omnia, quae fecerim et quae de rebus tuis particularibus a me et audivit et accepit, tibi est relaturus. Fidelior eo magisque, ni fallor, tam mihi quam tibi addictus ad te mitti non potuit. Cuius verbis  
30 fidem adhibeas. Quirinus tuus profectus a me in Angliam, nondum est reversus, exspecto tamen eum in horas. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.  
Bruxellae 21. Iunii 1533.

376 380

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Ghent, 23 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 382–383.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 381–383.

1. *The envoy's servant whom Burgio sent ahead has handed over his letter, which he was very happy to receive, then the envoy also arrived, whom he received, as Burgio requested. He encouraged him to report on the Esztergom and Buda assemblies, but he does not know more, either; only that nothing was accomplished, and now that peace will be made, discord is already emerging, and plundering has started. His possessions were also usurped, they were only returned the other day, after Bebek had devastated the monastery there and killed many.* 2. *On 25 April the Turks left Constantinople and are now headed to Germany through Belgrade, but if there is no lack of Christian troops, they will be able to defend their territories.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem baronem Burgii nuntium Apostolicum in Anglia.

[1.] Servus domini de Rasumboh<sup>1</sup> oratoris caesaris, qui domini reditum anteverterat, reddit mihi tuas litteras, quibus nihil gratius optatusve contingere potuit. Nam quo in me sis amore et benevolentia, ex his facile perspexi. Adveniente autem altero  
5 post die et eodem ipso domino de Rasumbos diligenter tuam optimam valetudinem ab eo sum percontatus. Cuius verba sanitatem tuam testantia mirum in modum me recrearunt, de te enim iamdiu aliquid certi audire cupiebam. Simul ut mihi iussisti, tuo illi nomine salutem dixi, me autem illi commendavi, qui pro ea, qua praeditus est, humanitate tuam salutem, mei item commendationem hilari fronte audivit, et vicis-  
10 sim se tibi commendare non destitit, suamque omnem, quam praestare posset, ope-

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380,5 et] *O corr.* ex de | tuam... valetudinem] *O corr.* ex tua optima valetudine 7 te] *O corr.* ex ea

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<sup>7</sup> Lieven Algoet. 380 <sup>1</sup> Peter or Pierre Equitis Lord of Rosimboz.

ram mihi pluribus verbis est pollicitus. Quia, si quis usus erit et occasio, sicuti mones, uti non praetermittam, curaboque, ut dum aliqua res se praestiterit, in qua illius inservire possim voluntati, meam ille vicissim operam habeat paratissimam. Serenissimae reginae meae te non modo verbis, ut iussisti, commendavi, sed eam etiam epistolae tuae partem, in qua ea de re agebas, illi perlegi. Quae ut princeps clementissima, et ut merita tua ab ea exigebant, libenter oblationem commendationis tuae 15  
audivit incolumitatem, statum et conditionem tuam praesentem a me interrogans. Hortaris me, ut si quid novi habeam de rebus Hungaricis, maxime vero de conventu Strigoniensi et Budensi certiore te facerem. Nihil aliud de his habeo, quam quod nullus in his factus sit progressus et quod pauci comparuerint, rem in fumum transisse, completis induciarum praeteritarum diebus iam novi rursus tumultus inter 20  
factiones fieri coepere. Nunc huc nunc illuc fiunt partium defectiones, et interim non a spoliis, rapinis, caedibus abstinetur. Omnes aequa conditione et boni et mali patiuntur, dum quisque, ut in regno fit principe vacuo, latrociniis ditari concupiscit. Mihi quoque mea pars satis acerbe est his praeteritis diebus reddita.<sup>2</sup> Nam amissis aliis 25  
meis bonis in abbatia Thapolcza,<sup>3</sup> quae sola sub meo adhuc erat nomine, aliquot mei per Bebek<sup>4</sup> nunc sunt trucidati, monasterium vi expugnatum occupatumque. Sic etiam cum aliis agitur, ubi spes est improbis hominibus praedae rapiundae. Quod malum nunc Turcae adventus vel omnino tollet, vel, Deus id avertat, augebit.

[2.] Nam Turca XXV. Aprilis praeteriti movit se, ut audio, ex Constantinopoli, 30  
constitutus si propositum non mutavit suum, Belgradii ad diem Nativitatis Sancti Ioannis,<sup>5</sup> venturus hinc recta, si ei non obviabitur, ad Austriam et Germaniam. Bona tamen spes est caesarem nostrum provisurum, ut illius rabies non serpat longe lateque. Non deerunt Germani, non Bohemi, non Moravi, non Slesitae, non alii boni 35  
Christiani rebus Christianis faventes tam salutari caesaris proposito, si alii quoque principes non deessent, sed pro gloria Christi, pro pace universali, communi incendio restinguendo, nunc cum tempus habent et occasionem accurrerent. Sic communibus viribus facilius respublica Christiana non modo conservari, sed in pacem et tranquillitatem perpetuam reduci posset. Nam si obliquis oculis nonnulli caesaris expeditionem pro fide tuenda susceptam intuebuntur, et si hostium vires, quod Dei clementiam 40  
spero a nobis procul aversuram, latius progressae fuerint. Nescio, quid ad extremum et illis, qui alienum malum nunc quasi per transennam prospiciunt, eveniet. In hunc diem aliquot millia praesidorum praecesserunt Posonium et Viennam, Bohemi et alii, nihil est, quod non ad votum regis libenter faciant. Haec in rebus Hungaricis et

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22 huc] *O corr. ex quo* 23 abstinetur] *O corr. ex abstinentur* 26 mei...27 per] *O corr. ex meas per illas*  
27 trucidati] *O del. ex trucidati et* 35 si] *O add. sup. l.* 37 communibus] *O del. ex communibus auxiliis*  
42 eveniet...hunc] *O mut. ex in hunc*

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<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 368. | <sup>3</sup> Tapolca. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 372. Note 4. | <sup>5</sup> The Feast Day of St. John the Baptist is on 24 June.

45 Turcicis habui. Quae licet fortasse te non latebant, tamen et ipse, ne nihil scripsisse viderer, volui significare. Si quae certiora de utrisque habes, rogo, fac me quoque certiozem. Nam arbitror illos veteres tuos amicos Hungaros, si quando dabitur occasio, aliquid tibi solitos esse de rebus similibus significare. Vale.

Gandavi 23. Iunii 1533.

376 381

Miklós Oláh to Giovanni Antonio da Burgio  
Ghent, [23 June 1533]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 384.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 383–384.

*After he had sealed his letter, the news came that the Turks are approaching Hungary, so the Emperor and the King discussed defense. If only the Christian peoples neighboring the English and the French did not ignore this opportunity to join forces against the Turks.*

Ad eundem.

Scriptis iam et obsignatis litteris<sup>1</sup> venit postha nuntians Turcam indies appropinquare Hungariae, et hinc quoque non segniter a maiestatibus caesarea ac rege Christianae salutis defensoribus rem tractari, praemissis iam aliquot millibus hominum et capitaneis rerum bellicarum peritis subsecuturum indies reliquum etiam exercitum talem, qualem a multis seculis Germania, Bohemia et alia illa regna una non habuere, et qui, si res ad iustum conflictum devenerit, satis potens sit, post Deum hostes debellare. Deus, nihil dubito, miserebitur populi sui. Utinam etiam hi Christianissimi principes vicini Angliae et Galliae hanc divinitus datam occasionem non negligenter, habituri essent a Deo optimo maximo, cuius negotium agitur, mercedem, a toto vero orbe Christiano laudem, gloriam et honorem sempiternum, credo tamen et ipsos vel una vel alia via (nisi eos invidia in caesarem, et ambitio commune vitium principum, obcaecaverit) omnino curaturos pro eorum generoso in rem Christianam animo, ne ultimi sint in hanc sanctam expeditionem futuri, et ut participes sint gloriae hostis ex  
15 Dei benignitate profligandi. Vale.

Gandavi.<sup>2</sup>

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381,9 hanc] *corr.* ex hac 10 a<sup>2</sup>...vero] *O mut.* ex vero a toto 12 nisi...13 obcaecaverit] *O mut.* ex curaturos, nisi eos invidia in caesarem et ambitio commune vitium principum, obcaecaberit, iam

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381 <sup>1</sup>Ep. 380. | <sup>2</sup>The previous letter, Ep. 380. was written that very day in Ghent, which explains the dating.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 30 June 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 377–378.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 384.

*He has received the Queen's letter about the 500 florins, he thanks her for it. Bálint Török has promised to return Oláh's benefices, he will learn in what way from Czeglédi's letter. Jeromos Horváth would also return the estates, but it is feared that the Tihany castellans would occupy it, as it happened the other day with the Veszprém chapter returned by László Móré. As far as Oláh's appointment to Bishop of Transylvania goes, he will do what he can. They are awaiting the envoys sent to the Sultan.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Accepimus litteras reginalis maiestatis super deputatione quingentorum florenorum.<sup>1</sup> Agimus Dominationi Vestrae gratias, quod negotium non est gravata sollicitare. Quamvis eius maiestati per litteras egimus gratias, optamus tamen, ut Dominatio quoque Vestra agat, studebimus hanc eius maiestatis erga nos munificentiam, quibus-  
cumque poterimus obsequiis emereri. Quod ad res privatas Dominationis Vestrae  
pertinet, effecimus nuper, ut dominus Valentinus Therek<sup>2</sup> pollicitus fuerit sese bona  
Dominationi Vestrae restitutum. Ad alios quoque mandatum regiae maiestatis  
expedivimus, quid secutum sit, ex litteris magistri Ioannis Czeglédini<sup>3</sup> Dominatio  
Vestra cognoscet. Apud Hieronimum Horwath de Wason<sup>4</sup> perfici poterat, ut bona,  
quae possidet, remississet, verum si id fecisset, castellani de Thiconio<sup>5</sup> ea occupas-  
sent, quemadmodum fecerunt nuper de bonis capituli ecclesiae nostrae Vesprimien-  
sis, quae dominus Ladislaus More<sup>6</sup> remiserat. Si is erit rerum status, ut recipi bona  
absque incommodo Dominationis Vestrae poterunt, cogetur Hieronimus remittere ea,  
sin minus, de proventibus satisfacere debebit. Ad promotionem<sup>7</sup> Dominationis Ve-  
strae, quod praestare poterimus, ex animo praestabimus, quamprimum occasio data  
fuerit, interim etiam non omittemus Dominationem Vestram regiae maiestati com-  
mendare, quemadmodum optime meretur. Nova in praesentia nulla sunt. Tenemur  
exspectatione oratorum, qui ad caesarem Turcarum profecti sunt, postquam redierint,  
intelligemus, quo statu res nostrae futurae sint. Adversarii male observant inducias,  
quemadmodum semper fecerunt. Dominam Lucretiam<sup>8</sup> verbis nostris salutetis. Ob  
praesentium rerum iniuriam et tempestates fieri non potuit, ut eius rei, quam optat,  
finem consequi potuissemus, speramus meliora tempora. Quicquid pro eius com-

382 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 361. | <sup>2</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>3</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>4</sup> Jeromos Horváth. | <sup>5</sup> Mihály Szerémi was the Castellán of Tihany in 1534, see MADARÁSZ 1997, 317. | <sup>6</sup> László Móré. | <sup>7</sup> Scilicet, to Bishop of Transylvania, see Ep. 370. | <sup>8</sup> Lucretia Caballis.

modo facere poterimus, diligentissime curabimus, uti etiam ad ipsam perscripsimus.  
25 Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere optamus.  
Posonii ultima Iunii 1533.

383 389

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Constantinople, 8 July 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 483.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 385.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 282–283.

*Peace was made on 23 June. They had breakfast with three Pashas in the Sultan's palace, then they negotiated with the Sultan for almost three hours. The Sultan will return all the estates to the Queen that were part of her dowry, with regard to this he sent Gritti to Hungary to instruct King John I. When he arrived to Constantinople, everything was confusing, they did not have faith in peace. Dubrovnik is devastated by the plague, while in Hungary thieves are marauding, so they are headed towards Bosnia.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Reverende et Excellens Domine et Amice Honorande! Post ultimas meas de data  
secunda huius per Hungariam missas<sup>1</sup> nihil novi occurrit scriptu dignum. Scripsi  
autem tunc et ad serenissimam maiestatem reginalem et ad Dominationem Vestram  
5 nos conclusisse bonam firmam et perpetuam pacem<sup>2</sup> cum potentissimo caesare Tur-  
carum ex parte regiae maiestatis Romanorum, Hungariae etc. Idque a nobis factum  
est XXIII. Iunii praeteriti, quo die pransi sumus in palatio magni caesaris cum tribus  
bassis, Imbrahimo,<sup>3</sup> penes quem summa est rerum, Aiam<sup>4</sup> et Cassum,<sup>5</sup> posteaque  
cum ipso potentissimo caesare tractavimus eodem die horis tribus fere. Scripsi prae-  
10 terea eundem potentissimum caesarem dono dedisse serenissimae reginali maiestati  
dotem suam et bona omnia, quae habuit in regno Hungariae, et ob id missurum domi-  
num Aloisium Griti<sup>6</sup> in Hungariam, qui iubeat Ioanni vaivodae ea, uti bona restituat.  
Reliqua neque tunc, neque nunc scribo. Id scito bonam, honestam et dignam pacem  
nos confecisse. Cum pervenissem Constantinopolim, omnia erant confusa. Nihil  
15 enim, nisi verba quaedam erant data, plurimique suadebant, ne quomodo pax fieret,  
sed modus agendi noster praevaluit ita volente Deo. Ego tibi uxorem carissimam cum  
filio meo et familia commendo. Tu illam absentem consolare. Serenissimae reginali  
maiestati me humillime commenda, illustribus autem dominis et reverendissimo

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383 <sup>1</sup>This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup>See Ep. 378. | <sup>3</sup>Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. | <sup>4</sup>Ayas Mehmed Pasha (1483–1539). | <sup>5</sup>Güzelce Kasım Pasha (†1532) participated in the battle of Mohács and the siege of Vienna in 1529. He also participated in the siege of Kőszeg in 1532 and broke into Lower Austria, causing substantial damage, see BESSENYEI 1994, XVI, and BABINGER 1993, 799. | <sup>6</sup>Ludovico Gritti.



domino Panormitano<sup>7</sup> servitia mea offer. Ne mirere me in scribendo brevem esse, quia nescio, an haec sint istuc perventurae. Pestis grassatur Rhagusii.<sup>8</sup> In Hungaria 20 latrones more suo saeviunt et per alterutram provinciam litterae haec mitti debent. Nos iter per Boszinam sumus facturi usque in Liburniam. Tu autem, mi Nicolae, quam rectissime vale. Scribe ad meos, ad quos ob quaedam scribere non possum.

Ex Constantinopoli die VIII. Iulii 1533.

384

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 9 July 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 385.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 386.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 216–217.

*He was just looking for a messenger when his Joannes appeared. Ressen gave him a Hippocrates and three volumes of both Homer's works. He had the opportunity to hold a lecture about the Odyssey a few days ago, then they will skip to interpreting the Iliad, they will finish in about a year. He has heard from Bologna that Cardinal Ridolfi is having beautiful Greek letters made, with which he will publish ancient authors, primarily Eustathius' commentaries to Homer, which will be of great help to him in his teaching.*

Ruthgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Quaerenti mihi baiulum, per quem mitterem tibi opus domini Ioannis Drutonis,<sup>1</sup> commodè heri occurrit tuus Ioannes,<sup>2</sup> cui commisi hoc ipsum Dominationi Tuae offerendum. Adiecimus Hippocratis *Aphorismos*<sup>3</sup> ac utriusque operis Homericum libros tres.<sup>4</sup> Ea forma Deo volente absolvemus utrumque opus. In gratiam scholasticorum 5 tenuium distinguimus id in aliquot partes, ut commodius sumptum in recuperando ferre queant. Auspicati sumus proximis diebus *Odysseam*<sup>5</sup> praelegere publice in collegio. Extraordinarie brevi incipiemus interpretari *Iliadem*. Si Deus nobis parserit, spero, quod intra annum utrumque opus praelegendo ad finem perducemus. Accepi proximis diebus litteras ex Bononia,<sup>6</sup> quibus scribitur mihi reverendissimum domi- 10

<sup>7</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>8</sup> Dubrovnik. Schepper mentioned on the way to Istanbul that there is a plague epidemic in Dubrovnik, see Ep. 363. 384 <sup>1</sup> Probably Jan Driedo of Turnhout. His *De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus* was printed by Ressen on 10 June, 1533. See Ep. 215. Note 10, and onto the printed book, see GULIK 2018, 324. | <sup>2</sup> Probably Johann Henckel the Younger. | <sup>3</sup> *Aphorismos Hippocratis ex diversorum Graecorum codicum recognitione, variis lectionibus ad marginem adnotatis* was edited by Ressen also in 1533, see HALLER 1776, 539. | <sup>4</sup> Ressen mentions three books, so he meant Dirk Martens' editions of Homer. Martens published the *Iliad* in two volumes (1521–1523), combining the *Odyssey* with other small works associated with Homer (*Batrachomyomachia & hymns*, 1523), see ROOY 2017, 20. | <sup>5</sup> Ressen's edition of *Odyssey* was printed in 1535, see ROOY 2017, 22. | <sup>6</sup> Bologna.

num cardinalem a Rudulphis<sup>7</sup> parasse elegantissimas characteres Graecos, quibus est impressurus optimos quosque authores Graecos, et in primis Eustatii<sup>8</sup> commentarios in Homerum,<sup>9</sup> quos hactenus nemo excudit propter operis et sumptus magnitudinem. Faxit Deus, ut feliciter hoc institutum cedat. Habet in familia lascarem,<sup>10</sup> quo authore  
15 et hortatore sanctissimum hoc negotium suscepit. Si Eustathii commentaria habuerimus, plus et discipulis et nobis utilitatis in praelegendo Homero adferemus. Nunc non ut volumus, sed ut possumus authorem hunc enarrabimus. Bene vale, Domine Olae, et boni consule nostra chartarum munuscula.

Lovanii IX. Iulii 1533.

385

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 23 July 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 422.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 386–387.

*He knows well how difficult it is for him to think about the situation of his homeland. But as an intelligent person he should listen to others' advice and endure bad things with patience.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum.

Non sum nescius, quibus cum molestiis nunc lucteris, quia patriae tuae statum periculosum consideras. Credo tamen te esse hominem sapientem, ut omnes animi affectus, omnesque eventus, si qui contingerint, facile moderari possis. Quare cogita  
5 te hominem esse, et eum, qui aliis dare consilium in rebus adversis consueveris. Si tibi consulere nequiveris et sapientia tua casus ipsos adversos moderate non tuleris, erit id tuae indignum sapientiae. Cura igitur, omnia quaecumque acciderint, ferre moderate. Nihil erit hac re te dignius.

Bruxellae 23. Iulii 1533.

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<sup>7</sup> Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–1550) was an Italian cardinal. At this time, he was the administrator of Viterbo and the metropolitan see of Salerno, see BYATT 1984. | <sup>8</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonica (ca.1115–1195) was a Greek scholar and Archbishop of Thessalonica. | <sup>9</sup> Ressen must have been talking about a manuscript, as Eustathius' commentaries were not printed before 1542 (in Rome), but they had been in use by humanist teachers well before that year, see PONTANI 2017, 201. | <sup>10</sup> Arabic word meaning 'soldier, guard'.

## 386

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 23 July 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 422–423.

*Does his friend wish to know where Oláh is and what he is doing? He is in Brabant, serving the Queen, whom he has been following since the death of King Louis II. He has mostly been focusing on literature, to the extent that his spiritual troubles and his spiritual confusion allow. Focusing on literature would give him much pleasure if he was not constantly reminded about the dangers to his homeland.*

Nicolai Olai ad eundem.

Quod quaeris, ubi sim et scire cupis, quid agam, morem geram tuae voluntati. Sum in Brabantia servitiis reginae meae adhuc addictus, cuius et prosperam et adversam fortunam ab obitu Ludovici regis<sup>1</sup> pro mea in eam fide debitam in hunc diem sum secutus. Nihil autem hic nunc magis ago, quam otium litterarium, in quibus, 5 quantum animi mei sollicitudines, curae et turbationes patiuntur, versor continue; quae mihi non parvam praeberent voluptatem, nisi assidue de patriae meae periculis fierem certior. Accepisti, ubi sim et quid agam. Si quid tu me vis facere, non parcas meae operae et labori. Vale.

Bruxellae 23. Iulii 1533.

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## 387

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 25 July 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 354.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 144; ALLEN 1941, 276–277.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 159; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 101.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 110.

*Quirinus has returned from England, having completed what Erasmus had assigned him to do. Now he is not entrusting a longer letter to him because he has already written and sent everything with Lieven Algoet. He is really looking forward to Erasmus' return home. He is helping Pieter Montfoort as much as he can to get a position. The Queen is leaving the day after tomorrow to travel around Flanders for 2-3 months.*

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386,2 quaeris] *O del. ex quaeris me*

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386<sup>1</sup> King Louis II died at the battle of Mohács on 29 August, 1526.

Nicolaus Olaus thesaurarius Albensis etc. Erasmo Roterodamo.

Quirinus<sup>1</sup> tuus hoc triduo ex Anglia ad me rediit confectis istic, ut mihi dixit, rebus tuis omnibus. Longiorem epistolam ad te per eum non dedi. Nam de omnibus antea te per Levinum<sup>2</sup> tum litteris, tum nuntiis feci certiore.<sup>3</sup> Sum in exspectatione,  
5 ut redeas. Quod felix faustumque sit.

Petri a Montfort<sup>4</sup> negotium, quantum in me est, nunc ago, in commendatura<sup>5</sup> consultius et quietius videtur, ut cum altero, qui in absentia sua curavit in successorem viventis commendatoris se eligi, concordaret. De praepositura Harlemmensi<sup>6</sup> nunc res agitur, de qua et aliis sacerdotiis nescio quas, ut vocant, rotulas caesar constituit, ut vacaturae quibusdam designatis personis conferrentur. Quod nisi obstiterit,  
10 spes est, ut hic ὁ πολύσαρκος ἀμφοτέρω ἡμῶν ὁ φίλτατος<sup>7</sup> voto suo potiat. Regina perendie ad Flandriam perlustrandam proficiscitur, ubi credo eam haesuram duobus aut tribus mensibus. Quo si reverti te contigeret, praemitte Levinum. Vale.

Bruxellae 25. Iulii 1533.<sup>8</sup>

### 388

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Bruges, 5 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 423.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 387.

*He cannot tell his friend briefly what difficulties he has had to endure for the last four years. In the meantime he was not only unable to help his friends, but he could not help himself, either. Since he has been abroad all this time, he missed the company of his friends, and he also learned about the destruction of his homeland. In the end he has acquired a few true friends here as well, with whom they mutually understand each other.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum.

Quantis laboribus hoc quadriennium praeteritum exegerim non cum minima facultatum mearum iactura, non possum tibi, τῶν φίλων φίλτατε,<sup>1</sup> paucis explicare;

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387,11 ὁ πολύσαρκος] *corr:* ex ὁ πολυσαρκος 14 1533] *corr:* ex 1531, see Notes.

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387 <sup>1</sup> Quirinus Hagius of The Hague. | <sup>2</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 379. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 371. | <sup>5</sup> The office of commander of St. John in Utrecht | <sup>6</sup> The Provostry of Haarlem. | <sup>7</sup> 'the fat man whom we both love'. Beside Oláh and Erasmus, Jespersen also called Montfoort a fat man, see ALLEN 1941, 277. | <sup>8</sup> According Allen's edition: "The date given in the MS is shown to be wrong by the contents. Quirinus Hagius was not in England in 1531, but did go there in 1533, in which year Livinus Algoet and Peter Montfoort both went on missions to Erasmus ad Freiburg. The position of the letter in the MS also indicates 1533 as the correct date", see ALLEN 1941, 276–277. 388 <sup>1</sup> 'my dearest friend'.

quibus temporibus licet magnos labores et plures his incommoditates vitae meae  
periculo mixtas pertulerim, tamen praeter has tanta animi exagitabar perturbatione, ut 5  
vix mihi ipsi constarem, non modoque amicis nihil prodesse possem, sed neque mihi  
ipsi. Rationes quaeris, cur id ita? Primum scito me per hos omnes annos inter exterarum  
nationes esse versatum, et eo cum taedio propter amicorum meorum absentiam, ut  
viderer apud inferos vitam agere, deinde cum alia super alia patriae meae pericula 10  
nobis nuntiari audirem, adeo quotidie commovebar animo illius nobilissimi regni  
motus calamitate, ut omnia mihi quaecumque agerem dura, et omni veneno acerbiora  
esse viderentur. Postremo non parum etiam commovebar, me in aliena terra paucos  
habere veros amicos, quorum conversatione et mutuis colloquiis me vitamque meam  
reficerem. Quare cum res meae ita se hactenus habuerint, volui tibi eas notas reddere,  
ut tibi, cum quo mea omnia familiarissime semper communicavi, hae quoque notae 15  
essent. Tu si quid consilii et solatii animo meo perturbato afferre poteris, tuam ope-  
ram mihi non denegato. Vale.

Brugis V. Augusti 1533.

378 383 389

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Bruges, 6 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 483–484.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 387–388.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 283–284.

*He was very happy to receive Schepper's letters, although it was not clear from them if Hungary is going to be divided up. It would be most favorable if the whole country stayed with King Ferdinand I. The other day he visited Schepper's wife and son, who looks just like his father. He is also having dinner with them tonight, they will toast Schepper. From his letter it seems that Oláh can get his possessions back from King John I as well. Weze will tell him the rest.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Scepperum responsio.

Explicare vix possum, mi Sceppere, quanta laetitia affecerunt me immo omnes  
tuae litterae Constantinopoli XX. Iunii datae, nobis vero nudius tertius redditae. Pri-  
mum, quod incolumis revertare, deinde quod negotia regis istic optate confeceris.  
Subdubii tamen sumus, ad regni sequatur divisio. Quae si futura est, pernicies et 5  
desolatio illius aderit prae foribus. Si vero tota Hungaria manebit penes regem no-  
strum, quid melius, quid quietius, non nobis modo, sed Christianitati evenire poterit?  
Ex tuis litteris venimus in hanc ipsam dubitationem. Scribis enim Turcam commi-  
sisse, ut Ioannes bona reginae remittat, si ipse remittet ergo aliquid, adhuc iuris habi-

388,12 viderentur] corr. ex videbantur 389,5 regni] corr. ex regi

10 turus est in Hungaria, sed de his, si rediisti, ut speramus, apertius aliquid a te expec-  
tamus. Litteras tuas ad me datas non erat opus me ostendere reginae tuaque servitia  
commendare, sed sola illas prior et aperuit et perlegit. Sed ego quoque postea quid in  
laudem tui dixerim, sola testis est, cum gratiosa sint tua servitia, debere tibi, ultra ne  
15 dubites. Curabo, ut ad coniugem<sup>1</sup> etiam tuam mittat ex suis aliquem, qui suo nomine  
illam te absente consoletur et pro tuis servitiis illi et suis clementiam suam pollicea-  
tur. Cui quidem coniugi tuae amantissimae tuas litteras eo, quo accepi, die misi. Nam  
casu ita ferente hic iam agimus quintum aut sextum diem. Ante tuarum litterarum  
adventum visitavi eam, filium domumque tuam. Amplexatus sum filiolum Corne-  
lium, prae se fert imaginem paternam tum corpore, tum animo. Niger est, hilaris,  
20 iucundus, bibulus, dicere volebam (ignosce) delectabilis, canorus; uxor te laetanter et  
cupidissime exspectat, cuius litteras ad te cum praesentibus misi. Ad quam hic ve-  
speri sum coenaturus et pro tua sanitate redituque incolumi poculum exhausturus per  
orbem. Decanus<sup>2</sup> communis amicus, cuius fui conviva in prandio, bene valet et tui  
omnes. Res nullae neque meae, neque aliorum te istic detineant, sed cito revertere.  
25 Meae, si rex suis imperare poterit, redibunt. Ex tuis litteris firmum, ut iubes, concepi  
animum, ut etiam ea bona mea, quae vaivodam possident, redeant. De aliis rebus,  
quia subdubius fui, an reversus iam fueris et de regis in me clementia ac promissione  
pauca scripsi domino Lundensi<sup>3</sup> collegae tuo, qui ea tecum communicabit. Quas res,  
si erit tempus, habe curae, tamen cum moderamine, ne importuni iudicemur. Vale et  
30 revertere cito. Sed praemitte litteras, quae de singulis exacte edoceant maxime de  
pacis conditionibus. Vale.

Brugis VI. Augusti 1533.

### 390

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Bruges, 6 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 514–518.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 389–392.

*1. He is answering two of Weze's letters at the same time. He is happy that he is well again and thanks him for his support. He has often asked Stanshart to tell him how he can help Weze, then he told him one day before his trip to Brussels. He reminded the Provost of Froidmont to finish at last what he had promised; Oláh gave him a reminder. He also reminded van der Noot of his tasks. 2. He reports on the Danish affairs: after King Frederick I's death King Christian II would succeed, but there is interregnum now. Nothing will happen against the people of Lübeck this year. They do not know yet at cost Hungary is going to have peace, that is, will it be divided up or not. 3. His affairs are also dubious: he should already have received his estates back; still, nothing has happened yet. On the other hand, the King has confirmed on*

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389<sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>2</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. | <sup>3</sup> Johan Weze.

several occasions that if there is a vacancy in a bishopric, he will get it, and he hopes he is going to keep his promise.

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem archiepiscopum Lundensem oratorem Caroli caesaris epistola.

[1.] Binas his diebus accepi tuas litteras.<sup>1</sup> Alteras Bruxellis 25. Iulii cum fere nos itineri accingeremus, alteras hic Brugis die hesterna. Ad priores respondere antea non potui, non negligentia aliqua, sed partim quod laborabam parumper, nescio, qua valetudine mala, partim quod itineris praeparatio aliaeque molestae occupationes me retrahebant a scribendo. Si igitur quid a me in hoc est erratum, condonabis. Nunc ad utrasque litteras respondebo non dissimili argumento scriptas.

Te liberatum esse ab infirmitate, qua laborabas, est mihi iucundissimum, faxit Deus, ut diu fruaris adepta incolumitate. De tua apud regem et Tridentinum<sup>2</sup> rerum mearum sollicitatione ago gratias immortales, referam servitiis meis, quotiescumque opportunitas accesserit. Nihil dubito in clementia regia et favore Tridentini, quandoquidem ego quoque pro mea virili ita me ab initio imperii regii tenui, ut non omnino indignum me existimem, in quem rex benignus esse velit. De exemplo litterarum Lasky<sup>3</sup> habeo gratias, illud mox reginae dedi legendum. Illius factionis homines solent saepe iacticare inania et se talibus recreare; verum exitus demonstrabit rerum. Corneliique<sup>4</sup> nostri exitus discernet, quid in his sit verum. Dominus Sirmiensis,<sup>5</sup> cuius olim familiaritas mihi intima et domestica erat, nisi factus sit rerum mutatione sui dissimilis, vana olim iactare non solebat, et ob hoc miror eum quoque talia nuntiavisse, sed quisque suam canit cantilenam. De meo in te officio non est, cur mihi gratias agas. Iampridem suscepi me tuis rebus omnibus, si quae erit mea exigua facultas, obsecundaturum et inserviturum, hoc susceptum officii continuabo et quantum in me erit, non praetermittam. Saepius magistrum Ioannem Stanshart<sup>6</sup> et solus et per nuntium admonui, ut me certum redderet, ubi quando et in quibus rebus tibi inservire possem; quod antea non fecit, quam uno die antequam Bruxella abiremus. Ego vero mox accessi praepositum Frigidi Montis<sup>7</sup> admonens, ut in causa tua finem faceret, pollicitus est se primo quoque tempore id facturum, immo plus promisit, quam ego exspectassem, id est nihil esse, quod non libenter esset mei causa facturum. Dedi ei memoriale, ne rei oblivisceretur, adiunxit se quoque procuratores sollicitaturum, ut compareant et causam prosequantur, hoc animo affectum eum dimisi. Eodem

390,14 in quem] *O corr.* ex cui 15 legendum] *O del.* ex legendum ulterius 26 Frigidi Montis] *O mut.* ex Segedinorum 29 se] *O del.* ex se solum

390 <sup>1</sup> These letters are not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>3</sup> Hieronymus Łaski. | <sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schep- per. | <sup>5</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 9. | <sup>7</sup> Abbey Froid- mont.

die conveni etiam cancellarium Brabantiae,<sup>8</sup> quem et ipsum et rogavi et sollicitavi. Idem quoque fere eadem, quae praepositus retulit, et se operamque suam omnem in hac causa quam in aliis rebus, quatenus iustitia ferre posset, mihi, ut est vir humanus, liberaliter obtulit. Dedi ei τὸ μνημόσυνον,<sup>9</sup> quod admoneret eum meae sollicitationis  
35 et ipsius oblationis. Haec omnia quomodo acta per me essent, retuli Stanshardo et admonui eum, ut rem prosequeretur, atque si opus esse videret, me admoneret absentem per litteras. Ego vero curaturus essem litteras reginae ad illos dare in promotionem negotiorum tuorum. Credo illum non futurum aut negligentem aut tardum.

[2.] De rebus Danicis accipe ea, quae intelligere potui. Dux Fridericus<sup>10</sup> Holsatiae  
40 obiit mortem, in vita eius erat actio, ut patre consentiente eligeretur filius eius maior natu<sup>11</sup> in regem. Is tunc electionem non admiserat non admodum cupidus regni, postea patre mortuo proceres regni cogitantes minorem natu filium antea recusavisse regnum, contulerunt animum ad alterum minorem filium in regem eligendum. Eratque spes, ut is patri succederet, qui propterea miserat huc ad reginam et hos provin-  
45 ciales nuntium, ut cum his pacem iniret, nolletque se iungere Lubecensium<sup>12</sup> molim- nibus. Cui hic responsum fuit pacem hos accepturos sub certis conditionibus, cum quibus nuntium ad dominum suum remiserunt, ut illis, si placeret ei, relatis rediret pro pacis conclusione. Interea dum haec fierent, ducis maior natu filius, qui antea electionem non admiserat, facti sui poenitens coepit ambire regnum, ne iunior ei  
50 praeferretur. Res versa est in dubium. Regnicolae scissi in contrarium, ut saepe fit in rebus huiusmodi. Nunc interregnum est. Consilarii regii sunt interreges. Omnia regni negotia administrant soli, dum inter fratres conveniri possit. In alterutrum fratrum regnum devolvatur, incertum est. Minoris nuntius non huc postea rediit, qui etiam antea nihil de matrimonio, de quo scribis, ut mihi regina dixit, egerat. Res  
55 igitur est in hoc statu. Videbimus, quid sequetur. Christiernus rex dicitur adhuc esse sub custodia. Eius minor filia,<sup>13</sup> quae hic est, est promissa duci Mediolanensi in matrimonium. Si concordia futura est, contingere potest inter fratres Danos, ut maior futuro regi despondeatur. Est tamen id nunc incertum, sed haec agentur imperatoris voluntate. Cuius rei causa meo iudicio non videretur mihi inconsultum esse, si caesar  
60 a te praemoneretur in rei eventum.

In rebus tuis reginam ego hic sum allocutus aliquoties, quae semper benevole respondit, et dixit se libenter tuarum rerum curam habituram, si quando negotium ita ferat, opportunitasque fiat. Quam si ego adesse sensero, faciam, quod debeo, id est

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34 μνημόσυνον] *corr. ex μνημόσεινον*

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<sup>8</sup> Jeroen van der Noot of Brussels (1463–1541) was Chancellor of Brabant until January of 1532 and Ducal Chamberlain, see DE RIDDER-SYMOENS 1987b. | <sup>9</sup> ‘memo’, the translation of Latin *memorale*. | <sup>10</sup> King Frederick I of Denmark (1471–1533) died on 10 April. | <sup>11</sup> King Christian II of Denmark (1481–1559). <sup>12</sup> Lübeck. | <sup>13</sup> Christina of Denmark (1521–1590) married Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan on 23 September, 1533.



boni viri officium, nec ero piger in rebus amici sollicitandis. Si quid in rebus Danicis  
 posthac certi intellexero, faciam mox te certiore. Contra Lubecenses hoc anno nihil 65  
 agetur. Si non intervenerit pax, cogitatur, ut sequenti anno ius Zelandiae et navigatio  
 defendatur armis. Inter fasciculum litterarum ad reginam datarum a rege, ego quoque  
 habui litteras<sup>14</sup> a Cornelio, quibus scribit se pacem et firmam et perpetuam confecisse  
 in Turcia. Tamen conditiones pacis nescimus, si ita est pax confecta, ut rex voluit et  
 publicum fert bonum, id est, ut Hungaria indivisa maneat penes regem, gaudeo. Si 70  
 regnum dividetur, quae maior fenestra possit aperiri hac ad regnum desolandum et  
 destruendum. Nemo Hungarus laetari admodum huic paci debet, cuius finis est regni  
 destructio. In hoc casu nihil melius esse puto, quam cum Ioanne etiam nescio quibus  
 conditionibus concordandum, ne divisio fiat. Attamen si quid futurum erit, fac me  
 certiore. 75

[3.] Meum negotium bifarium est, alterum quod milites Hungari nostri regis, qui  
 impune nunc omnia faciunt, maiorem et potiore partem bonorum et possessionum  
 mearum vi occuparunt, quibus rex mandavit, ut ea remitterent, tamen hactenus id non  
 fecerunt, quod magister Ioannes Cegledinus<sup>15</sup> scit. Residuam partem bonorum guber-  
 nant vaivodani, si rex noster serenissimus auctoritatem in suos exercere suam poterit, 80  
 bona mea, quae illi habent, ad me revertentur. Cum vaivodanis nescio, quid fiet, si  
 regnum dividetur. Credo Sirmiensem interpositurum partes, si res ita contingat, ne  
 illis quoque destituar. Alterum negotium est, quod maiestas regia me sub verbo regio  
 assecuravit non unis, sed ternis credo litteris, quas etiam confirmavit, dum huc veni-  
 rem cum regina, ut si quis episcopatus Hungaricus ex his vacaret, scilicet Agriensis, 85  
 Zagradiensis, Transsylvaniensis, Varadiensis, Wesprimiensis<sup>16</sup> mox eum mihi con-  
 ferret. Credo maiestatem suam ut bonum principem observaturam, quod pollicitus sit.  
 Si quis casus acciderit, velis rem hanc meam scire et commendatam habere, et dum  
 revertetur Cornelius, cum eo communicare. Velim tamen, ne nostri Hungari et etiam  
 alii hanc regis mihi factam promissionem sciant, nolo rem apud regem admodum 90  
 sollicitari, ne importuni videamur, et maxime quod sollicitatio, quae non fit in tem-  
 pore, id est nullo beneficio vacante non modo quam minimum prosit, sed etiam quam  
 sit taediosa, bene scio. Tamen nihilominus, si aliquid vacare contigerit, et rex noster  
 habebit Hungariae integram possessionem, aures et memoriae principum refricandae  
 sunt, ne promissorum obliviscantur. Haec scripsi, ut scires mearum rerum τὸ θεμέ- 95  
 λιον.<sup>17</sup> Quod et Cornelio, dum redierit, communicates huic, si opus fuerit, et litterae  
 reginae commendantes rem et meae supplicationes apud regem non deerunt. Haec ex

73 puto] *O add. sup. l.* 74 fiat] *O corr. ex fieret* 80 suos] *O corr. ex eas* 84 assecuravit] *O corr. ex assecravit* 85 cum] *O corr. ex in | ex...vacaret] O mut. ex vacaret ex his* 86 Zagradiensis] *O corr. ex Zagadiensis* 92 vacante] *O corr. ex vacantem | quam<sup>1</sup>] O corr. ex qua*

<sup>14</sup> See Ep. 378. | <sup>15</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>16</sup> Bishoprics of Eger, Zagreb, Transylvania, Oradea, and Veszprém. | <sup>17</sup> 'base, fundus'.

mea in te fiducia de rebus meis scripsi confisus in tua et Cornelii erga me humanitate, quam mihi litteris declaraverunt. Nova hic nulla. Regina peragratura est oppida Flan-  
100 driae. Nunc est hic, dein ibimus Gandavum,<sup>18</sup> illinc fortasse in Artesiam<sup>19</sup> et Holan-  
diam. Si quid erit, iube mihi. Curavi, ut regina ex caesaris voluntate revocaret Era-  
smum Roterodamum conditionibus honestis, ad quem iamdiu misi Levinum<sup>20</sup> meum  
illius alumnum, quos exspecto in horas vel saltem responsum. Vale.

Brugis sexta Augusti 1533.

391

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Bruges, 11 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 518–519.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 392–393.

*Schepper will report on the conditions of peace. Oláh believes the King will postpone the Prague trip to wait for the returning envoys in Vienna, and if this happens, he will need to check with Brodarics about his affairs. He is also sending Mark Lauwerijns' response.*

Nicolaus Olaus archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesareo salutem.

Sexta huius mensis ad binas priores tuas litteras copiose respondi<sup>1</sup> et, quae hic in rebus Danicis habuimus, significavi. Nulla postea super venerunt, de quibus scribendum esset. Hodie mihi redditae sunt postremae tuae litterae XXVII. Iulii Viennae  
5 datae.<sup>2</sup> Faxit Deus pacem et perpetuam et firmam fore. De pacis conditionibus, cum Cornelius<sup>3</sup> redierit, fac me certiore. Credo maiestatem regiam profectionem Pra-  
gensensem distulisse, ut oratorum reditus eum Viennae offenderet. Nam in rebus parti-  
cularibus non parum adhuc sudandum esse arbitror, et fortasse etiam commissarios  
Ioannis et regis et te nomine caesaris conveniendos. Quae facilius, si rex Viennae  
10 erit, peragi poterunt. Quod si futurum est, et si negotium ita postulaverit, si quid difficultatis in rebus meis per vaivodanos iniectum esset, poteris cum Sirmiensi<sup>4</sup> et aliis tractare. De aliis, ut in aliis meis scripsi, ages apud regem, si opportunitas et occasio accesserint. Litteras decano Laurino<sup>5</sup> praesentavi, cuius responsum remisi cum praesentibus. Ioanni vero Stansarth<sup>6</sup> suas per primum certum nuntium reddendas  
15 curabo. In tuis apud reginam rebus, si quid tractari in causa Danica sensero, non ero negligens. Me tibi commendo, tuasque et Cornelii litteras exspecto. Vale.

Brugis XI. Augusti 1533.

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391,10 erit] *corr.* ex erunt

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<sup>18</sup> Ghent. | <sup>19</sup> Artois. | <sup>20</sup> Lieven Algoet. Oláh sent him to Erasmus, see Ep. 379. 391 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 390.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>4</sup> István Brodarics. | <sup>5</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. | <sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 10.

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Ghent, 12 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 484–485.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 393–394.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 285–286.

1. *The Queen has sent one of her cupbearers to console Schepper's wife, then yesterday they also arrived to Ghent, and Oláh visited Schepper's family. They really cannot wait for him to return home, but his wife is afraid that he is going to receive a new assignment, and the Emperor is not really grateful for Schepper's work anyway.* 2. *When they look into the Hungarian affairs, he will likely need to negotiate with Brodarics or Nádasdy; he should think of his affairs then. If possible, he would like to receive further written guarantees from the King and the Archbishop of Trento.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Sceperum.

[1.] Proximis meis litteris<sup>1</sup> descripsi ad te tuarum rerum domesticarum statum, quem et ex litteris coniugis tuae intellexisse potuisti. Valent recte tui omnes. Regina, ut antea de hoc ad te perscripseram futurum, ex suis intimis pocillatoribus miserat unum ad uxorem tuam consolandam, et in spem clementiae suae, dum occasio se  
5 ferret, consequendae erigendam. Heri vesperi, ut ei et filiolo et filiae iussit, ut valedicerem. Nam hoc die venimus Gandavum. Eos visitavi, filiulus valet, exsultat, triumphat et laetanter reditum patris exspectat. Tu fac, ut incolumis redeas. Timet tamen uxor, ne tibi nunc reverso rursus alia legatio nova imponatur, quae te detineat diutius. Conquesta quoque est de caesaris gratitudine, cui multum iam servieris, tamen pauca  
10 retuleris praemia. Ego eam consolatus sum et post alia dixi venturam aliquando gratam, quae non sperabatur, horam praeterita omnia neglecta resarcientem etc.

[2.] Omnino arbitror futurum, ut dum res particulares tractatae fuerint et ordo in rebus omnibus, ut permaneant, in Hungaria compositus fuerit, aliquod tibi temporis erit istic adhuc insumendum. Nam si ex Turcae deliberatione aliqua Hungariae pars  
15 vaivodae relinquatur, non est dubitandum, quin et rex noster serenissimus et vaivoda te et domino reverendissimo Lundensi<sup>2</sup> caesaris nomine praesentibus per commissarios negotia omnia particularia determinent et finiant. Quod si erit, et Brodericus aut Nadasdi intererit his tractatibus, cum his, si res postulabit, in meis quoque rebus, quod ad illorum partem attinet, agere poteris. Nova hic nulla. Et si quae fuerunt, ex  
20 litteris<sup>3</sup> meis praesentibus ad reverendissimum dominum Lundensem datis intelliges. Si fieri possit, cuperem litteras tales regias et domini Tridentini<sup>4</sup> ad me huc mitti, quarum exemplum praesentibus inclusi, pro futura rerum mearum securitate, et ut maiorem habiturus essem illas suo tempore aggredi occasionem. Dominus Tridenti-

392 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 389. | <sup>2</sup> Johan Weze. | <sup>3</sup> Probably Ep. 391. | <sup>4</sup> Bernhard von Cles.

25 nus, ut opinor, unico verbo admonitus eas expediet, ut autem et tu honestius rem  
aggrediaris, ostende illis litteras reginae ad te in hac re missas, quorum litterae ad me  
rescriptae futurae hic testes erunt tuae in hac commissione exsecutae diligentiae.  
Attamen an in hoc agendum sit, an non, tuo relinquo iudicio et prudentiae. Vale et  
scribe. Ego quoque id faciam et frequenter.

30 Gandavi 12. Augusti 1533.

393

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Ghent, 16 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 423.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 394.

*God only knows how he lives. He seems to be happy to be living quietly, far away from his home; however, those seem happier to him who can live at home among their friends.*

Nicolai Olai ad Paulum comitem.<sup>1</sup>

Quibus rationibus meam vitam hactenus, mi Paule, sustentarim, Deus novit omnium cordium inspector. Videor tibi prae aliis beatus, quod remotus a tumultibus patriae vitam agam quietam inter nationes externas. At vos, qui patriae inservitis,  
5 illius curatis commoda, non modo prae me, sed etiam prae aliis beatissimi mihi vide-  
mini. Nam si vita felix et beata quaeritur, quae potest illa esse felicior, quae patriae, ubi natus es, educatus et omnibus bonis ornatus, commoda totis viribus curat, pericula depellit? Desine igitur meam laudare vitam, quin potius vestras curas, quae perpetuam merentur laudem, admireris. Vale.

10 Gandavi 16. Augusti 1533.

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392,27 exsecutae] corr. ex exsecuta

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393 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
[Ghent], 18 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 410.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 395.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 15–16.

*He could not talk to Oláh because of the services. He had a stomachache in the evening, but he wanted to attend the lunch so they can meet. Above all to thank Oláh for the book he had sent him about Greek word order. Then he wanted to ask what is new with Erasmus. And he also wanted to talk to him for a bit, but the ceremony made it impossible. If only he could get rid of these burdens!*

Idem<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao salutem.

Ecce quid pollent caerimoniae, talis viri colloquio frui me prohibuerunt. Haec mecum tacitus heri sub vesperam stomachabar, Optime Vir, cum datis dexteris post mutuam salutationem dimittere compellebar ad coenam iturus expectatam mihi praesentiam tuam. Erat enim mihi in votis primum tibi coram gratias agere pro dato mihi libello *περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν*.<sup>2</sup> Deinde percontari, numquid super Erasmo novi? Nam misere metuo, ne qua res illum nunc avocet, cum cui etiam tuta timeo omnia. Postremo nonnullis aliis de rebus cupiebam tecum miscere sermones, sed haec omnia pessimae illae (dico tibi in aurem) caerimoniae, quibus quid imprecer mali nescio, abruperunt. Atque interim tamen, dum his parere cogor, nonnunquam fortasse requirunt amici in me civilitatem, ignari plane, quanta illarum tyrannide premar. Qua si tandem liberarer, nec civilitatem, nec officium in me quispiam desideraret. Atqui τὸ παρὸν εὖ τίθεσθαι δεῖ<sup>3</sup> et superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est. Te vero, Clarissime Heros, quam diutissime servet incolumem et florentem Christus Iesus, cui me totum quantus, inquam, sum, cupio esse commendatissimum.

Datum postridie Beatae Virginis 1533.

394,10 abruperunt] *O corr. ex* abruperunt 16 postridie] *corr. ex* postride

394 <sup>1</sup> Lieven van den Zande or Levinus Ammonius of Ghent (1488–1557) joined the Carthusian Order. In 1533, he was transposed to the Monastery of Koningdal outside Ghent. He corresponded with many humanists e.g. Erasmus and Jakob Jespersen. His autograph letter-book is preserved in the Bibliothèque municipale of Besançon, Ms. 599, see BIETENHOLZ 1985b, and ROERSCH 1901. | <sup>2</sup> ‘about the Greek word order’. | <sup>3</sup> ‘the current situation needs to be settled’.

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 19 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 407–408.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 395–396.

*He would not believe how upset he became when he read Chrysostom's fourth discourse on divine providence. The whole thing, if it is not yet untruthful, is confusing and badly composed. If he has the chance, he should look at this textual location with Jespersen. He also wants to discuss it with him in person, maybe there will be an opportunity if Erasmus returns home.*

Levinus Ammonius monachus Carthusianus Nicolao Olao salutem.

Vix credas, Vir Clarissime, quam displicuerim mihi ipse, quando locum illum Chrysostomi in sermone quarto περι τῆς προνοίας<sup>1</sup> mecum tacitus exactiusque recensere coepi, id, quod feci mox a tuae dignationis discessu. Videbam enim statim pensatis cum his, quae praecedunt, tum quae consequuntur exacto iudicio, dictionem illam ἀμφιάσεως<sup>2</sup> non esse positam eo significato, quo dixeram, sed longe diverso, nempe pro vestimento, ut totus is locus ad hunc modum reddatur τί τοίνυν εὐπορώτερον γένοιτο ἂν τῆς τραπέζης ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἀμφιάσεως.<sup>3</sup> Quid igitur locupletius contingere posset illa mensa et illo indumento? Ut ad mensam divitis respiciat, qui epulabatur quotidie splendide, et ad vestimentum, quo induebatur nempe purpura et bysso. Est autem totus ille locus, si non mendosus, plane obscurus, et hyperbaticus salebrosus, quem qui bene versurus est, sudabit, ut lucem addat. Haec tibi significanda duxi, quo gratificarer animo tuo, teque vicissim, quo uno modo possum, litteris inviserem. Quae, si videbitur, Iacobo nostro Dano<sup>4</sup> commonstrabis, viro plane docto et famulatio clarissimi viri digno. Optarim autem mihi ansam dari, quamlibet luculentam, qua de ista praestantia bene mereri possim. Ea fortassis olim continget, simul ac Erasmus noster huc sese receperit, si tamen recipiet, id quod equidem votis omnibus exopto. Ceterum ne primis ad te litteris plus aequo sim loquatur, hic desino, ἔρωσώ τε καὶ εὐτυχέστατα πράπτων ἀεὶ διατέλει.<sup>5</sup> Iacobo nostro salutem.

20 E Valle Regia Cartusiana XIII. Kalendas Septembris 1533.

395,7 εὐπορώτερον] *corr.* ex εὐπρότερον

395,7 τί...8 ἀμφιάσεως] Cf. Iohannes Chrysostomos *De fato et providentia*, see MIGNE 1838, 761.

395 <sup>1</sup> 'about providence'. | <sup>2</sup> 'cloth'. | <sup>3</sup> 'what could be more rich than this table and cloth?' | <sup>4</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>5</sup> 'I wish you great health and much luck'.

396

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Ghent, 19 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 423–424.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 396.

*He has never been as dear to him as he is now if he does what he is asking him to do. He will forgive him his impertinence if he remembers how much he loves him. He is asking him to do what Joannes is asking.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum.

Quid queris? Impudensne tibi videor, quod id a te petam, cuius tu quoque in magno sis desiderio, an perquam humanus, qui ea, quae tibi sunt carissima, mihi dari exoptem. Tuum est iudicium aestimare, quem me esse arbitreris, humanumne, an impudentem, verum hoc scito nunquam te mihi in re aliqua gratiorem praestitisse, 5 quam nunc praestabis, si meae voluntati ex animi mei sententia satisfeceris. Iam ne videor tibi omnino impudens, qui tam fidenter a te hoc efflagitem? Nimirum desines mirari meam αἰσχύνην,<sup>1</sup> si cogitaris meum in te amorem, qui usque adeo magnus est, ut impune me faciat inverecundum. Quare, mi Frater, si una hac in re, quam nunc peto, quamquam tibi Ioannes<sup>2</sup> referet, mihi morem gesseris, nihil te unquam mei 10 causa negasse existimabo. Vale, τῶν φίλων ἀγαθώτατε καὶ ἐμοῦ φίλε.<sup>3</sup>

Gandavi 19. Augusti 1533.

397

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 21 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 408–409.

Besançon, Archives municipales, Ms. 599, p. 285–286.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 396–397.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 16–17.

*His heart took a leap when he read Oláh's letter and when he heard about Lieven van den Zande's arrival because it gives him the hope that he may see Erasmus in a few days. It would be his pleasure if he could help Oláh in his studies, as it is also making him happy that he thinks that uncouthness is starting to disappear from people's head.*

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396,8 αἰσχύνην] corr. ex ἐσχίνην 9 si] O add. sup. l. | in] O add. sup. l. 11 ἐμοῦ] corr. ex ἐμου

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396<sup>1</sup> 'my impudence'. | <sup>2</sup> Probably János Czeplédi. | <sup>3</sup> 'my dear brilliant friend'.

Levinus Ammonius Carthusianus monachus Nicolao Olao salutem.<sup>1</sup>

Cum ad aspectum tuarum litterarum, Clarissime Heros, tum ad exoptatissimum Panagathi<sup>2</sup> nostri nuntium subsultat gaudio cor meum. Facit enim spem plane luculentam fore, ut Erasmus, si nihil interim (quod avertant superi) intervenerit, videamus non ita multos ab hinc dies. Quo sane nomine gratiam habeo maximam, qui  
5 tanto me affeceris gaudio, haud ignarus, quantopere cupiam videre, quasi quodam postliminio reducem in patriam, verum tamen secundum tuae voluntatis arbitrium in sinu gaudebo, neque foras efferam profanis, atque utinam prius illum advenisse resciscat populus, quam sciat adventurum, ut famam celeritate praevertat, plane Harpocratem<sup>3</sup> praestabo. Quod autem meo erga istam dignationem studio tam accurate gratias  
10 agis, et officio tam pusillo, quo magis meo ipsius pudori consuluisse videri poteram, quam tibi commodare, tam benigne respondes, facis tu quidem amice et perhumaniter. Equidem velim mihi eam adesse eruditionem, ut studia promovere tua possim, quod voluptati mihi sit videre viros et dignitate et autoritate praecellentes, amore  
15 bonarum litterarum duci. Huiusmodi enim patrocínio inter tot undique sycophantas egent quam maxime. Quamquam eo usque progressas esse non dubito, ut propemodum sui commendatione vicerint invidiam adversariorum, posteaquam sibi in aulis quoque principum haud ita poenitendum gradum fecerunt. Iuvat profecto videre barbariem, quae longe lateque superiore aetate rerum potita fuit, paulatim e rebus  
20 humanis mentibusque profligari. Et plane cernimus, quantum paucis retro annis profectum sit, sed quorsum me mens rapit *περὶ τῶν λόγων ἐν ἐπιστολῆς βραχύτητι φιλοσοφεῖν*,<sup>4</sup> non pergam tibi molestus esse. Epistolam tuam certissimum pignus istius animi inter ea, quae mihi carissima sunt, asservabo. Si quid tua causa posse me existimas, audacter impera. Habes me deditissimum seu clientem, seu (ut magis  
25 appellare dignatus es) fratrem, quo possis uti tuo arbitratu. Christus Iesus te quam diutissime servet incolumem, tum ad suam ipsius gloriam, tum ad Christianae pietatis commendationem et provectum.

E Valle Regia Carthusiana iuxta Gandavum XXI. Augusti 1533.

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397,3 subsultat] *Bes. MS* subsultavit 13 Equidem velim] *Bes. MS* Pervelim equidem 15 patrocínio...16 maxime] *Bes. MS* tot undique sycophantas egent maxime patrocínio 22 pignus...23 animi] *Bes. MS* istius animi pignus 27 provectum] *Bes. MS* augmentum 28 1533] *Bes. MS* 1533. Levinus Ammonius tuus ex animo

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397 <sup>1</sup> Ipolyi did not know the Besançon ms., his edition and Albu-Capoianu's translation based on Ipolyi's edition could therefore not include it. For more on the Besançon ms. see ROERSCH 1901. | <sup>2</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>3</sup> Harpocrates was the god of silence, secrets and confidentiality in Ancient Greece. | <sup>4</sup> 'to contemplate literature in a brief letter'.



Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 22 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 409–410.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 398–399.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 17–19.

*He has nothing to apologize for, he has not been offended; what is more, it is to his great glory that he is among his friends. He does not think that Oláh is wasting money or effort by learning Greek, he should continue.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Quid egisti, Vir Optime, tanta sedulitate excusandi tui? An Ammonium arbitraris esse tam morosum, ut huiusmodi naevis in corpore alioqui gratioso offendatur? Aut vero tam modis omnibus absolutum me esse existimas, ut nihil tale mihi quoque  
possit excidere? Immo tantum abest, ut offensus fuerim, aut etiam ullo modo possim  
offendi, ut contra miris modis delectarit me dictionis tuae facilitas et verborum non  
inelegantium festina constructio.<sup>1</sup> Ego vix possum tale quicquam praestare, si ex  
tempore mihi foret idem faciendum. Iam vero cum nihil ibi sit, quin probe queat  
excusari ab ingenio candido, quid, obsecro, necesse fuit tuo pudore pudorem mihi  
conciliare? Ludunt enim Graeci tanta varietate suis articulis, qui nusquam non ad  
omnem necessitatem praesto sunt dicentibus, ut vix aliquid dici possit tam absurde,  
quin per illos effugere liceat τοῦ μώμου<sup>2</sup> iudicium, vel sycophantae διαβολήν.<sup>3</sup> In hac  
itaque sententia tua, si quis intelligat per illum articulum Pythiam Apollinis sacerdotulam,  
quae solebat oracula promulgare, nonne belle videbitur et emendate dictum  
τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος?<sup>4</sup> Quamquam etiam alioqui potest excusari, sed nimis esset longum  
prosequi omnia. Nihil est itaque, quod te pudere debeat, praesertim apud me, quomodo-  
documque scripseris, omnia novi candide interpretari, cui vel hoc ipsum magni loco  
beneficii est, quod ad hunc homuncionem non ita magni pretii litteras dare dignatus  
sis, quae mihi sunt honori futurae, si amicis velim cum tui splendoris commendatione  
demonstrare. Quis enim Olaum nescire queat, iampridem mundo scriptis Erasmi  
nostri commendatum? Nec illud feram, quod ais, oleum et impensam tibi periisse  
Graecanicis operam dando studiis, video enim istius ingenii felicitatem nihil non  
posse. Nam si eo usque in tot aulicas occupationes promovere potuisti, quis non  
sentiat fore, si paulo velis maiore conatu contendere, ut in summum brevi gradum

398,12 μώμου] *corr.*: ex μώμου 15 Ἀπόλλωνος] *corr.*: ex Ἀπόλλωνος

398<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter by Oláh. | <sup>2</sup> ‘teasing’. | <sup>3</sup> ‘accusation [of the slanderer]’. | <sup>4</sup> ‘[saying] of Apollon’s priestess’.

- 25 conscendas? Quapropter oro te, ne studia tua remittas, sed contra audentior eas, certus, non inanem fore tandem laborem tuum. Nihil enim non potest ingenium modone prorsus deploratum, quicquid illi est, quod vehementer velit. Christus Iesus te tuaque studia omnia bene fortunet ad suam unius gloriam, cui me cupio esse quam commendatissimum. Redde, precor, Dano<sup>5</sup> suum libellum, quem remitto.
- 30 E Valle Regia Cartusiana celeri manu XXII. Augusti 1533.

399

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 23 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 354–355.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 399–400; ALLEN 1941, 291–292.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 667–668.

*In Romanian:* Albu 184–185; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 129–130.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 110–112.

*He thanks Oláh for helping him organize his return home, but he does not know if his health is going to allow him to travel. He has sent Lieven Algoet ahead to prepare everything. He does not understand who persuaded Algoet to acquire money in Dol-de-Bretagne, now he is going to lose a lot of money on the exchange. If he cannot return, he will give back the travel fare.*

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao secretario serenissimae reginae.

- Pro negotio meo tam amanter curato gratiam habeo, cum omnibus, Olahe Carissime, tum praecipue tibi. Ego paratis vestibus, equis, conducta navi et nautis tantum exspecto opportunitatem, ut hinc incolumis migrem, sed hactenus tale fuit caelum, ut
- 5 aegre licuerit tueri vitam. Februarius me male vexatum tradidit Martio senum omnium hosti capitali. Nec tota aestas aliud fuit, quam Martius, cui successit Augustus turbulentissimus. Quod caelum sit secuturum, nescio. Itaque satius esse duxi paulo serius redire, quo maxime cupio, quam corpusculum hoc sit quassum et attenuatum in manifestum vitae discrimen praecipitare.
- 10 Praemisi Levinum,<sup>1</sup> ut per amicos certos istic mihi paret nidum, quo me statim recipiam. Miror, quis hoc suaserit, ut Levinus pecuniam acciperet Dolae.<sup>2</sup> Poterat numerari Fuggeris aut Scheto,<sup>3</sup> et hic accepissem per syngrapham. Nunc in trecentis florenis perdo supra sexaginta. Coronatus enim istic aestimatur 37, Dolae 47. Quod si timebatur periculum itineris, Levinus a Dola sex dierum itinere venit, via minime

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398,25 sed ... eas] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI,95: “sed contra audentior ito”.

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<sup>5</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 399 <sup>1</sup> Lieven Algoet, about his return from Erasmus, see Ep. 397. | <sup>2</sup> Dol-de-Bretagne. | <sup>3</sup> Erasmus Schets.

tuta. Domina Margareta<sup>4</sup> liberalioribus conditionibus me vocarat, quam nunc vocor, 15  
 sed si me nihil aliud invitaret istuc, quam aulae liberalitas, pedem non moverem,  
 patriae caritas me trahit. Quod si quid inciderit, ut hic sit hiemandum, cum Zephyris  
 et prima hirundine me exspectabis aliquanto, ut spero, vegetiorem, potissima languo-  
 ris causa fuit vinum Burgundiacum, quod missum est, nauseabundum et stomacho  
 meo inimicum. Nunc curabitur mitius, porro si necessitas erit, οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται 20  
 κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν<sup>5</sup> non patiatur hinc movere castra, reddam viaticum, ne quis sus-  
 picetur me captasse tantillum pecuniae. Quamquam ex caesaris pensione iam debentur  
 tria millia librarum Francicarum ac trecenta, et eo amplius. Multis de causis non  
 expedit hinc solvere, nisi condito testamento, quod exteris in hoc oppido difficilli-  
 mum est. Cuius negotii iamdiu satago, nec perago. Obsecro, mi Olae, ut Levinum 25  
 nostrum quemadmodum coepisti, pergas evehere, donec habeat aliquid solidae fortu-  
 nae. Multum ille iam debet tibi et ego illius causa. Absolve benignitatis tuae munus.  
 Serenissimae reginae nunc non scribo, quamquam id flagitabat Levinus. Distrahor  
 aliis. Bene vale, Patrone Unice!

Friburgi 23. die mensis Augusti 1533.

30

#### 400

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
 Ghent, 27 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 519–521.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 400–401.

*1. Envoys arrived from Denmark the day before yesterday to negotiate about some kind of peace. He reminded the Queen of him to promote Weze's affairs, who had suffered unfairness in Denmark. The Queen promised to do so, but because he does not trust her memory, Müller will tell them when he needs to remind the Queen again. They will be able to do something if something is done to free King Christian II. 2. Schepper must have returned already, if only with good news! The Dutch are sending an army of twenty fleet against the people of Lübeck.*

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesareo salutem.

[1.] Superioribus diebus pluribus descripsi<sup>1</sup> rerum Danicarum statum, quatenus a fide dignis viris intelligere poteram. Res est adhuc in eodem statu: interregnum ibi

399,20 erit] ALLEN 1941, 292: ἤπερ

399,20 οὐδὲ...21 παροιμίαν] Cf. Simonides 8,20, and Erasmus, Ep. 2810 in ALLEN X (1941), 224.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy. | <sup>5</sup> 'according to the proverb, the gods do not fight, either'.

400 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 390. Cap. 2.

est. Consilarii regni sunt interreges, dum inter fratres de imperio concernantes, et  
5 dum eorum aliquis legitime eligitur ex regnicolarum voluntate, concordatum fuerit.  
Nudiustertius hoc est XXV. huius mensis venerunt ex Dania huc oratores Wolffgan-  
gus ad Wtenhouven<sup>2</sup> cancellarius, Otthomarus Krompey<sup>3</sup> et Melchior Rantzo<sup>4</sup> regni  
illius et regnicolarum nomine, quibus hodie secreto consilio audientia praebita est;  
agunt de quibusdam pacis conditionibus.

10 Heri vesperi reginam accessi, et in memoriam eius reduxi pristinam ac benevolam  
ipsius in rebus tuis responsionem orans, ut et nunc eo animo rebus tuis auxiliaretur,  
quo prius, postquam tu beneficia tua omnia in provinciis regis Christierni<sup>5</sup> et prolium  
suarum amiseris, et summam rei tuae penes illos in discrimen posueris; respondit se  
15 curam tui tuarumque rerum habituram, et libenter tibi, dum tempus adfuerit, auxilia-  
turam. Haec ipsius fuerunt verba. Quia tamen scio principum eam esse saepe condi-  
tionem, ut inter alia maiora rerum talium obliviscantur, quendam amicum meum  
rogavi e numero consiliariorum caesaris, huic nomen est Erhardus Mweler,<sup>6</sup> qui  
pollicitus est mihi amice se proculdubio me admoniturum, quando viderit esse oppor-  
20 tunitatem in rebus tuis agendi. Qui postquam me admonuerit, statim reginam sollicite  
in rebus tuis urgebo, et quid futurum sit, faciam te certiozem. Attamen ut ego libere  
meam sententiam exponam, quam habeo: quia hi oratores nomine totius regni Daniae  
venerunt, et rem reipublicae nomine agunt, videtur non commode posse habere lo-  
cum rem nunc tuam. Quia arbitror primariam esse ecclesiam Lundensem<sup>7</sup> in Dania et  
25 archiepiscopum non infimae istic esse auctoritati, cuius quidem archiepiscopi et  
etiam episcopi Rosuldensis<sup>8</sup> aequae, ut aliorum dominorum Danorum hi oratores  
agunt legationem; quid igitur finiri nunc in re tua possit, nescio. Equidem nihil sum  
praetermissurus, quod ad rem tuam etiam omnibus viis curandam pertinuerit. Si  
unquam ageretur de Christierno liberando, qui adhuc captus est, vel de filia locanda  
30 futuro regi, tunc videretur meo iudicio esse locus rerum tuarum agendarum. Nihilom-  
minus in omnem eventum ego nunc quoque nihil negligam. Et rescribam, quid sit  
secuturum.

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<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang von Utenhof (Utenhoven) (ca. 1495–1542) was a Chancellor. In the beginning, he entered the service of King Frederick I of Denmark, then he changed sides to King Christian II and later returned to King Frederick I. For more see VENGE 1979–1984b. | <sup>3</sup> Otte Krumpen (1480–1569) was a Danish bureaucrat and later Marshal of Denmark from 1554 to 1567. Making a proposal for a treaty between the Netherlands and Denmark, Krumpen, Wolfgang Utenhof, and Melchior Rantzau became delegates of the Council of Governors and concluded the final treaty in Ghent. For more see COLDING 1979–1984. | <sup>4</sup> Melchior Rantzau (1496–1539) was Count of Holstein and one of the most important councillors of the Dukes of Holstein and the King of Denmark. In May 1533 he set up an arrangement between Emperor Charles V and Denmark which imparted the throne to King Christian II. See more VENGE 1979–1984a, and VENGE 1985. | <sup>5</sup> King Christian II of Denmark. | <sup>6</sup> Erhart Müller was assistant of Oecolampadius from 1528, see WACKERNAGEL 1924, III, 473. | <sup>7</sup> London. | <sup>8</sup> Probably Joachim Rønnow, Bishop of Roskilde.

[2.] Cornelium<sup>9</sup> nostrum credo iam revertisse, utinam optata relatione ac regi, regno Hungariae et nobis omnibus proficua! Quas pacis conditiones reportavit, rogo, faciat me certiore, pariter et de rebus aliis mihi scribat. Ad eum nunc scribere non potui, propter veredarii celerem abitum, scribam tamen propediem. Nunc significa ei uxorem suam cum filiolo feliciter valere. Quae mihi etiam hic existenti nudiustertius scripserat<sup>10</sup> intimans suam et suorum incolunitatem et vicissim sciscitata fuit de conditione et adventu Cornelii, cui et spem et verba dedi. Litteris meis proximis scripseram Holandos et Zelandos expeditionem huius anni contra Lubecenses<sup>11</sup> distulisse in sequentem annum. Tamen his octo diebus venerunt litterae a Hostratio<sup>12</sup> nunc in Holandia agente, quibus ille significat se cum aliis classem viginti navium bene instructam comparasse et misisse contra Lubecenses; haec de ea re scribere possum. Litteras omnes, quae ad me venerunt, proxime per fidum nuntium Bruxellas ad Ioannem Stanshardum<sup>13</sup> misi, qui ad eas respondit, quas cum praesentibus ad te mitto. Saluta Cornelium, ad quem propediem scribam, si est reversus. Commendo utrumque meum negotium, quod quale sit, ex meis prioribus intellexistis. Vale.

Gandavi 27. Augusti 1533.

#### 401

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Bakar, 31 August 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 485–486.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 402.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 286–287.

*Today they reached Bakar, he has notified both the King and Bernhard von Cles. God willing, he will be back here on 1 November; until then Oláh should console his wife and family. He will not write in detail now because he is seasick.*

Cornelius Sceperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Hodie, qui dies est ultimus mensis Augusti, venimus ad portum Buchari, qui olim fuit comitum de Frangipanibus,<sup>1</sup> quorum etiam fuit Veglia,<sup>2</sup> et subito de adventu nostro certiores fecimus regiam maiestatem<sup>3</sup> et reverendissimum dominum Tridentinum.<sup>4</sup> Noluī autem omittere, quin id ipsum significarem Reverendae Dominationi

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400,46 utrumque] *corr.* ex utriusque

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<sup>9</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>10</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>11</sup> Lübeck, see Ep. 390. Note 12. | <sup>12</sup> Antoine I de Lalaing. | <sup>13</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 10. 401 <sup>1</sup> Buccari and Velia were the possessions of the family of Frangepán, probably since the 12<sup>th</sup> century. | <sup>2</sup> Isle of Krk. | <sup>3</sup> Schepper wrote King Ferdinand I on very this day, see GÉVAY 1838, II, 147–148. | <sup>4</sup> Bernhard von Cles.

Tuae, tam sacrae reginalis maiestatis nomine, quam suo, quorum utrique bene prospectum est, circa Kalendas Novembres omnino sum istic futurus, si modo Deus mihi hanc vitam conservavit. Interim consolare uxorem meam et familiam, si modo supersunt, et me sacrae reginali maiestati commenda. Ne mirere, quod in scribendo non  
10 sum largior, nam et nausea maris, in qua sumus duodecim dies versati post terrestrem longissimam profectionem, et negotia occurrentia cogunt me esse quam velim brevior. Tu interim, mi Optime Frater, brevi plura habiturus. Rectissime vale!  
Ex castro Bucharo ultimo Augusti 1533.

402

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Ghent, 3 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 427.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 402.

*He resents that his friend is demanding more letters from him: he would write if he had the chance, if he does not write, his friend should attribute it to his having a lot to do.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum.

Permolestus mihi es nonnunquam tua efflagitatione, ut ad te meas crebro mittam litteras. Equidem pro eo, quo in te sum amore, et libenter et crebro ad te scribo, sed si te nunc non valde deditum administrationi rerum publicarum, sed omnino a rebus  
5 publicis administrandis otiosum litteris, uti cuperes, explere non possum, id mihi, rogo, vitio ne vertas, sed mearum raritatem adscribe meis πολλοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι ἃ διαπάντως νῦν ἐμὲ ἔχουσι.<sup>1</sup> Si quid otii nactus fuero, et a rebus tum publicis tum privatis meis vacuus ero, curabo, ut te litteris meis expleam, praeteritique temporis taciturnitatem crebris scriptis resarciam tibi non tantum voluptatis, quantum taedii  
10 propter eorum multitudinem allaturus. Vale.  
Gandavi III. Septembris anno 1533.

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402,7 νῦν] *corr.* ex vov

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402 <sup>1</sup> ‘ascribe it to my full agenda, which keeps me continuously busy’.

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Ghent, 3 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 424–426.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 403–405.

1. He has received Czeglédi's four letters, but he should only respond to the last one, in which Czeglédi is complaining about him. He is asking what this change is due to? But it is not only them who are suffering, they have many fellow sufferers. Does Czeglédi believe that Oláh is in the garden of the Hesperides? He is gravely mistaken. Everything is confusing, and he does not even know whose fault it is. And did he not help him when they caught him? 2. Now Czeglédi wants to leave Oláh's service, but how could he let him go from 200 miles away? He has no money to return home, so he is asking him to look after Oláh's affairs until he can return home. Oláh believes his difficulties will end when Schepper returns home. 3. Czeglédi also wrote that he spoke with Török in Gerendi's presence, then he described Bodó's haughty reply, from which it is clear that for him King John I is the real king.

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorem.

[1.] Quaternas tuas litteras,<sup>1</sup> quas XVII., XV., XVIII. die Iunii ex Vienna et ex Posonio XXIII. eiusdem mensis ad me dedisti, XXVI. huius mensis Augusti simul accepi. Postremas vero, quas Posonio XII. Iunii praeteriti scripsisti, ultima Augusti 5  
recepi. Causa, cur antea respondere non petuerim, est, quod ex stomacho laborabam, quod malum iam Deo dante depuli. Ad priores ternas non videtur esse opus respon-  
sione, quia res, de quibus scripsisti, iamdiu praeterierunt, aliumque habent statum. In  
illis, quae datae sunt XXIII. Iulii, acerbissimis mecum uteris querelis, quibus facile  
carere potuisses. Nam causa non fuit aliqua iusta, ut iis uteris, nisi velis teipsum his  
et similibus tormentis non ex iusta causa, neque tempore convenienti profectis confi- 10  
cere. Nam nihil ad te unquam scripsi, si bene recordor, quod te maxime movere  
debuisset. Si ursi te currentem, quid erratum est, si admonui te tui officii et diligen-  
tiae debitae, ne in fine iam rerum et mearum et tuarum refrigisceres, quid est, quod  
magnopere displicere tibi potest? Omnia a me profecta sunt non alieno animo, non in  
tui molestiam, sed ut ex diligente facerem te diligentiorum. Quid ergo opus erat tanta 15  
exprobatione? Ubi in hunc diem expertus es me in tui amore et mea in te benevolen-  
tia refrixisse? Si occasio defuit et temporis iniquitas restitit, quo minus tibi magno-  
pere prodesse potuissem, quid mihi adscribere potes? Non ego aut tu solum patimur  
nunc miseriam, egestatem et exilium durius quodammodo morte, sed multos habe-  
mus horum malorum socios, quos tu ipse mihi saepius in tuis litteris commemorasti, 20

403,13 rerum] *O corr.* ex verum 17 iniquitas restitit] *corr.* ex iniquitatis restituit

403<sup>1</sup> These letters are not extant.

videlicet Strigoniensem,<sup>2</sup> Agriensem,<sup>3</sup> Transsylvaniensem,<sup>4</sup> comites, barones, nobiles. An putas me in hortum Hesperidum decidisse, dum hic sum? An mihi nihil deesse? Erras certe, si hoc putas. Esto, nihil desit, deest tamen multum, cum absum a  
25 esse latronibus spurcissimis, sed etiam expositam illorum direptioni. Et praeterea cum non sine magnis hic laboribus et equitationibus meae conditioni non satis convenientibus vitam meam transigam. Ubi fuit occasio his temporibus turbidis te promovendi? Quin non modo non promoveri nos sinunt haec tempora adversa, sed adimunt nobis ea quoque, in quibus prius fuimus promoti. Si tam essent magni alii domini,  
30 qui magnam patiuntur, ut scribis, egestatem, mecum una queruli erga regem et principes, ut tu facere soles, quid non facerent? At patientiam habere debent pro tempore, scis me te potuisse providere aliquo beneficio. Ubi est beneficium, quod nunc vere possideam? Omnia fuerunt hactenus turbata. Si quaerimus, cuius culpa, nescio, voluntati ipsius divinae tribuenda sint omnia, qui hac poenitentia et, ut uno verbo dicam, τῆ ἀνεξικακία<sup>5</sup> nostros reatus diluere voluerit, deinde hominum facinorosorum  
35 nostrae aetatis τῆ πανουργία<sup>6</sup> et improbitati, qui carnificem Dei in aliorum cruciati- bus et direptionibus agunt. At pro te non egi, dum captus eras? Quomodo potui pro te agere, si ante emissus eras, quam te audivissem cum magno dolore meo captum, si non tantum tribuisses illis sceleratis fidei, quantum tribuisti et cautius te custodisses,  
40 illorum perfidiam, astutiam facile vitare potuisses, sed haec transeant. Quae nunc, cum non sit tempus vindictae ab illis summendae, non sine dolore commemoro.

[2.] Petis nunc, ut absolvaris a servitio meo. Cogita tu ipse, si id te petere aut honestum sit, aut conveniat, et an id in absentia facere ego possim, nisi cuperes res meas perditas perditiores facere et in extremum periculum ponere. Quomodo a du-  
45 centis miliaribus id facere possum? Si praesens essem, et tibi id commodius fore arbitrarer, non gravarer facere, quod mihi et tibi esset utilius. At vocasne, ut exeam? Si Croesus essem, facerem id libenter, ut possim, commode exire et reverti. Ego tamen cogito, quid necessarium sit ad me hinc cum meis movendum. Si semel Deo dante exivero, non me volentem huc reversurum videbis. Quare usque dum exire  
50 commode potero, habe curam, quam poteris, diligentem rerum mearum et cura, ut ego in te confido et tu quoque ipse et verbis saepe et litteris pollicitus es, ne quantum in te est damnum patiar. Damnum tuum ego non cupio, multo minus periculum, quod meo quoque aliquali detrimento vitarem. Omnia, quae ad rem meam pertinuerunt, hinc quantum potui procurari, regem et mihi rebusque meis et tibi feci faventem  
55 Tridentinum,<sup>7</sup> Lundensem,<sup>8</sup> Agriensem et alios, quos tu nosti patronos. Cura, ut sicuti

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35 ἀνεξικακία] *corr.* ex ἀνεξικακία 36 πανουργία] *corr.* ex πανουργία 37 te<sup>2</sup>...38 agere] *corr.* ex tu agerem

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<sup>2</sup> Pál Várday. | <sup>3</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>4</sup> Miklós Gerendi. | <sup>5</sup> 'with patience'. | <sup>6</sup> '[it has to be ascribed to] his wickedness'. | <sup>7</sup> Bernhard von Cles. | <sup>8</sup> Johan Weze.



in te confido, nihil in te deesse videatur, fac extreme non, quod non potes, sed quod potes. Spero, non frustraberis labore, tot patronis propitiis, modo non refrigescas in incepta diligentia et in omnimoda cura, ut bona mea, ex quibus et mihi et tibi benefacere possim, recuperes. Credo iam Cornelium<sup>9</sup> rediisse et finem rerum mearum retulisse, ut opinor et ut ex Constantinopoli nuper ad me scripsit, bonum et optatum. 60  
Erit, ut existimo, in eius reditu iam finis aliqualis laborum et miseriarum nostrorum omnium. Non cessa igitur praedictorum opera, consilio et auxilio rem nostram in optatum deducere finem; quod puto futurum ex Dei clementia. Nam Cornelius scripsit mihi, omnia mea esse tuta, nihilque me dubitare debere. Quam rem ab eo ipso intelliges clarius, si reversus est. 65

[3.] In aliis litteris, quas XXII. Iulii scripsisti, significas te personaliter apud Valentinum Theuvrek<sup>10</sup> egisse in restitutione bonorum praesente Gherendi, et quid tibi tam ipse, quam postea Ioannes Bodo responderit, mihi describis. Probo tuam diligentiam. Melius est te solum expertum esse illorum animum. Arbitror has cavillosas illorum responsiones eo tendere, ut ipsi hoc anno vindemient. Nihilominus tu cura, 70 quantum potes, ne voti sui compotes fiant. Et poteris regi insinuare responsum illorum vel per te vel medio Cornelii aut Lundensis, praesertim illius Bodo superbum et insolens, quod verus rex coronatus bona ei contulisset, et in illis mori vellet. Ergo Ioannes est rex illius verus! Quod petis, ut tibi procuratorium mitterem, etsi nescio, an aliquid proficiat nunc contra illum iure agere, qui nec regem curat, nec τὸν κακο- 75 δαίμονα.<sup>11</sup> Tamen mittam ad te brevi manum meam procuratores constituentem eos, quos optasti. Si Cornelius bonum responsum retulerit, sine processu iuris res transigi poterit, attamen ne id quoque tibi deesset, satisfeci voluntati tuae. Tenta rem in omnes partes. In primis autem si contigerit, ut bona remittantur, provideas vindemiae futurae, ut habeamus victualia, quia non puta me hic haesurum, modo habeam, quo 80 exire possum. Vale.

Gandavi tertia Septembris 1533.

#### 404

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Ghent, 6 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 521.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 406.

*The Danish envoys are still negotiating here with those appointed by the Queen. He talked with the Queen yesterday, she said she is going to look into Weze's case; Carondelet promised the same thing. King Christian II is still in captivity. They await Schepper with the news.*

<sup>9</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>10</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>11</sup> 'the goddamn'.

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesareo salutem.

Oratores Dani<sup>1</sup> hic adhuc agunt. Tractant cum eis Panormitanus,<sup>2</sup> comes a Byren<sup>3</sup> et Molenbais<sup>4</sup> magister domus reginae, hi per reginam ad id sunt designati. Cupiunt autem pacem regni nomine cum his caesaris provinciis, ut opinor, transigaretur cum eis  
5 negotium. Heri sollicitavi reginam in rebus tuis; dixit se illarum curam habituram, si nunc possit fieri illarum locus et opportunitas. Accesseram et Panormitanum, obtulit et ipse operam suam ac se tibi commendat. Quicquid vel fecero vel non fecero, faciam te certiolem. In me nihil deerit, quin moturus sim πάντα τὸν τρόπον ὡς φήσι<sup>5</sup> in his sollicitandis, ut tibi rem gratam facere possim. Interea haec praescripsisse volui,  
10 ut intelligeres, quid hic ageretur. Christiernus<sup>6</sup> est in captivitate, nec spem ullam esse intelligo liberationis ipsius. De matrimonio Danico<sup>7</sup> nihil agi video, quia nemo adhuc est rex electus in Dania. Sumus hic in exspectatione sollicita, quid Cornelius<sup>8</sup> attulerit. Nihil de illius reditu audimus. Si quid est, fac me certiolem. Meas res, quando habebunt tempus et opportunitatem, tibi commendo. Interea conserva me in gratia  
15 regis. Vale.

Gandavi VI. Septembris 1533.

#### 405

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Ghent, 7 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 486–487.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 406–407.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 287–288.

*1. They can hardly wait for Schepper's to return, in one piece. Schepper's wife visited Oláh yesterday in secret to find out what is going on with Schepper; he is sending her letter as well. 2. As far as his affairs are concerned, he does not understand how the King cannot force Török to return his possessions to him. He is finding anyway that the King is not moved by his servants' losses, he is only making promises.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Sceperum.

[1.] Si incolumis reversus es et optato responso, gaudeo. Nos omnes tui hic bene valemus. Magnum tamen tenet desiderium ea intelligendi, quae retuleris. Neminem enim esse arbitror, quem non taedeat tantae exspectationis. Domina uxor<sup>1</sup> bene valet,  
5 venerat heri ad hanc civitatem me omnino inscio, quae et insalutata discessit cum

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404,8 πάντα] *corr. ex πάσα*

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404 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 400. Cap. 1. | <sup>2</sup> Jean Carondelet. | <sup>3</sup> Adolphe de Bourgogne de Beveren. | <sup>4</sup> See Ep. 363. Note 10. | <sup>5</sup> 'in every possible way as they say'. | <sup>6</sup> King Christian II. | <sup>7</sup> See Ep. 390. Note 13. | <sup>8</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 405 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

aegroto quodam affine suo, cuius gratia clam huc venerat. Si scivissem eam venisse, accurrissem eamque et hospitio et convivio excepissem, sed decepit me, nec scivi eam hic esse, antequam currum rursus ascenderet domum reversura. Miserat unum ex suis ad me servum sciscitatum, an de te aliquid acceperim, quod antea illi non significavi; effinxi, nescio quali de tua valetudine optima et celeri reditu, sic et antea 10 alioquoties eam delusi. Sed ut est perspicacis ingenii mulier, vix eam deludere queas verbis, nisi tuo adventu. Litteras, quas ad me misit, cum praesentibus accipies. Vale et exhilara nos tuis scriptis. Nunc non plura.

[2.] Res meae quomodo sint, nescio. Miror regem non esse inter suos tantae auctoritatis, ut cogere possit unicum Thewreck<sup>2</sup> ad mea bona remittenda. Et quae causa 15 est illorum retentionis? An licet aliena et mea, qui fui ab initio et sum cum magno et facultatum et bonorum meorum detrimento fidelis servitor regis et reginae, illum bonum τὸν ληστὴν<sup>3</sup> per vim rege connivente possedere et quidem iam fere a quadriennio. Rei indignitas me huc adegit. Video regem non moneri suorum servitiis, incommodis, detrimento et periculis. Testem invoco Deum me ab initio in eorum 20 servitiis aliquot milia ducatorum ex meis et amisisse et insumpsisse. Praeterea ubi sunt servitia eis exhibita? Quid habent mercedis? Quid praemii? Si haec cordi essent regi, iamdudum illis prohibuisset, ne vim mihi inferrent, promissiones licet multae sunt, de quibus proxime domino Lundensi<sup>4</sup> scripsi.<sup>5</sup> Sed quid spes tales prosunt homini magna iam exspectatione defatigato? Nunquam spem libenter pretio emi. Si 25 quid istic in meis bonis recuperatis factum est per meum sacellanum,<sup>6</sup> scribe ad me. Et si nihil, adiuva illum, ut iam tandem mea redeant. Vale.

Gandavi septima Septembris anno Domini 1533.

406

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Ghent, 10 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 426–427.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 407–408.

*He thanks Czeglédi for what he is doing in Veszprém to get his benefices back. Czeglédi should feel free to talk to the King about his difficulties. He has sent letters of procuratory [litteras procuratorias], Czeglédi should show them to whoever he chooses, they will trust his handwriting. When Schepper returns, Czeglédi should negotiate with Brodarics and his people if necessary.*

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405,16 initio] *O corr.* ex minucis 18 ληστὴν] *corr.* ex ληστήν

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<sup>2</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>3</sup> ‘that plundering’. | <sup>4</sup> Johan Weze. | <sup>5</sup> Probably Ep. 400. | <sup>6</sup> János Czeglédi.

Nicolai Olai ad eundem.

Ad priores litteras tuas respondi<sup>1</sup> per postham proximum, heri accepi alias litteras  
tuas XX. Augusti Viennae datas.<sup>2</sup> Placet mihi, quod Vesprimii laboraveris pro bono-  
rum meorum restitutione per episcopum Gherendi<sup>3</sup> et alios amicos meos, gratiasque  
5 tibi ago. Ad scitum regis dare poteris illorum difficultatem. Citatio illius si non pro-  
derit, non oberit. Tenta negotium. Litteras procuratorias misi, si hae non sufficerent,  
poteris has ostendendo domino Agriensi<sup>4</sup> cancellario regias litteras excipere, quae  
non denegabuntur, dum meam manum videbit. Procuratoribus ego satisfaciam. Scrip-  
sissem ad eos, sed nescio, quem elegeris in procurationem. Schedam praesentibus  
10 inclusam ostende illi, quem elegeris, credet manui meae pro satisfactione. Si in reditu  
Cornelii<sup>5</sup> aliquis particularis tractatus sequetur cum vaivodanis, cura cum Stephano  
Broderico et Nadasdy, si opus erit, tractare. Vale.

Gandavi 10. Septembris 1533.

407

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 12 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 434.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 408.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 19.

*The Queen was supposed to come to today's mass, but in the end she did not. He heard that Lieven Algoet had returned from Erasmus. He hopes that before the Queen leaves he can meet with Oláh. He is happy that Oláh has tracked down Cleynaerts' Meditations at the booksellers.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Hoc die duodecimo Septembris dicebatur apud nos serenissima regina sacrum  
auditura, Clarissime Vir, et parabantur omnia in illius adventum. Cumque iam parata  
essent omnia, subito venit inauspicatus, nescio, quis nuntius dicens non esse ventu-  
5 ram. O quanta ibi ab spe decidi! Audieram Panagathum<sup>1</sup> nostrum rediisse ab Erasmo,  
et speraveram certo cogniturum me esse, quid super eo possem mihi persuadere. Hoc  
enim mihi vel ipse dixisses, opinor, vel a Panagatho didicissem. Nunc adhuc animi  
pendeo, sed antequam recedat hinc regina, spero fore, ut adhuc semel te videam.  
Gratum mihi est, quod mea causa disquiri feceris apud bibliopolas Clenardi<sup>2</sup> *Medita-*

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406 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 403. | <sup>2</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 403. Cap. 3. | <sup>4</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>5</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 407 <sup>1</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>2</sup> Nicolas Cleynaerts (1495–1542) was a Flemish grammarian and traveler, for more, see BIETENHOLZ 1985c.

*tiones*,<sup>3</sup> inventas vellem. Interim immo semper bene vale, Honorande mihi Domine! 10  
Has responsiunculas Dano<sup>4</sup> nostro des, precor.  
E Valle Regali 1533.

408

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 13 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 433–434.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 408–409.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 20.

*Many visited and saw the Queen's new musical instruments yesterday, which sound wonderful. They are asking Oláh through him that the Queen should go among them after all, even though something came up yesterday, and she should light the fire of their souls with sweet music to the glory of God. At least his soul is swept away by this music, it approaches the heavenly chorus in its beauty.*

Levinus Ammonius Cartusianus monachus Nicolao Olao salutem.

Ecce rursus adeo Praestantiam Tuam! Vide vero, quanti faciam gratiosum esse  
fratribus meis, quorum gratia tam pueriliter ineptiam. Opinor me funem quoque  
ducturum in foro, si iusserint. Heri sub vesperam frequentes me adierunt, posteaquam  
litteras<sup>1</sup> ad te dedissem. Viderant inter apparatus serenissimae reginae nova quae- 5  
dam musica instrumenta, quorum concentum vix credas, quantopere desiderent au-  
dire. Itaque Tuam Dominationem per me adeunt, credentes me nonnihil apud eam  
posse, rogantes obnixae, ut serenissimae reginae suggerere dignetur (si tamen me sinis  
hoc impetrare, quod tibi non sit fraudi), ut hodie, hoc est sabbato, faciat, quod heri  
factura fuerat, nisi nescio, quid intervenisset, veniat et animos illa dulci modulatione 10  
alacriores in Deum faciat. Nescio enim, qui fiat, fieri tamen expertus sum, ut mens  
suavibus modis excitata rapiatur in Deum, admonita sensilibus instrumentis; quanto  
in infinitum dulciora sunt in caelis angelorum beatorumque Deum laudantium car-  
mina! Perfunctus sum apud te hoc epistolio legatione sodalitatis meae, tua dignatio  
ostendat, quanti faciat et fieri velit Ammonium. Christus Iesus quam diutissime ser- 15  
vet incolumem Reverendam Dominationem Tuam, cui me toto pectore cupio esse  
commendatum.

E Valle Regali die memorato, hoc est Idibus Septembris anno Domini 1533.

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<sup>3</sup> Cleynaerts' *Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam* was published by Ressen at Leuven in 1531. | <sup>4</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 408<sup>1</sup> Ep. 407.

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Ghent, 13 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 522–527.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 409–414.

1. *It is not true that he is lazy when it comes to writing Weze a letter. 2. They do not understand where Schepper is delayed, and they are often discussing Koroni's fate, on which Hungary's fate also depends. He is afraid that Hungary will be divided up; if King John I happens to die, Gritti will take his place, and he is clearly vying for power. He wishes these sinister rumors were not true, and King Ferdinand I ruled on his own. 3. Czeglédi has submitted Oláh's defence at the Court, but he does not know what he will accomplish with it, he hopes that he will be able to reach his goal with the help of Schepper and Brodarics. 4. He reports on the latest Danish news: the Danish requested 300,000 florins to make up for the damage caused by King Christian II, but later they withdrew this claim, while the people of Lübeck defected from the Danish, etc. Carondelet and Müller are helping with Weze's affair; he entrusted this task to them after they had discussed it at length. If they cannot get the possessions back, they should at least be allowed to charge a rental fee. 5. They will be able to accomplish something if Denmark has a king who is close to the Emperor. The envoy of Milan has arrived to arrange the marriage with the Danish King's younger daughter.*

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesareo salutem.

[1.] Accepi nudiustertius litteras tuas ad me XXIII. Augusti praeteriti datas.<sup>1</sup> Ad priores omnes, quas ad me diversis temporibus dedisti, iam pridem respondi;<sup>2</sup> his prostromis videris meum officium scribendi desiderare et mecum expostulare, quod  
5 raro respondere soleam. Profecto omnium, qui sunt, inhumanissimus et incivilissimus essem, si ad tam humanas mei amici et mihi familiarissimi litteras, mihi nullo non tempore gratas et iucundas non responderem. Immo adeo non videor esse piger in respondendo, ut cum tu septenas, ut arbitror, ab initio ad me dederis litteras, et has quidem, quae prolixiores fuerunt, vix duas aut tres paginas prolixitate sua excedentes,  
10 ego octenas et prolixas et quattuor aut sex paginas implentes ad te dederim, in quibus omnibus nihil videor praetermisisse, quod ad officium boni viri sincerique amici pertinuerit. Verum fortasse litterae meae non in tempore illuc allatae sunt, quod frequenter accidere solet, tum improbitate tabellariorum, tum quod non tam saepe hinc ad Austriam nuntii iam proficiscuntur, quam antea, nisi cum regina aliquid  
15 privati habuerit illic negotii, hanc igitur ob causam arbitror meas litteras non suo tempore ad te fuisse allatas, quas tamen omnes puto iam redditas. In posterum si

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409,7 non<sup>1</sup>] *O add. sup. l.*

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409 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Ep. 400. and Ep. 404.

litterae meae tibi hactenus visae sunt raras, crebriores scribam et faciam assiduitate, ne mecum sis expostulaturus, modo non desit tabellarius.

[2.] Nunc redeo ad litteras tuas. Cornelium<sup>3</sup> nostrum tam diu tardavisse omnes miramur. Causam ignoramus. Multa coniiicimus, inter alia Turcae vafriciem, cui gens 20 illa est assueta, et Coronis<sup>4</sup> urbis eventum, qui utinam felix sit et fortunatus. Qui si futurus etiam erit Deo concedente, nostrique superiores erunt, nescio, quam causam iustam haberet Turca pacem iam cum rege initam refrigendi, cum et antea in articulis pacis insertum sit, si caesar noster Coronem reddere et pacem iungere cum illo nollet, nihilominus rex cum illo in his, quae in Hungaria possidet, pacem sit habiturus. 25 Cuius rei causa Coronis negotium non videtur regis nostri pacem interrumpere posse, maxime cum ille prior Coronem obsederit, et nostri cogantur eam liberare. Attamen quia nusquam tuta nec fides est, possibile est id quoque contingere posse, quod tu mihi in aurem scripsisti. Illud me magis sollicitat, quod (Deus vertat rem in meliorem partem) ubi totius regni Hungariae restitutionem sperabamus, timeo, ne minor sequatur media. Quod si fieret regnumque divideretur, quid posset esse genti Hungaricae perniciosius, quid Christianitati magis noxium? Nam facta divisione nunquam in Hungaria firma pax fieri, nunquam etiam Turcae imperium excludi posset. Adde, quod si vaivodae sequeretur mors, mox Turcam haberemus, si non officialem, at regem. Griteum<sup>5</sup> non aut regis nostri aut Ioannis vaivodae negotium agere puta, sed 35 suum, ut si qua illi detur occasio, possit aliquando illi imperio manum imponere, hanc ob rem si vera sunt, quae episcopus Sirmiensis<sup>6</sup> scripsit,<sup>7</sup> miror oratores regio ad illius arbitrium consensisse et compromisisse. Quas quidem litteras licet non putem in omnibus esse veras, tamen potest in eis aliquid esse verum. Nam ex Venetis quibusdam mercatoribus Constantinopoli negotiantibus aliquid his fere conforme his 40 diebus accepimus. Velim tamen omnia esse vana, et ut serenissimus rex noster totius potiretur Hungariae. Illud certe meo iudicio non fuisset incommodum visum, si Posonii antea, ut Sirmiensis scribit, aliquid fuisset cum vaivoda transactum, et eo de rege nostro quieto reddito aliquibus postea regi nostro honorificis conditionibus cum Turca actum de perpetua fuisset pace. Nam sequi nunc quoque potest pax temporaria, 45 sed vivente vaivoda et Griti vix spero eam aut tranquillam aut firmam fore. Modicus eventus rerum rem totam turbare poterit; quibus de rebus ego plura aliquando scripseram Cornelio, sed haec sus Minervae, libere tamen ego quoque, ut tu ad me scribis, tecum ago, nolimque ea in vulgus exire. Nostri, qui sunt apud regem, ut scribis, non timent. At cum res, quas praevidisse aliquando eis imminuerint, tunc trepidare incipient, et praeteriti temporis erroris, si possent, mederi vellent, sed haec viderint ipsi. 50

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37 vera] *corr.* ex verba 50 quas] *corr.* ex quam

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409,48 sus Minervae] Proverb, cf. Erasmus, *Adages* I,1,40. "sus Minervam", see MYNORS 1982, 88–90.

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<sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>4</sup> Koroni, see Ep. 347. Note 28. | <sup>5</sup> Ludovico Gritti. | <sup>6</sup> István Brodaries. <sup>7</sup> Ep. 334.

Meum esset desiderium, ut serenissimi primum regis nostri quies, securitas et pax et imperium firmum, deinde omnium nostrum in regnum quieta reversio et quies futura esset, et nostrae gentis nationisque permansio.

55 [3.] Nullae ad me datae sunt tuae litterae, quas Ioanni Stanshardo<sup>8</sup> fideliter praesentari non curassem. Non patior enim in similibus amicorum rebus quatenus a me fieri poterit, errorem mea negligentia committi. Ioannes Cegledinus scripsit<sup>9</sup> et ad me se citare fecisse meum adversarium in curiam regiam, sed nescio, quid proficiat. Leges et iurium exquisitio nunc silet, neque rex refrenare illos potest, aut non vult. Si  
60 id vellet et malos suos a licentia cohiberet, melius res sua procederet, maioremque nostrorum sibi conciliaret amorem, si Cornelius redierit, agendum tibi postea cum eo apud regem erit, ut mea mihi iubeat reddi. Et si particularis erit conventus cum Ioan-  
65 nitis, quem omnino credo futurum, cum Sirmiensi agendum erit et aliis, ut ea bonorum meorum pars, quae est nunc in parte ipsorum, ad me redeat. Quod ipsum Sirmiensem non gravatim facturum arbitror. Si autem id effectum fuerit tua opera et Cornelii, reddetis me vobis obligatissimum.

[4.] Res Danicas quomodo se in hunc diem habuerint, meis prioribus satis copiose descripseram.<sup>10</sup> Oratores<sup>11</sup> ante quatrimum sunt expediti, heri abierunt, qui pacem cum his caesaris provinciis illius vicinis transegerunt. Holandi et alii non molestabuntur amplius a Danis, liberam et hi illuc et illi huc habebunt navigationem. Petebant prius Dani trecenta millia florenorum pro damnis per Christiernum<sup>12</sup> illatis, sed postea ab hoc cessarunt. Lubecenses seiuncti sunt a Danis, contra quos, ut scripseram antea, missa est classis viginti navium expeditarum. Missouri sunt ex Dania huc rursus oratorem, qui renuntiet regnum confirmasse hos nunc actos pacis tractatus, similiter  
75 et caesar, ut spero, eos confirmaturus est, ad quem illi mittentur sine mora. In negotio tuo reginam non semel sed pluries post litteras meas novissimas ad te scriptas rursus admonui, quae parata fuisset omnia facere in rem tuam possibile. Sed oratores non habuerunt mandatum ad talia particularia facienda. Non potuit ergo regina habere opportunum aditum ad tuas res promovendas; cum autem viderem, nequaquam rem  
80 posse cum tua utilitate nunc procedere, rogavi Panormitanum,<sup>13</sup> rogavi etiam Erhardum Mweler,<sup>14</sup> de quo proxime scripseram, ut ex se ipsis facerent de te oratoribus mentionem, quod caesari scilicet et reginae, apud quos in magna esse autoritate, quibusque grata exhiberes servitia, non parum gratificarentur, si curarent, ut restitueris ad tua beneficia, quibus esses spoliatus. Qui postea retulerunt mihi illos sibi  
85 respondisse, maxime autem cancellarius Danus, rem tuam domi se tentaturos et quidquid facere possent facturos imperatoris et reginae causa libenter. Dixit autem mihi Mueler cancellarium ei promisisse se per nuntium, qui confirmationem tractatum reportaturus, ut praemisi, esset, ei rescriberet, quid domi in re tua fecisset, cum alia non fuit data occasio in rebus tuis agendum. Nolui tamen rem praetermittere, quin

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<sup>8</sup> See Ep. 375. Note 10. | <sup>9</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>10</sup> Ep. 400. | <sup>11</sup> See Ep. 400. Notes 2–4. | <sup>12</sup> King Christian II of Denmark. | <sup>13</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>14</sup> See Ep. 400. Note 6.



aliquid ex illis expiscaremur, quamvis ego nullam a te in hac re habuerim ante com- 90  
missionem aut informationem, hoc meum factum, credo, in bonam partem interpreta-  
beris. Cum Panormitano et Mueler plura in tuis rebus locutus sum, visum est omni-  
bus nobis, quod si nulla unquam alia spes esse posset restitutionis tuae, ageretur de  
pensione aliqua tibi ex illis beneficiis solvenda. Nam ut libere tecum agam et ea,  
quae sentio, explicem, cognovi ego caesarem pacis potius quam belli studiosissi- 95  
mum, et non modo subditorum damno et privatione, sed ne suorum quoque affinium  
facile moveri, vi non aget igitur meo iudicio pro restitutione tui; et si res tua inter  
alios quoque induci articulos posset, non facile Dani accederent ad illos intrusos ab  
illis beneficiis expellendos. Nam illum Lundensem intrusum audivi in conventu  
praeterito Danico esse confirmatum per regnicolas, et alii etiam mutuo sunt coniuncti 100  
et confoederati, quantum intelligere potui. Si vero iure cum illis ageres, Dani nunc  
non multum curant censuras Apostolicas, quas penitus non modo contemnunt, sed  
abominantur. Quare si quae via esse posset, ut inducerentur illi intrusi ad aliquam  
tecum concordiam faciendam aut ad pensionem tibi dandam, hac ratione nulla hoc  
tempore videretur tibi aut commodior aut quietior. 105

[5.] Haec omnia licet non mea intererat ad te scribere, utpote qui res tuas et vales  
et potes curare ac in bonum deducere finem, tamen non potui me continere, quin pro  
eo amore, quo tibi afficior, meos cogitatus tibi explicarem. Tu fac, quod melius tibi  
esse videbitur. Equidem si aut in hoc aut in aliis tuis negotiis tibi inservire possum,  
certe animus non deerit, modo non desit facultas. Non defuturum scio etiam reginae 110  
favorem, dummodo possit aliquando res ipsa tua coniungi cum rebus caesaris, sed  
mox Dani resiliunt, et non admittere haec particularia videntur contra intrusos, qui  
sunt eis iam mutuo consensu coniuncti. Si aliquando futurus esset rex in Dania caesaris  
affinis, tunc negotium transigi facilius posset. Dani in hoc fuerunt nunc cauti.  
Electionem regis interea suspenderunt, donec essent securi a caesare ipsiusque pro- 115  
vinciis; si hic pacem non fecissent, neglecti forte, ut ego accipere potui, ambo fuis-  
sent Friderici ducis filii et tertius fuisset electus in regem, qui imperium fuisset po-  
tens, regnum defendere et gubernare bellicosus. Nunc quoque incertum adhuc est,  
quem sint electuri, horum oratorum reditus et legatio electionem illam terminabit.  
Quapropter in omnem eventum caesar est admonendus per te, ut reginae et suis con- 120  
siliariis committat, quo tuas res curae habeant, si tempus et occasio non defuerit.  
Satis habere poteris temporis ad monendum caesarem. Nam id commode interea fiet,  
dum nuntius aut legatio rursus Danica huc revertetur, quod existimo futurum ad duos  
fere menses, deinde nihil officere posse video, si etiam litteras regis commendaticias  
miseris ad reginam et consiliarios, praeterea si quam in partem videris voluntatem 125  
tuam declinare, ut mitteres informationem tuam plenam in causa hac tua ad me vel  
Ioannem Stanshardum; qui si occasio daretur tunc, cum Danus orator advenerit,  
agere posset tuo nomine. Ego si interea mea negotia privata in Hungariam me non  
revocabunt, omni, quo possum, futurus illi sum auxilio et reginam orando et alios  
admonendo. Haec quia ego bono et sincerissimo animo scripsi, rogo in bonam par- 130  
tem interpretare. Nam cum his, quibus inservire cupio, non dissimulanter aut fecte,

sed aperte ac sinceriter et litteris et verbis agere, meamque sententiam qualiscumque sit, explicare consuevi. Mueler se tibi commendat, ad quem scribe, si videtur, poterit rebus tuis inservire. Nam regina et consiliarii eo cum Danis uti consueverunt inter-  
135 nuntio et collocutore. De Christierno nulla mentio. Credo, nunquam evadet miseram suam sortem. Exspectantur huc oratores ducis Mediolani<sup>15</sup> missi in negotio filiae minoris regis Christierni. Dominus a Prato<sup>16</sup> praemissus a caesare iam hic agit alterum diem. Quamvis absim, tamen curavi, ut per meos Ioannis Stanshart ad me veniant litterae ad te mittendae, cuius binas rursus ad te mitto cum praesentibus. De  
140 articulis pacis Turcicae fac me, cum primum revertetur Cornelius, certio rem, simul de rebus Hungaricis aliis et meis, in quibus omnibus gratum erit mihi, si ita, ut ego feci, explicaveris tuam, quid cogites, quid speres, quid censeas, sententiam. Verbosas has litteras boni consule et ex amore in te meo profectas existima; quibus si longiores mihi semper gratas non remiseris, aliter te existimare cogitabo. Vale et mea negotia  
145 tibi unice commendo.

Gandavi XIII. Septembris 1533.

#### 410

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 18 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 434–435.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 414–415.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 21.

*He would have liked for Oláh to keep the book so that he would always think of him, Lievien van den Zande; although he is imprisoned physically and is also bound by the services, he is not subservient, Oláh will see. He is asking to receive this letter with joy. He thanks for the sweets Oláh sent, and for his benevolence towards him. He is sending three apples from his garden with Jespersen.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Erat mihi in votis, Ornatissime Nicolae, ut libellum tibi servares, quo subinde huius amicali in mentem tibi veniret, et plane per eosdem remissem, nisi metus obstitisset, ne pudori tuo negotium facerem. Non enim me fugit affectus hic, quid  
5 agat in animis principum. Atque hac sane de causa pervelim paulo maiorem intercessisse tecum mihi familiaritatem, ut Ammonium propius penitusque cognosceres, sciresque me tametsi corpore claustrum, caeremoniisque contentum, animo tamen esse minime servili. Quando vero id non sinebat praeproperus (animo meo) serenissimae reginae discessus, qua licet te sequor abeuntem, precorque, ut hoc epistolium, quo  
10 meum tibi animum obsignatum offero, mei vice, ut soles, hilariter excipias. Habeo

<sup>15</sup> See Ep. 390. Note 13. | <sup>16</sup> Jacobus a Flandria, see TOURNEUR 1914, 284.

gratiam pro tragomatis sacharaceis, quae mihi dignatus es mittere, proque tanta tua erga me benevolentia, ut te dicas, ubi contingat agere, semper mei fore amantissimum. Utinam mihi donent superi eam facultatem, ut paria tecum faciam! Certe animo nulla ex parte cessurus sum, quem si boni consulis, plane quod volo consecutus sum. Hoc tibi velim persuadeas, nihil esse tam difficile, quod per me fieri possit, 15 ut non sim tua causa facturus perquam libenter. Christus Iesus te quamdiutissime servet incolumem, cui me etiam atque etiam commendo. Tria ex hortulo nostro poma tibi per Danum<sup>1</sup> nostrum misi, quae metuo, ut salva tibi possit exhibere tam longe hinc dissito.

E Valle Regali XVIII. Septembris 1533.

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## 411

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 25 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 486.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 415.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 288–289.

*He can only write briefly. He is well, and the affairs are also not bad, but he would rather talk about it in person, he will arrive soon, they should expect him.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Magnitudo negotiorum meorum efficit, ut non possim longior esse. Bene valeo. Neque negotia male se habent, sed exprimere ea ore possum magis, quam litteris. Adventum meum brevi exspecta, dimissis enim equis et famulis ad vos veniam citissime. Illi sequentur devotionem meam erga reginalem maiestatem, non tam cupio 5 vulgo notam iri, quam re veram esse. Bene vale, Domine et Amice Optime.

Ex Vienna XXV. Septembris 1533.

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410,12 ubi] *del. ex* ubi ubi 411,2 meorum] *del. ex* meorum meorum

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410<sup>1</sup> Jakob Jespersen.

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Lille, 27 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 427–428.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 415–416.

*He has not been able to write to Füzösmegyeri, but he will. Till then Czeglédi should show Füzösmegyeri the paper that he last sent about the procurator's note. The majority of the troubles comes from the false followers of the King, but he should continue to look after Oláh's affairs with the help of Schepper and Brodarics. There will be better times as well, till then they should recover the stolen items.*

Nicolai Olai ad provisorem.

Litteras tuas XXIII. Augusti Viennae datas<sup>1</sup> reddidit mihi Thomas<sup>2</sup> heri frater camerarii.<sup>3</sup> Ad alias omnes tuas proximis respondi;<sup>4</sup> misi etiam procuratorium in eventum rei. Scribere ad Emericum de Fysesmeghieur<sup>5</sup> propter subitum postae discessum non potui, scribam tamen propediem. Interea ostende illi schedam, quam proxime scripseram de satisfactione procuratoris. Non dubitet, contentum eum reddam. Direptiones et maleficia, quae scribis fieri in Hungaria, iam pridem scivi doleoque id plurimum. Eorum malorum maior pars fit a regiis  $\psi\epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota$ <sup>6</sup> fidelibus. Miror regem eos non cohibere posse, si unus puniretur, alii non tanta licentia uterentur, sed scio, mox quis clamor, quae turba, quae voces defectionis. Si rex tales curat voces, nunquam habebunt boni sub eo pacem. Tu fac in re mea, quod potes, si nihil poteris infra Cornelii<sup>7</sup> reditum, tunc, cum redierit, poteris aliquid. Et circumspice, ut si post reditum ipsius, cum vaivodanis aliquis futurus est particularis tractatus, quem futurum cogito, tu rem meam, si opus erit, apud Stephanum doctorem,<sup>8</sup> ut alias tibi scripsi, Cornelio sciente sollicita. In me nihil omnino deerit, quin promovearis, dummodo non desit occasio et mea facultas. Non natus tantum mihi sum, sed tibi et aliis meis. Desine nunc tam impudenter conqueri. Nam quid in hunc diem te ipso et teste et iudice facere potui, cum nec ego multum habui, et cum aliis una fortuna adversa demolitus sim, secundioraque exspectavi tempora, quae si adfulserint, adfulgent ita mihi, ut tibi. Adnitere interea viribus, quibus poteris, ut recuperemus alienata. Nam scis faciliorem ad maiora esse aditum, si adsint aliqua facultatis principia, ob quam rem maiore utendum erit in his meis recuperandis diligentia, ut et mihi et tibi prodesse possim. Vale et sis animo quieto, parumper et ego et tu patientiam habere debemus, dum hanc temporis malignitatem, non nos solum, sed omnes Hungari devoraverimus. Miserebitur Deus brevi, ut spero, calamitatum nostrarum, dummodo

412 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Thomas Beheim. About the earlier contact between them, see HOFINGER ET ALII 2015, 193, and HEISS 1971, 265. | <sup>3</sup> Bernhard Beheim. | <sup>4</sup> Ep. 406. | <sup>5</sup> Imre Füzösmegyeri. <sup>6</sup> '[from his] false [followers]'. | <sup>7</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>8</sup> István Brodarics.

recuperare possemus bona nostra alienata, minus esset postea laborandum. Quod spero futurum, si redierit ipse Cornelius, cuius tarditatem non possum non mirari. Commenda me amicis meis. Et quis status facultasque sit vivendi et eorum et curiae regiae, fac me certiolem. Vale et scribe.

Ex insulis Flandriae 27. Septembris 1533.

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### 413

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Lille, 27 September 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 527–528.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 417.

*Francesco II Sforza's envoy arrived to Ghent twelve days ago, he came with them all the way here; the wedding will be tomorrow. Weze should write about Schepper if he knows something, and Oláh believes Weze already knows about Andrea Doria's victory.*

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesaris.

De rebus omnibus proxime satis copiose scripseram. Nunc nihil aliud est, de quo scribere possem, quam quod orator ducis Mediolani<sup>1</sup> Gandavum ad nos ante duodecimum diem venit, qui huc usque est nos comitatus. Cras caeremoniae sponsaliorum inter ipsum ducem Mediolanum et filiam iuniorem regis Christerni contractorum peragentur.<sup>2</sup> Ad proximas litteras meas<sup>3</sup> nihil rescripsisti. Si Cornelius<sup>4</sup> nuper rediit, cuperem intelligere, quid reportarit, et quam pacem simus habituri. Nam timorem nobis iniecit eius tarditas. Ioannem Cegledinum et res meas omnes tibi commendo. De victoria Andreae a Dorea credo vos certiores esse factos. Commenda me et servitia mea in gratiam regis. Vale.

Ex insulis Flandriae 27. Septembris 1533.

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### 414

Mark Lauwerijns to Miklós Oláh  
Bruges, 1 October 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 435.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 417–418.

*His sister, Schepper's wife is torturing him with questions, i.e. where Schepper is, and if her husband is well, but since she is not getting answers, she has asked Mark Lauwerijns to write to Oláh and ask what*

413 <sup>1</sup> Francesco II Sforza. | <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 390. Note 13. | <sup>3</sup> Ep. 409. | <sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.

she can hope for about Schepper. Oláh will free him of a great burden if he answers, since his sister is starting to become increasingly anxious as the cold weather approaches.

Marcus Laurinus decanus Antverpiensis Nicolao Olao salutem.

Mire incipit cruciari mea soror,<sup>1</sup> domini Cornelii Scepperi uxor, Domine Observandissime. Nec ab re, utpote quae suspenso animo quotidie suum exspectans maritum nihil de illo audit, quod eam solari possit. An apud Turcas agat, sitne in itinere,  
5 an apud serenissimum regem Romanorum, ac ubicumque sit, an recte valeat, est illi ignotum. Viriliter nimis pro sexu eiulationes, lacrimas, mulierumque clamores in pectore abscondit huc usque, suspiria tantum occulte, gemitusque submisse depromit, cum illi fit mariti mentio. Interrogata praecipue ab uno atque altero (ex aviditate uniuscuiusque novarum cupidi), quid scripsit maritus? Quid sperandum est ex tractatu cum Turca etc.? Quod credas, mi Domine Olae, bono iure hanc torqueri, cum  
10 non habeat, quid respondeat. Rogavit itigur me, ut ad Tuam Dominationem scriberem eandemque oratam haberem, ut dignaretur nobis significare, quid mea soror Cornelii coniunx sperare debeat de suo marito. Hoc facile percipiet, si cognoverit, quid ex postremis suis litteris serenissimus rex Romanorum ad reginam de domino Cornelio  
15 scripserit. Anne diu sint scriptae, quo die mense etc. Anne ipse dominus Cornelius scripserit, aliusve illius nomine. Id rogo, ne omittas. Sublevabis profecto meam sororem magno animi angore, quem indies magis atque magis crescere facit hiemis intemperies, quae praeter pericula itineris incommoda non modica accersit, omniaque reddit proficiscentibus molestissima. Ceterum oro, ut nostrae audaciae condones, qui  
20 Tuae Dominationi gravare non erubescimus; submovit pudorem nobis rei tam desideratae necessitas, pro sororis solatio atque nobis cognita tua humanitas, qua omnia boni consulis omnibusque te reddes promptissimum. Deus optimus maximus Tuam Dominationem diu servet incolumem! Vale.

Brugis Kalendas Octobris 1533.

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414,1 decanus Antverpiensis] *O add. sup. l. 21 omnia] corr. ex omni*

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414 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. In fact, Anna Isabella was not his sister, but his sister-in-law because she was married first to Pieter Lauwerijns, Mark's brother, see LUTTENBERGER-BIETENHOLZ 1987, 219.

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 13 October 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 188.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 418.

*He recommends to Oláh's attention the bearer of this letter, who was called to Veurne for the election of the new dean. Since there is nobody to turn to for support, he is approaching Oláh, he will surely get to like him. He is sending a few books as a gift: the works of Vives, St. Basil the Great, and Van den Steene.*

Ruthgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Latorem harum litterarum dominum Guilelmum a Putania<sup>1</sup> iam tibi ob non vulgares ingenii dotes commendatissimum commendo, quam possum maxime. Is vocatus a confratribus suis canonicis Furnium<sup>2</sup> ad creationem et designationem novi decani recta ad eosdem proficiscitur. Ad praedictum munus decani assequendum a quibusdam amicis data est huic non levis spes, quae fieret multo maior, si a serenissima regina litteras commendatitias ad Furnenses canonicos impetrare posset. Quas non dubitaret se per fratrem facile posse obtinere, si is iam in aula adesset, cum igitur istic nullum habeat, ad quem confugiat, recta ad te accedit, quem spero pro tua humanitate non patieris frustrari voto suo. Praeter enim generis claritudinem multis est insignibus praeditus dotibus, ob quas ab omnibus amari debeat, maxime a te tuisque similibus. Quem et iam licet nondum visum amare coepisti, multo magis amabis, ubi ipsum coram conspexeris ac noveris. Pluribus apud te causam ipsius agerem, si aliquo modo necessarium esse putarem. Quicquid officii illi praestiteris, senties hominem minime ingratum. Bene vale.

Lovanii 13. Octobris 1533.

Mitto tibi munusculum chartarum Vivis<sup>3</sup> librum *De ratione dicendi*,<sup>4</sup> domini Basilii *Homilias* duas ac declamationem Guillelmi Lapidani<sup>5</sup> *De non timenda morte*.<sup>6</sup>

415 <sup>1</sup> Guillaume de Poitiers (†1577) was Canon of Liège, Chancellor, and preacher of Emperor Charles V. He was named first Bishop of St.-Omer, but he did not accept it. | <sup>2</sup> Veurne. | <sup>3</sup> Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) was a Spanish scholar and Renaissance humanist, see DEUTSCHER 1987. | <sup>4</sup> It was published by Ressen at Leuven in 1533, see WALKER 2017, 47. According to Deutscher, it was published by Bernardus Gravius, see DEUTSCHER 1987, 412. | <sup>5</sup> Guillelmus van den Steene. | <sup>6</sup> It was published by Bernardus Gravius at Leuven in 1533.

Miklós Oláh to a friend  
Brussels, 16 October 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 429.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 419.

*He cannot describe how many difficulties he has to overcome. He told some of it to his friend's Joannes, whom he has sent, the rest he will keep for when his friend visits him; then he will understand everything.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum.

Quantis animi iacter, Amice Carissime, fluctibus, et quae undique imminant mihi perturbationes, non possum tibi nunc litteris declarare. Hae enim tantae sunt et tam multae, ut non litteras unas, sed plurium dierum videantur exposcere collocutionem. Etsi autem earum non parvam partem explicarim Ioanni tuo, quem ad me nuper certis in rebus tuis miseris, tamen multo maiorem illius partem in tuum huc adventum reservavi, putans fore, ut tu brevi tum pro tuis tum pro τῶν φίλων σου<sup>1</sup> negotiis huc ad nos venias. Qui dum veneris, omnia, quae nunc omisimus, coram a nobis intelliges. Interea rogo te, permane in benevolo tuo in me animo, adversariorumque nostrorum verbis minus posthac quam hactenus adhibeas fidei, dum adveneris, omnia abunde percipies. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae 16. Octobris 1533.

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Brussels, 31 October 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 429–430.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 419–420.

*Until Schepper returned, Czeglédi was also unable to recover the possessions. Jeromos Horváth may plunder as much he wants, he will pay for it in the end; now Oláh sends him a letter, Czeglédi should hand it to him and wait for his response and the money, if he is sending any. Oláh has also written to Szalaházy, from whose hand Czeglédi should take the money, which together with the 32 golden florins in March and the 100 golden florins from Bratislava make up 312 florins; he should send those to him urgently. Czeglédi can keep ten ducats from the tithe of Nová Lipnica. Oláh has also written to Albert Tarczi.*

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416,7 φίλων σου] *corr.* ex φίλων σου

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416 <sup>1</sup> ‘for your friends’ [affairs].



Nicolai Olai ad provisorum.

Binas hoc die tuas accepi litteras:<sup>1</sup> alteras III., alteras XVI. Octobris scriptas; ad  
utrasque brevibus accipe. Quamdiu Cornelius<sup>2</sup> ab hac legatione non fuerit reversus,  
interea te parum firmi confecturum arbitror in bonorum recuperatione. Tamen nihilo  
accuratius tu, si occasio erit, etiam interea rem tenta et pedibus et manibus. Hieroni- 5  
mus,<sup>3</sup> ut vult, nunc latrocinetur, tamen erit tempus Dei auxilio, quo non omnia im-  
pune aget. Nunc scripsi ad eum.<sup>4</sup> Quid scripserim, videbis. Mitte litteras ad illum, vel  
redde, si istic est, videbis, quid respondeat. Illius responsum et pecunias, si dederit,  
mitte ad me. Rem Hungaricam puto deventuram ad finem ante tempus verum. Domi-  
num Agriensem<sup>5</sup> credo iam deinceps meis rebus patrociniabitur, si eum vel negotia 10  
publica, vel rerum turbatio hactenus non fuit passa illis subvenire. Scripsi nunc ad  
eum,<sup>6</sup> feci etiam mentionem de illis pecuniis. Cura, ut de manibus eius eas habeas,  
quae si habueris cum illis XXXII a Martio solvendis ducatis, et pecuniis Posoniensi-  
bus centum ducatorum, ut tu ipse scribis, facient trecentos et duodecim ducatos, hos  
rogo per manus camerarii<sup>7</sup> vel fratris sui, Thomae,<sup>8</sup> qui propediem istuc ad vos rever- 15  
tetur, mitte ad me citissime. Ipsi eas mihi huc reddendas curabunt. Decem illos, quos  
petis, ducatos ex decima Tharciensi<sup>9</sup> tibi accipe. Alberto Tharci servitori<sup>10</sup> quid scrip-  
serim, intelliges ex litteris. Sis nunc concors cum eo, ut in vestra discordia damnum  
non patiar. Vale et scribe frequenter.

Bruxellae ultima Octobris anno 1533.

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## 418

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 31 October 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 528–530.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 420–422.

*1. The slowness of the messengers is to be blamed for not receiving the letters more quickly. Cornelis de Schepper returned on 25 October; they spent two days together. He has a bad premonition, when two make peace, the third is looking for an excuse for a new war. Schepper went to his wife, then on 4 November he will come back with her, he will stay for 6-8 days and then go to the Emperor. 2. He has written everything about Weze's affairs, Carondelet promised his help. There is no news about Denmark, an envoy will come by Candlemas or earlier. Princess Christina will stay here until February 1534, due to the decision of the Emperor and her fiancé.*

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417 <sup>1</sup> These letters are not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> Jeromos Horváth. | <sup>4</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>5</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. | <sup>6</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>7</sup> Bernard Beheim. | <sup>8</sup> Thomas Beheim. <sup>9</sup> See Ep. 338. Note 5. | <sup>10</sup> Albert Tarczi of Bratislava was a Hungarian merchant, see GECSÉNYI 1991, 229. This letter is not extant.

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesaris salutem dicit.

[1.] Hoc die accepi litteras tuas XV. huius mensis datas.<sup>1</sup> Acceperam prius per postham XI. et XXV. Septembris et proxime a domino Cornelio<sup>2</sup> octavo Octobris datas,<sup>3</sup> ita omnes tuas litteras accepi. Frustra igitur et ego de te et tu de me conquestus es, si litterae vel tuae mihi, vel meae tibi in tempore non fuerunt redditae, verediorum tarditati id est ascribendum. Querelae tales ex tua parte summi tui erga me amoris et benevolentiae, qua te me prosequi certo scio, et ex mea parte desiderii servitutis, quam tibi, si quando fieri poterit, praestare omnibus viribus cupio, sunt signum et inditium manifestum. Nam desiderium litterarum, quae de rebus nobis optatis et expectatis praestolamur, erumpere cogit has plerumque querelas, quae non fient de cetero, si veredarii suo officio fungentur.

Cornelius rediit XXV. huius mensis cum summa certe omnium nostrum exsultatione, fuit hic mecum fere biduum. Rem teneo. Non multum visus sum a scopo aberrasse, si verba non sunt data, ut saepe soliti fuerunt hactenus, sperandum est aliquid, sed timeo commertium infidele. Vaticinium illud vetus fortasse nostro aevo implebitur. Deus potentia sua uti poterit, et nostrae diuturnae calamitatis misereri cordaque principum mutare. Hominis illius adventum gratulor, sed ita, si veri aliquid et non ficti attulerit. Attamen non videtur omnino illis credendum, si totam habebimus Hungariam, nihil melius, si divisam, haerebimus semper in scopulo, et regnum paulo post, quod absit, peribit. Si adhuc cum parte altera honestius regi nostro, et utilibus conditionibus concordari, ut spes erat in Poseniensi tractatu, secundum Sirimiensis<sup>4</sup> verba in omnem eventum posset, videretur esse non inquietum aut inconsultum. Alioqui auguror (utinam vanus sim augur) novum bellum aut saltem tumultum oriturum. Inita perpetua pax inter duos, tertio urgente negotium modica occasione, saepe violari et plerumque etiam frangi solet, cuius rei causa magis iusiurandum violatur, quam regni! Astra et similes fabulae non necessitant nobis nihil agentibus, sed de his omnibus uberius alias. Scepperus ivit ad uxorem,<sup>5</sup> die quarto Novembris rursus huc se conferet cum uxore, diebus sex aut octo hic remorabitur dissimulans enim propter Gallos eius ad Hispaniam profectionem. Tandem relicta uxore clam postae se committet ad caesarem. In negotio meo scribam propediem, quid mihi videatur.

[2.] In negotio tuo perinde agam semper, ut in meo. Mirari non debes nullam, ut scribis, mentionem tui esse factam in illis scripstitis. Nam si bene recordor, omnem rei seriem tibi lucide perscripseram. Oratoresque Dani mandatum tale non habuerunt, neque intromittere se voluerunt de rebus hisce particularibus. Regina fuit et est incli-

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418,19 haerebimus ... scopulo] Cf. Ovid, *Her.* X,135–136: “adspice mente / haerentem scopulo quem vaga pulsat aqua” et Verg. *Aen.* IV,445–446: “ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras / aetherias”. This allusion frequently occurs, see Ep. 20. Cap. 2. and Ep. 68.

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418 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>4</sup> István Brodarics. <sup>5</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

nata ad faciendum omnia, dummodo agere aliquid cum fundamento possit. Cum 35  
domino Panormitano<sup>6</sup> etiam post Cornelii hinc discessum sum locutus, pollicetur et  
ipse omnem suam operam. Nihil adhuc ex Dania habemus. Exspectamus oratorem  
aliquem, qui reducat confirmationem tractatum et hinc auferat. Promissum autem  
ab illis est se aliquem missuros ad festum Purificationis Mariae.<sup>7</sup> Verum, ut Panormi-  
tanus mihi dixit, fortasse hunc terminum praevenient. Nihil in me defuturum est, 40  
quicquid et pedibus et manibus facere potero. Dum Cornelius huc revertetur, plura de  
his scribemus. De novitatibus mihi significatis habeo tibi gratias, si quid etiam dein-  
ceps istic agetur vel scietur in rebus Hungaricis, fac me certiore.

Princeps Christina<sup>8</sup> manebit hic hac hieme, annuente et caesare et sponso, ad  
Februarium se hinc movebit. Domina Schvater<sup>9</sup> erit ad tempus cum ea caesare ita 45  
volente. Oeconomus illius erit nobilis ille, qui erat oekonomus domini a Fyenes.<sup>10</sup>  
Georgium<sup>11</sup> amicum nostrum arbitror latius de his omnibus ad te perscripsisse, cuius  
litteras cum praesentibus mitto. Nullae litterae ad me venerunt, nec XXIII. Augusti,  
nec alias, quas Sthanshardus<sup>12</sup> non acceperit. Has de XXIII. Augusti solus ei reddidi,  
ad quas etiam ille diu cum meis litteris rescripsit, et nunc rursus admonitus a me 50  
scribit. Vale.

Bruxellae ultimo Octobris anno 1533.

## 419

Miklós Oláh to Pál Várday  
Brussels, 1 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 428–429.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 422.

*He entrusted Czeglédi with visiting Várday regarding his affair, which he has done and will continue to do in the future; Várday is really an excellent patron. He has surely heard already about the excommunication of King Henry VIII and the other things; he himself has also written to him, even if less frequently than he should have, but Várday should ascribe that to his absence. The King has made peace with the Turks, he is asking for his help against the division of the country.*

Nicolai Olai ad Paulum Strigoniensem Archiepiscopum primatem et supremum Hungariae cancellarium.

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<sup>6</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>7</sup> The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple on 2 February. | <sup>8</sup> Christina of Denmark. | <sup>9</sup> Madame de Souvastre. | <sup>10</sup> Jacques III van Luxembourg (1500–1535) was Lord of Auxy, and Fiennes, and Count of Gavere. On the contact between Queen Mary's court and the van Fiennes family, see GORTER-VAN ROYEN 1995, 166–169, and GORTER-VAN ROYEN 2009, 69. | <sup>11</sup> Probably George de Cornhuuse. | <sup>12</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 10.

Commiseram<sup>1</sup> magistro Ioanni Cegledino, provisorio meo, ut si quae res mea  
authoritatem ac patrocinium tuum desideraret, eam tibi referret, qui scripsit nuper ad  
5 me se id hactenus fecisse et facturum etiam in posterum. Te vero in meis omnibus  
esse semper patronum liberalem et munificum, cuius rei gratia habeo tibi gratias  
immortales, relaturus omni genere officiorum, si quando usus se praestiterit, scio te  
nova hinc a me exspectare. Nulla certe sunt digna significatu. De summo pontificis  
10 legitimum reginam et inductam illam pellicem,<sup>4</sup> deque aliis rebus similibus credo te  
iam pridem certiore factum. De quibus omnibus ego quoque suo tempore ad te  
scripsissem, sed variae peregrinationes cursitationesque nostrae, nec tempus, nec  
locum mihi praebuerunt, ut id facere potuissem, si igitur a me aliquid praeteritum est,  
tribuere te id velim his peregrinationibus nostris molestis, non meae negligentiae.  
15 Pacem factam esse inter serenissimum regem nostrum et Turcam, ex litteris primum,  
deinde et ex sermone Cornelii<sup>5</sup> intellexi, utinam firmam etc. et Hungariae profutu-  
ram, vellem non modo cum Turca, sed etiam cum alia parte confectam esse; sic  
putarem eam quietiorem et firmiorem fore. Nam si divisio aliqua (quod multi suspi-  
cantur) fiet, sequetur paulo post totius regni periculum. Credo tamen te et alios domi-  
20 nos tale medium cum rege reperturum, ut huic malo arceri possit, et non passuros, ut  
tam nobile regnum, cuius non est simile aliud, si ad fertilitatem et omnium rerum  
copiam respicias, aut divisione aut alia contentione, pereat. Vale.

Bruxellae prima Novembris 1533.

420

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 1 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 430.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 423.

*He thinks Schepper's return has fostered great hopes in them for peace. They will see during the spring what they can hope for. Nothing has happened yet regarding his affairs, all his hope is in Szalaházy, he should help Czeglédi recover Oláh's possessions. If he sends money, he should send it to the Queen's chamberlain directly.*

Nicolai Olai ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium.

Cornelii<sup>1</sup> reditum scio non minimam spem attulisse futurae pacis, quae utinam  
integra sit, vera et firma. Exitus hiemis vel vernum tempus declarabit, quid sit spe-

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419 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 373. | <sup>2</sup> King Francis I. | <sup>3</sup> King Henry VIII. | <sup>4</sup> About the divorce of King Henry VIII see Ep. 358. Cap. 3. | <sup>5</sup> Cornelis de Schepper was with Oláh between 25 and 27 October. 420 <sup>1</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.

randum. Ego et spero et timeo. Spero, quia et alii sperant, timeo, quod expertus iam  
sim, quid fidendum sit hostibus. De meis rebus nihil hactenus factum esse intelligo, 5  
spes mea est in te, cuius optatis semper me paratum praestiti et praestiturus sum  
etiam deinceps, hoc animo erga te affectum iuvare debes, ut mea bona recuperet  
magister Ioannes.<sup>2</sup> In rege nihil deesse puto, modo demonstraretur ei via, qua violenti  
meorum tentores cogi possint. Sum aere gravatus alieno et eo gravius, quo sum in  
extrema regione. Si aliquid pecuniarum ad me mittere volueris, eam ad manus came- 10  
rarii<sup>3</sup> reginae iube consignari, cuius opera a mensariis eam levare hic potero. Vale.  
Bruxellae 1. Novembris 1533.

421

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Brussels, 1 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 430.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 423.

*He knows from Czeglédi that Gerendi has safely arrived to the King. Gerendi should attribute the fact that he has not yet congratulated him to his many tasks and the continuous travel which has occupied the Queen for 3–4 months now. He should live well, if only he could see him again in good health!*

Nicolai Olai ad Nicolaum Gherendi episcopum Transsilvaniensem.

Ex litteris<sup>1</sup> Cegledini provisoris mei iam olim te incolumem ex Transsylvania ad  
regem venisse intellexeram. Quod hactenus non fuerim gratulatus felici reditui tuo,  
non mea inertia, aut quod tui fuerim oblitus, tibi que inservire noluerim, sed et nego- 5  
tiis et cursitatione frequenti, qua fere tribus aut quattuor iam mensibus regina fuit  
occupata, id factum esse existima. Condonabis igitur, si quid erratum est, praesertim  
huic tuo, qui tuus est, ψυχῆ τε καὶ σώματι.<sup>2</sup> Gratulor prospero felicique tuo adventui,  
faxit Deus, ut incolumis vivas, teque et sanum et felicem videre possim. Si quid spei  
est in libertate Hungariae et pacis alicuius verae, rogo, fac me certiozem. Me et meas 10  
res omnes tibi commendo, in quo non aliam spem quam in meipso habeo. Conserva  
me in gratia regis. Vale.

Bruxellae prima Novembris anno 1533.

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421,7 ψυχῆ... σώματι] *corr.* ex ψυχῆτε καὶ σώματι

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<sup>2</sup> János Czeglédi. | <sup>3</sup> Bernard Beheim. 421 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> 'for your body and soul'.

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 7 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 358.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 424; ALLEN 1941, 315–316.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 668–669.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1963, 185; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 130–131.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 112.

1. Oláh is recommending to his attention the bearer of this letter, Zuichemus, who used to teach law in Padua; he is a true gem! He would like him to get to know him. 2. They say the church in Antwerp has burned down, and that smaller towns have also burned down around Cologne, and it is rumored that the city that is one day's travel away was set on fire by a demon. Dantyszek writes that the cathedral of Chelmo has also burned down. They are also saying that Henry VIII would take Catherine back, if only it was true, but he does not believe it is. There is no change concerning his trip.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi etc.

- [1.] Utinam aula vestra tales amplectatur, qualis hic est Viglius Schvichemius,<sup>1</sup> qui has<sup>2</sup> reddit, iuvenis ingenio niveo, doctor iuris, qui Patavii<sup>3</sup> publice professus est, ut non sine certamine, ita non absque gloria. Nec seipso inferior est in bonis litteris.
- 5 Animo nulla gemma purior. Qui nulla commendatione digni sunt, extorquent multas commendationes. Hic non postulavit vel uno verbo commendari. Tantum hoc mea causa rogo, ut iuvenem tot ornamentis insignem velis cognoscere.
- [2.] Scribunt Antverpiae templum summum deflagrasse. Quid sibi volunt tot incendia? Scribunt circa Coloniam Agrippinam<sup>4</sup> exusta oppidula. Oppidum, quod
- 10 hinc abest iter diei totum, conflagravit igne a daemone immisso, ut constans est rumor. Narrant etiam in Helvetia pagos aliquot conflagrasse. Ioannes Dantiscus<sup>5</sup> Culmensis episcopus scribit exustum Culmum<sup>6</sup> civitatem cathedralem, insuper aliud oppidum,<sup>7</sup> ubi habebat arcem, sic absumptum incendio, ut praeter maenia fere nihil supersit. Haec mihi videntur omnino geri casu. Rumor hic est regem Angliae in pri-
- 15 stinum contubernium recepisse Catharinam<sup>8</sup> suam. Quod ut vix credibile videtur, ita cuperem esse verissimum. De proposito reditus a nobis nihil est immutatum, nisi si

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422,10 igne] *corr.* ex igni

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422 <sup>1</sup> Wigle Ayta or Viglius Zuichemus (1507–1577) studied at the University of Leuven, where he read Latin and Greek authors with Wackers and Ressen. In 1532, he held lectures in law at the University of Padua. More see ERBE 1987b. | <sup>2</sup> sc. *epistolas* or *litteras*. | <sup>3</sup> Padova. | <sup>4</sup> Cologne. | <sup>5</sup> Jan Dantyszek. <sup>6</sup> Chelmo. | <sup>7</sup> Schiltach, see ALLEN 1941, 316. | <sup>8</sup> Catherine of Aragon, the first wife of King Henry VIII. In fact, their marriage was declared invalid this year, so this rumour was false.

quid interim istic exstiterit novi. Rogo, ut tuum in me animum obtineas ac reginae favorem alas. Dano<sup>9</sup> et Levino<sup>10</sup> salutem. Vale.

Friburgi 7. die Novembris 1533.

423

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 9 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 530–531.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 424–425.

*Schepper has arrived with his wife, and in three-four days he will visit the Emperor to report on his legation. He will write about Weze's case if he learns something. The King of Sweden is trying to make peace, only the people of Lübeck are not friends any more. He is also sending the letters written to Weze by others. Schepper and he have promoted Weze's case at the Chancellor of Brabant, they even wrote a memoriale about it. He will not write about his own affairs, they will need to act when Gritti arrives.*

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori Caroli caesaris.

Scepperus die quarta huius mensis rediit huc cum uxore.<sup>1</sup> Ad quartum vel tertium diem futurum hinc sese movebit ad caesarem, qui et apud reginam et Panormitanum<sup>2</sup> exsecutus est legationem in rebus tuis ei commissam, visumque est Panormitano, ut scriptis informaretur et ipse et regina. De tuis iuribus sicuti et ego antea ad te scripse- 5  
ram, ut si quando nuntius ille Danus huc reverteretur, possemus rem tuam cum maiore fundamento aggredi. Quod ipse Cornelius fecit conscius tuorum omnium iurium, cuius exemplum ego quoque tenebo. Si advenerit ille nuntius, rem non negligemus. Quid vero effecerimus, faciam postea te certiolem. Suecus quoque rex<sup>3</sup> petit amicitiam et pacem caesaris, cui ea non denegabitur. Sic soli Lubecenses erunt non amici. 10  
De re Hungarica nostra communi proximis litteris<sup>4</sup> satis scripsi. Cupio, ut res nostra prosperrime succedat, nisi illorum infidelitatem timerem, spes alicuius boni futuri esset mihi iniecta ex verbis Cornelii, sed nescio quorsum res evadet, si quid infra reditum Cornelii acciderit, significa. Schvater<sup>5</sup> salutatus a me tuo nomine litteras ad te mittit. Scribit etiam Ioannes Stanshardus.<sup>6</sup> Apud cancellarium Brabantiae<sup>7</sup> ego et 15  
Cornelius rursus tuum negotium promovimus. Dedi illi memoriale, ne rem oblivisceretur, promisit se causam hanc finitum, quantotius fieri possit. Admonui Stanshar-

<sup>9</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>10</sup> Lieven Algoet. 423 <sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. | <sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet. <sup>3</sup> King Gustav I of Sweden (1496–1560). | <sup>4</sup> Ep. 418. | <sup>5</sup> Philippe de Souvastre. Her wife, Madame de Souvastre took care of Princess Christina of Denmark, see Ep. 418. Cap. 2. | <sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 10. | <sup>7</sup> Adolf van der Noot of Brussels (1486–1543) succeeded Jeroen van der Noot as Chancellor of Brabant in January 1532. For more on his life, see DE RIDDER–SYMOENS 1987a.

dum, ut rem sollicitaret. Idem feci iterum apud praepositum quoque Frigidi Montis;<sup>8</sup>  
is moram refert ad procuratores, se non posse iudicare antequam patres rem sollici-  
20 tent, tamen facturum se recepit libentissime, facturus ego quoque etiam deinceps sum  
utrobique, et apud alios omnia, quae ad commodum tuum videbuntur et quae a me  
possibilia erunt. De rebus meis privatis nihil nunc scribo, praeter quod scripsi antea,  
ut scilicet si hic acciderit occasio infra Cornelii reditum de bonis custodiae meae ex  
manibus praedonum illorum extrahendis, occasionem ne praetermittas. In aliis meis  
25 generalibus rebus, dum Griti aderit, praesente Cornelio agendum erit, quando scilicet,  
si Deo ita videbitur, Ferdinandus erit in tota Hungaria. Nam Ioanne existente in parte  
Hungariae frustra nos acturos arbitror. Verum si quid etiam interea fieri debebit,  
scribam ad te. Vale.

Bruxellae 9. Novembris 1533.

424

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 19 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 531–532.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 425–427.

*1. Schepper has left to see the Emperor. They are handling Weze's affairs, but they have to wait for the Danish envoy, until then both he and Schepper are taking every opportunity to make sure Weze's affairs are advancing. The peace treaty is under way. Christina of Denmark will leave around February-March 1534, Souvastre will write about it in more detail. 2. His own affairs are in doubt; the King should act to call Bálint Török for an audience and persuade him to return Oláh's benefices at last. Oláh could convince him if he was present, now Weze would do him great service if he did it for him.*

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori Caroli caesaris.

[1.] Heri accepi litteras<sup>1</sup> tuas ad nonam. Nudiustertius Cornelius<sup>2</sup> hinc profectus  
est ad caesarem. Mora, quam hic habuit, contigit non sua voluntate. Litteras tuas  
prios, <sup>3</sup> cum primum reversus fuerat ex Brugis, illi reddideram, ad quas etiam per  
5 proximum nuntium rescripsit, has novissimas mittam ad eum, quam celeriter fieri  
poterit. Quae mihi nunc scribis, intellexi, utinam veniat felicibus avibus Griti et ea,  
quae speramus, conficiat. Nostros aulicos et alios agere cum Ioanne non dubito. Nam  
reditus Grithi iniecit eis metum, nesciuntque, quid credant, si quid in ea re erit, fac  
me certiozem. Deus prosperet legationem tuam, et faxit, ut tua opera inter principes

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423,22 quod] *del.* ex quod quod

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<sup>8</sup> Abbey Froimont, see Ep. 390. Note 7. 424 <sup>1</sup>This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup>Cornelis de Schepper.

<sup>3</sup>This letter is not extant.



bona sequatur concordia. Negotium tuum et ante et in procinctu abitus Cornelii sollicitavimus ambo rursus apud Panormitanum,<sup>4</sup> et regina suum favorem et Panormitanus et alii suam operam omnem pollicentur. Restat, ut veniat huc orator Danus, qui si non ante, at ad festum Purificationis Mariae<sup>5</sup> huc exspectatur. Interea et litteras caesaris arbitror huc in committendo tuo negotio pervenire posse. Nec ego pro meo posse, nec Cornelius, si tunc aderit, praetermitteremus sollicitationem rerum tuarum diligentem. Et iam dedimus informationem in ipsa causa Panormitano in scriptis. Quid fuerit secutum, rescribam. Antea, ut et regina et Panormitanus et alii omnes dicunt, non potuit in ea re agi cum oratoribus, qui hic fuerunt, quia neque de iure tuo huc nos certificaveras, neque illi habuerunt plenum mandatum. Secretarius quidam ducis Holsatiae<sup>6</sup> adveniens nunc attulit confirmationem tractatum cum duce factorum. Dani ad terminum praedictum, ut dixi, exspectantur. Classis Holandica nihil adhuc memorabile contra Lubecenses fecit, hiematura est, ut audio, in Daniae finibus exspectans, si tempore adveniente quid possit contra Lubecenses. De comitissa et familia principis Christinae,<sup>7</sup> cuius abitus fiet, ut opinor, in Februario aut Martio, curavi, ut Schvater<sup>8</sup> ad te scriberet. Ex cuius litteris omnia intelliges. Litteras Georgii ab Corenhusen<sup>9</sup> prius ad te miseram. 10  
15  
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25

[2.] In negotio meo nunc rebus Ferdinandi cum Ioanne in dubio stantibus, quid scribere possim, nescio, hoc unum tantum scribo, quod ego patior nunc a Valentino Thewrek,<sup>10</sup> servitore regis et damnum magnum et iniuriam maximam. Facilis esset actio, si ibi esse possem. Nam deberetur cum rege agi, ut vocaret ipsum Valentinum Thewreck, qui nunc Viennae esse dicitur, vel quando illic futurus esset, ad se personaliter, et committeret illi rursus seriose, ut antea commiserat, ut bona mea omnino remittat et ipse, qui rapinis aliorum vivere more suo pulchrum ducit, et Ioannes Bodo. Ego si adessem, facile id efficerem. Si ergo non gravaberis id facere, erit mihi pergratum. De illis bonis meis, quae habet Ioannes rex aut sui, agi postea debet, cum aut conventus fiet inter regem nostrum et eum, aut eius commissarios. De gratiis autem illis exspectaturis et promissione regis, super promotione mea ad maiora, nunc tempus non est, sed tunc res sollicitanda erit, quando actio ipsa habebit fundamentum, sciverimusque, si rex Hungariam totam habebit aut partem. Ex Dania nihil certi adhuc de electione regis habemus. Vale. 30  
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Bruxellae 19. Novembris 1533.

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<sup>4</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>5</sup> The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, on 2 February. | <sup>6</sup> King Christian II of Denmark. | <sup>7</sup> Christina of Denmark. | <sup>8</sup> Philippe de Souvastre. | <sup>9</sup> George de Cornhuuse was Chamberlain of Queen Mary, see KERKHOFF 2008, 121. | <sup>10</sup> Bálint Török.

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 19 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 487.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 427.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 289.

*He is sending him Weze's letter: Both King John I and King Ferdinand I sent emissaries to Bratislava, hopefully they are successful. King Ferdinand I went to Prague to legislate. The Queen is ailing, Oláh is well.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Scepperum.

Heri allatae sunt litterae<sup>1</sup> domini Lundensis,<sup>2</sup> quas ad te mitto. Accepi Hungaros meos, qui sunt in parte regis, meditari clam ea, de quibus fuimus hic locuti. Id tamen non certo adhuc significatur, verum brevi certius audiemus. Scribitur etiam  
5 nunc vaivodam misisse commissarios suos Posenium, regemque pariter. Nescio, quid finiet, Deus fortunet eorum tractatus. Rex itidem profecturus est Pragam, Bohemi namque in quattuor temporibus Nativitatis Domini habituri sunt istic iudicia, in quibus forte rex aliquid corradere poterit. Regina aegrotat. Nos bene valemus, sed vellem, ut et ipsa bene valeret. Tu, mi Sceppere, cura, ut valeas, et rebus ex sententia  
10 istic confectis cito huc redi. Interea tamen scribe, tuisque scriptis nos refocilla. Vale.  
Bruxellae 19. Novembris 1533.

## 426 427

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 23 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 207–208.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 427–429.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 22–23.

*His procurator has been sent there to find out about the opportunities, it would mean great joy for him if Oláh received him. He hears Oláh is homesick, but he believes he is not in a hurry until Erasmus returns home. If it is still the case, he promises to visit him as soon as he can, and he will think of him every day until then. He is happy that he is studying Greek, and he sends his regards to Jespersen and his family as well. He will sooner die than forget about Oláh.*

425 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 424. Note 1. | <sup>2</sup> Johan Weze.

Levinus Ammonius Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae.

Nactus istuc euntem nuntium tam opportunum, Clarissime Olahe, minime committendum esse ratus sum, quin te salutarem. Scio, neque clam est, plurimas undique epistolas ad aulam pervolare, cum alias ob causas, tum propter istam sive subventionem libet appellare, sive exactionem. Nam ut quisque vel habet amicum, vel habere se credit, ita ei, si quid aegre est, communicat. Hanc itaque ex eo numero epistolam licet arbitreris esse, quoniam per eam scripta est occasionem. Missus est enim procurator domus nostrae, ut istuc respondeat nostra omnium vice pro taxata dimidia facultatum parte. Cui si favorem tuum dignaberis ea in re commonstrare, facies mihi quidem rem longe gratissimam, sin autem minime tibi videatur esse res digna, in qua patrocinium interponas tuum, quicquid feceris, facies incolumi nostra necessitudine, quae nuper coepta utcumque et bonis avibus inchoata perpetua sit, volo et immortalis, ut non solum nostri temporis hominibus nota sit, verumetiam posteritati. Atque haec quidem hactenus.

Audio teneri te vehementi desiderio soli natalis, neque id sane mirum, nemo enim omnium non eo ducitur affectu, sed tamen, mi Nicolae, non opinor usque adeo te maturare (nam religio est dicere, festinare tuam gravitatem) reversionem in patriam, ut non vel eum sustineas exspectare diem, quo nobis Erasmus noster sit redditus, quem nequaquam te latet, quam anxie, quantoque desiderio reducem videre cupiamus. Οὐκ οἶδα ἔγωγε τί ἂν πάσχουσιν ἄλλοι. Ἐμοὶ πᾶσά τις ἡμέρα ἐνιαυτός ἐστι.<sup>1</sup> Neque ullam opinor me vidisse hiemem prolixiorem, neque quam maiore cum taedio tota (quam longa fuit) vita peregerim, quam futura sit haec, quae vix dum bene coepta est, quandoquidem nec ante venturus est, nec ego (tametsi valde cupidus) author esse velim, quam nova hirundo novam temporis aetatem reducat. O quantus hunc animulum metus interim torquet, ne quid illi humanitus accidat, neve tanta spes illum videndi me frustretur! Haec in amici sinum depono. Quod si antequam ille huc sese recipiat, tu abiturus es, id quod minime velim, per ego te omnia obtestor sacra, ut Ammonium prius invisus tuum, quando ego te adire non possum huius instituti constitutionibus constrictus. Id quod si non esset, mihi crede, vix ullus esset dies, quin Olao meo familiariter esse usus. Nam ingenium istuc minime illiberale, nec vulgaribus obsessum superstitiosisque opinionibus magnopere me delectavit, quantum sane colloquio perquam brevi licuit coniectare magis quam pernoscere. Christus Iesus te quam diutissime servet incolumem. Gaudeo feliciter ἐλληνίζειν σε<sup>2</sup> Dano<sup>3</sup> et Panagatho<sup>4</sup> salutem. Memineris (inquis) Olaum hunc, ubicumque agat, tuum semper esse, tuique amantissimum. Haec postremis ad me litteris hinc abiens

426,20 ἐνιαυτός] *corr.* ex ἐνιαυτός

426 <sup>1</sup> 'I do not know how others do suffer it but for me, every day seems to be a year'. | <sup>2</sup> 'you to study Greek'. | <sup>3</sup> Jakob Jespersen. | <sup>4</sup> Lieven Algoet.

scripsisti. Quaeso te, memineris ipse, nam prius me vita deserat, quam tui me capiat oblivio. Bene vale rursus.

E Valle Regali iuxta Gandavum 9. Kalendas Decembris 1533.

426 427

Miklós Oláh to Lieven van den Zande  
Brussels, 29 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 208–209.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 429–430.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 23–25.

*Before he returns home, he would like to visit Ammonius. He would lie if he told him that he is not homesick, and it is not so much the land itself but the company of his friends that he misses; in any case, he will not leave in secret. They are both equally looking forward to seeing Erasmus, hopefully he will indeed arrive in the spring of 1534. Oláh talked with the Queen today about lowering taxes, he will soon learn from the procurator of their monastery what he has accomplished. How happy he is that Oláh is studying Greek, he wishes he succeeded, namely so far it has been quite unfortunate. He is sending him two Greek volumes that have been published recently.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ammonium Levinum Carthusianum responsio.

Ὁ οἰκονόμος τοῦ κοινοβίου ὑμετέρῳ,<sup>1</sup> Doctissime Levine! Tuas mihi reddidit litteras, nostrae amicitiae nuper invitae amorisque fraterni testes, quae non eo solum nomine mihi fuerunt gratissimae, quod a me verorum amicorum more confidenter  
5 contendas, quod e re vestri ordinis esse videatur, sed quod in eis tuum quoque desiderium declaras, quo tentaris, ut aliquando Erasmus nostrum videre possis et praeterea me etiam per omnia sacra obtesteris, ut ante te invisam, quam me hinc ad patriam reverti contingat. Ego, mi Ammoni, si negem me non teneri desiderio videndi solum meum natalitium, et eo quamprimum id commode liceret revertendi, ubi natus, alitus  
10 et multis commodis affectus sim, plane mentiar. Non ita tamen patriae licet amantissimae caritas me tenet, ut amicorum maxime tui similitium obliviscar, eosque priusquam mihi abeundum sit, aut litteris aut praesentia mea non revisam. Dum igitur deliberaro me omnino rediturum in Hungariam, id non inscio te faciam. Amor enim noster mutuus hoc a me exigere videtur. Quod Erasmus nostrum videre percupis,  
15 certe eadem est mea quoque, quae tua cupiditas, nec scio, an tibi hac in re sim cessurus. Tu enim ipse novisti ex meis sermonibus familiaribus, quem animum erga ipsum Erasmus semper habuerim, qui nec litteris nec ulla alia re satiari potest, quam illius

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427,2 τοῦ] *corr.* ex οἰκονομός | ὑμετέρῳ] *corr.* ex ὑμετέρῳ 17 potest] *O corr.* ex possum

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427 <sup>1</sup> ‘economist, that is the bursar of the abbey’.

praesenti conversatione, faxit igitur Deus, ut evanescente hac hieme, appetente vere eum, uti solus pollicitus est, videre possimus. In minuenda exactione, qua coenobium vestrum nunc gravatur, allocutus sum hoc die reginam meam, heri enim ob quasdam 20 meas occupationes adire curiam non potueram, sed sine fructu aliquo hanc praestiti operam. Quid huius rei causa sit, procurator domus vestrae et antea intellexerat ex verbis Panormitani<sup>2</sup> et postea a me edoctus est, qui latius ea de re tibi loqui poterit. Quod cupis feliciter me ἐλληνίζειν<sup>3</sup> utinam id feliciter contingat, sed quam infeliciter hactenus Graecatus sim, ego quotidie experior. Misi tibi hos libellos nuper impressos. 25 Brevi mittam et *Meditationes* Clenardi<sup>4</sup> et *Homiliam* Κρυσοστόμου περὶ τοῦ ὀλίγου οἴνω χροῶ,<sup>5</sup> pro quibus Lovanium scripsi. Levinus<sup>6</sup> et Danus<sup>7</sup> mei te resalutant. Vale mei non immemor.

Bruxellae 29. Novembris 1533.

428

Miklós Oláh to Imre Kálnai  
Brussels, 29 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 430.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 430.

*Why Oláh is still here and why he is writing right now he has told his Joannes already, he will tell Kálnai. Kálnai should look after his affairs and should not deny help from others. If Kálnai cannot help his own, who else can?*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum Calnay.

Quibus rationibus inductus hic a tanto tempore permanserim, et cur in hanc horam ditulerim litteras ad te dare, iampridem intellexisse potuisti a Ioanne tuo,<sup>1</sup> quem de omnibus abunde ita certiore feci, ut nihil sit, quod a me desiderare possis. Tu, mi Calnay, cura rebus tuis providere interea, dum potes, et quando tu ipse vales, 5 aliorum non praestolare auxilium. Nam si tu ipse tuis non prodesse potes, quis tuas res diligenter curabit? Quis illarum curam habebit? Vale et si licebit, brevi ad te plura.

Bruxellae XXVIII. Novembris anno Domini 1533.

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27 Lovanium] *O add. sup. l.*

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<sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet. | <sup>3</sup> 'to study Greek'. | <sup>4</sup> Oláh acquired this book at Zanden's request, see Ep. 407. <sup>5</sup> '[the Homily] of John Chrysostom on "drinking little wine"', in which Chrysostom comments on St. Paul's homily against drunkenness (*Adversus ebriosos* 433.42–43). Oláh got this book from Ressen, see Ep. 415. | <sup>6</sup> Lieven Algoet. | <sup>7</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 428 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Tamás Szalaházy to Miklós Oláh  
Veszprém, 30 November 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 378.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 430–431.

*He has not written earlier because he is ashamed that he still has not been able to accomplish what Oláh asked for. He tried to make Bálint Török return Oláh's estates, but he does not want to; what is more, now he is asking King Ferdinand I to look after a few castles, in exchange he promises to restore all church estates. When they next meet, he will remind him of this. They are expecting Gritti next year; things will be settled then.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Quod diu nihil ad Dominationem Vestram scripsimus, non venit ex contemptu, nec ideo factum est, quod quicquam de nostra pristina erga Dominationem Vestram benevolentia et amore sit mutatum, verum cum negotia eius pro voto confici non  
5 potuerunt, suppuduit nos scribere. Laboravimus quidem vehementer, ut Valentinus Therek<sup>1</sup> bona Dominationi Vestrae remitteret, et ut id faceret, etiam commissum ei fuit a rege, nullo tamen pacto ea ex manibus eius eruere potuimus. Optat nunc a rege, ut de aliquibus arcibus provideat. Quo facto pollicetur se omnia bona ecclesiarum restitutum, sane regiae maiestas in eo est proposito, ut quomodocumque fieri poterit,  
10 liberet ab eo bona ecclesiarum. Qui etsi nihil videtur interim redditurus, tamen cum primum, cum eo conveniemus (quod quidem brevi futurum arbitramur), agemus rursum cum eo de bonis Dominationis Vestrae. Si alius esset rerum status, non magnus esset cum huiusmodi hominibus labor. Nunc in his tempestatibus rerum multa sunt regia maiestati ferenda. Exspectamus Gritti ad novum annum. Qui ubi venerit,  
15 arbitramur res nostras meliori statu futuras. Lucretiam<sup>2</sup> salutari optamus, non fuimus eius immemores. Verum nondum data est occasio, cum primum se obtulerit, non omittemus significare Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere optamus, quae nos in gratiam serenissimae dominae reginae commendare non negligat.

Vesprimii ultima Novembris anno Domini 1533.

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429 <sup>1</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>2</sup> Lucretia Caballis.

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 5 December 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 188.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 431.

*As he asked for Oláh's support the other day for Guilelmus, now he is recommending the bearer of this letter to his attention. He will present his case. Oláh cannot respond to Jespersen, but he is trying to make sure he receives the requested books as soon as possible.*

Ruthgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao secretario etc. reginae Mariae.

Tua facilitas et humanitas facit, ut plane apud te deposuerim pudorem, audacter-  
que nimium abuter tua promptitudine ad benefaciendum amicis meis. Et quemadmo-  
dum superioribus hebdomadis abusus sum in Guilelmo<sup>1</sup> meo commendando tibi, ita  
nunc in latore huius epistolae nobili viro et summo amico meo iterum cogor confu- 5  
gere ad Dominationem Tuam ac commendare causam ipsius, quae autem illa sit,  
declarabit tibi coram. Cuperem mihi conferri occasionem, in qua vicissim possem  
tibi aut tuis gratificari. Bene vale. Raptim.

Lovanii pridie domini Nicolai anno 1533.

10

Salutare non graveris ex me tuum Iacobum.<sup>2</sup> Scripserat superioribus diebus de  
quibusdam libris sibi mittendis. Per negotia et varias occupationes non vacavit illi  
scribere ac libros mittere. Scribat denuo mihi, curabo, ut libros accipiat quam pri-  
mum. Vale.

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 7 December 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 532–535.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 431–434.

*1. He has already written to Weze about Schepper's Spanish trip. He has understood the Hungarian affairs. Under reign of King Vladislaus II peace and ceasefire kept alternating, and they lost one castle after another, and if they do not pay attention, the Turks will strengthen their foothold now. He sees two possibilities: one, if the whole country cannot be of King Ferdinand I, then they should make peace with King John I and resist the Turks together, or two, if the Emperor starts a campaign towards Greece. 2. If*

430 <sup>1</sup> Guillaume de Poitiers. | <sup>2</sup> Jakob Jespersen.

*the King of England is excommunicated, war or dissension will follow. It would be best of the Emperor already started the Greek campaign this summer. He does not trust Gritti. 3. He is not surprised at what Török is doing, he has not only taken his estate, but his relative lost Šabac, and Belgrade was lost under his command. He trusts the King to remember Oláh's good deeds after all. 4. He hears that nothing of substance was said at the Marseille assembly, only about the wedding between the King of France and the family of the Pope. The Dutch ships have returned, there is no news about the Danish.*

Idem Ioanni archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesareo salutem dicit.

[1.] Litteras tuas<sup>1</sup> nudiustertius accepi. De Cornelii<sup>2</sup> hinc ad Hispaniam profec-  
tione proximis meis litteris<sup>3</sup> satis copiose scripseram. Utinam bene et feliciter cum  
caesare peractis istic rebus redeat huc deinde ad vos celeriter. De mea in negotiis tuis  
5 sollicitatione nihil dubita, praestabo omnem, quam potero, operam. De rebus Hunga-  
ricis publicis, quae ad me scripsisti, bene intellexi. Nisi rebus illis mature provideatur  
et quidem in tempore, omnia illa, quae scripsisti et quae ego quoque antea scripsi,  
contingere poterunt. Nam quae firma spes in infidelium commercio locari possit, non  
possum cogitare. Quae res Hungariam alia, ut loquar de initio periculi illius, in de-  
structionem adduxit, quam Turcica societas? Dum enim Vladislai<sup>4</sup> olim regis tem-  
10 pore patris Ludovici nunc inducias, nunc foedus cum illis mea pepigit natio, illorum-  
que credidit iuri iurando, interea arces nostras finitimas unam post aliam amisimus,  
multaque loca finitima regni nostri igne vidimus vastari. Nunc quoque nisi curetur,  
ne Turca in Hungaria alterum habere possit pedem fixum, vereor, ne primum Hunga-  
15 ria tota, deinde pedetentim et Austria et alia vicina regna ad hoc idem incidant peri-  
culum. Excludi Turcam eiusque factionem ex Hungaria fateor esse difficile rebus iam  
sic stantibus. Attamen rei huius arbitrator duas vias esse posse: unam, ut si tota Hunga-  
ria regis nostri esse nullo modo poterit, aut per tractatus regnicolarum aut per cessionem  
Ioannis ageretur de firma pace cum eodem Ioanne ineunda, ut iunctis viribus  
20 Hungarorum Turcarum excursioni resisti posset; altera, si caesar noster Carolus  
expeditionem, ut nunc speramus, in Graeciam hac aestate esset factururus. Quae pro-  
culdubio magnum negotium Turcae facesseret, ita ut Hungariae ad multum temporis  
oblivisceretur. Si neutrum horum fiet, vereor illud, quod praedixi, amissionem scilicet  
totam Hungariae et ex ea Austriae, Slesiae, Moraviae pauloque post vicinarum  
25 illis provinciarum. At Turcarum vires non sunt aequales Christianorum nostrorum  
viribus? Non nego id ita esse, sed circumspice, oro, quibus nunc simus terminis et  
quae sint hic animorum dissensiones. Caesar est in Hispania. Serenissimo regi nostro  
nulla aut admodum parva in Germania praestatur propter invidiam et malevolentiam  
oboedientia.

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431 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> Probably Ep. 424. | <sup>4</sup> King Vladislaus II.



[2.] Rex Galliae,<sup>5</sup> nescio, quid semper molitur novi. Anglorum res post excom- 30  
municationem regis<sup>6</sup> tendunt aut ad seditionem aut ad bellum. Pontifex Clemens  
varius esse creditur; et cum provectae iam dicatur esse aetatis non diu vivere potest,  
cuius si ea contigerit morte, omnia utinam in melius mutatur. Si igitur aestate  
futura per caesarem aliquid in Graecia non fiet, nescio an hi principes, quos enume- 35  
ravi, propter haec impedimenta moveant aut movere possint rebus eorum postea  
involutis bello intestino commodam contra Turcas expeditionem. Si caesar noster, uti  
speratur, aestate proxima faceret in Graeciam expeditionem, nihil posset esse aut  
opportunius aut commodius ad liberandam Hungariam, resque serenissimi et optimi  
regis nostri stabiliendas. In Griteo, ut boni aliquid pro rege et nobis faciat, non mul- 40  
tum locare possum spem. Nam puto eum mutatis pilis (ut dicitur de vulpe) non muta-  
turum mores. Quem credo acturum fabulam potius suam et suorum, quam rem regis  
nostri et Christianorum sed haec fortasse, quod utinam ita fiat, omnia Deus optimus  
maximus in eum finem mutabit, quem humana non potest capere ratiocinatio, ut  
scilicet vaticinia illa vetera futuro hoc anno impleantur, serenissimusque noster rex et 45  
imperator Graeciae potiantur. Manus domini, quae potens est et valida, haec etiam  
nolentibus nobis facere poterit, sed profecto nobis quoque non esset dormiendum.  
Hungarorum nostrorum vacillationem non miror. Nam in regno diviso ita fieri sem-  
per consuevit. Cuius rei testes sunt veteres historiae et bellum inter Iulium Caesarem  
et Pompeium gestum.

[3.] Quod Valentinus Theurek<sup>7</sup> regem nostrum cruciet et cogat, nihil mirum; non 50  
potest esse sui dissimilis, ab initio semper hoc fecit. Et tamen si considerare velimus,  
quid fecerit praeclari in rebus regis tuendis, praeterquam quod in comitatu Simi-  
giensi<sup>8</sup> anno 1529 aliquos pauculos nostros adversarios terrore potius reduxerit ad  
partem regis, quam profligaverit, quo tempore et mea bona fuerunt per eum occupata,  
non magni aliquid in eo facinoris reperimus. Hoc scimus, quod et Sabatz<sup>9</sup> castrum 55  
finitimum Hungariae munitissimum e manibus affinium suorum amisimus et Tauri-  
num sive Albam Graecam<sup>10</sup> eo in illa existente bano dedita est Turcis, sed haec ad te  
amicum sincerum scribo. Nunc non modo regem, sed omnes bonos suae maiestatis  
subditos cruciat ac torquet, de meis bonis pauculis mittendis, si rex super illum au-  
thoritatem haberet, vellem, ut mandaret, illeque regis animum intelligeret, sin minus 60

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431,33 mutatur] *corr.* ex mirabuntur 46 nolentibus] *corr.* ex molentibus 53 adversarios] *del.* ex  
adversarios potius 56 finitimum] *corr.* ex Bmitum

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431,40 Nam...41 mores] Cf. Suet. *De vitis Caesarum, Vita divi Vespasiani*, 16: "Quidam natura  
cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui negata sibi gratuita libertate, quam  
imperium adeptum suppliciter orabat, proclamaverit vulpem pilum mutare, non mores." 50 non...51  
dissimilis] Cf. Calvin, *Ad Jonam*, IV.

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<sup>5</sup> King Francis I. | <sup>6</sup> King Henry VIII was excommunicated by Pope Paul III from the Catholic Church on  
17 December, 1538. | <sup>7</sup> Bálint Török. | <sup>8</sup> Somogy county. | <sup>9</sup> Šabac. | <sup>10</sup> Belgrade.

resque mea turbatura esset regis negotium, patientiam habebō ad meliora. Nam non modo vellem occasionem praestare rebus regiis turbandis, sed potius pro bono ipsius, quem semper omnibus meis viribus, ut debui, curavi paratus essem et omnes meas etiam alias reculas, quas habeo, una cum vita in periculum ponere, dummodo vide-  
65 rem me suae maiestatis rebus commodare posse. Credo maiestatem suam tam bonum iustumque principem, ut non modo laudibus talibus, de quibus ad me scripsisti, sed etiam re ipsa et factis mei, qui et patrinomium et etiam alia mea beneficiola penes ipsius et sororis suae fidem ac servitia in discrimen posui, aliquando sit recordatura.

[4.] De novitatibus mihi significatis habeo tibi gratias. Praeludia conventus Mar-  
70 siliensis,<sup>11</sup> quae huc missa fuerunt, ad te misi, quae si non omnia vera sunt, delectare tamen sui novitate aliquantisper possunt. Quid istic finitum sit, nos hic incertum habemus. Scripsit huc dominus a Liquerka<sup>12</sup> caesaris apud Gallum orator ad quen-  
dam amicum meum se nihil vidisse istic tractatum, quod alicuius esset aut momenti aut fundamenti, praeter nuptias neptis pontificis et secundi geniti regis Galliae.<sup>13</sup> De  
75 Holandica classe retulit mihi thesaurarius reginae eam ante decimam diem reversam esse. Exspectavit diu reversionem navium Lubecensium, quae profectae fuerant ad Gedanum,<sup>14</sup> ut eas intercipere posset, sed illae nescio, quo earum prospero fato Lube-  
cam sunt reversae. Postea aliquot diebus exspectavit rursus naves alias onerarias ex eadem Gedano revertentes, quas comitata domum incolumis reversa fuit. De rebus  
80 Danicis nihil adhuc audimus. Exspectantur oratores illi, in quorum adventu in rebus tuis faciam singula, quae potero. Serenissima regina mea iam a multo tempore non satis valuit, speramus tamen eam convalituram. Bene vale me et meas res habe com-  
mendatas, curaque me in gratia regis conservare.

Bruxellae 7. Decembris 1533.

432

Miklós Oláh to a friend [called Joannes]  
Brussels, 7 December 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 298.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 434–435.

*He is happy for his friend's success, which he really deserves: if the Emperor did not support him, he would indeed be an ungrateful ruler.*

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71 sui] *O corr:* ex in

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<sup>11</sup> Marseille. | <sup>12</sup> Jean Hannart. | <sup>13</sup> The later King Henry II, King of France married Catherine de' Medici on 28 October 1533. | <sup>14</sup> Gdańsk.

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Non possum non laetari prosperis tuis successibus, qui unus tuorum omnium magnam consecutus sis brevi tempore fortunae accessionem et hoc quidem non immerito. Ea es enim virtute praeditus his animi dotibus, ut nisi tui tuisque virtutibus caesar faveret et eas dignis praemiis efficeret, omnium iudicio bonorum erga suos benemeritos iudicaretur ingratus. Gratulor igitur, mi Ioannes, tuis laetis rebus, precorque, ut quemadmodum hactenus ita erant in posterum laeta omnia tibi succedant. Vale.

Bruxellae 7. Decembris 1533.

433

Miklós Oláh to a friend [called Joannes]  
Brussels, 14 December 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 298.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 435.

*Joannes proved the greatness of his soul a long time ago when he helped Oláh's family affairs. If he has the chance, he will return the favor; until then he will try to prove that he did not waste his benevolence on an ungrateful man.*

Ad eundem.<sup>1</sup>

Animi tui erga me testimonium benevoli scilicet iam pridem ego multis in rebus perspexi, maxime autem cum mei familiaris rem meam meo iussu apud te agerent. Tu tam benevolum rebus in omnibus erga eos in meis te praestitisti, ut id amoris nullis ego unquam rebus rependere tibi possim, verum si quae res inciderint, quae mea officia videbuntur repetere, tuum erit mandare. Ego viribus meis omnibus enitar, ut tu non in immemorem, nec tuorum beneficiorum ingratum tuam libertatem contulisse videaris. Vale, Amicorum Optime.

Bruxellae 14. Decembris 1533.

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432,4 praeditus] *corr.* ex praeditis 7 erant] *corr.* ex eram

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432<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 433<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Monzón, 27 December 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 487–488.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 435–436.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 289–290.

*He has not had anybody to send a letter with, and there are not too many things he can write about, he will only say that he is well, and he will be leaving for Austria soon, but he does not know yet if it will be through Flanders or Burgundy. As far as Oláh's affairs are concerned, he should write him and send it to him, or he should give it to him in person.*

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Quominus hactenus quicquam scripserim de rebus meis, in causa fuit, quod nulli tabellarii adhuc ad vos profecti sunt. Tanta enim mole negotiorum primates isti viri fuere obruti, ut minime intendere potuerint ad expeditionem eorum. Nunc autem  
5 venit iste ad vos, per quem nihil aliud scribere possum, quam me perquam recte valere, propediemque hinc expeditum iri in Austriam, non satis autem adhuc scio, an per Flandriam sum profecturus, an recta per Burgundiam. Id, quod video caesari magis cordi esse timenti, ne me uxor amicique detineant. Quicquid erit, facile red- dam Dominationem Vestram certiore. De rebus nihil video, quod scribi potest.  
10 Nihil enim dum emersit scriptu dignum. Poterit interim Dominatio Vestra res suas, quas per me curatas velit scripto redigere, ut acceptis secundis litteris meis, vel etiam si forte egomet advenero, possit id ipsum aut mittere Viennam, aut mihi in manus tradere. Nihil habeo aliud in praesentiarum; occupor enim negotiis quibusdam, de quibus postea fiet certior. Illustri dominae comitissae a Salm,<sup>1</sup> dominae Baillieul,<sup>2</sup>  
15 dominaeque Lucretiae<sup>3</sup> me plurimum commenda. Et bene vale.

Ex Montisono die XXVII. Decembris 1533.

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434 <sup>1</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. | <sup>2</sup> Lady Baillieul. | <sup>3</sup> Lucretia Caballis.

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 28 December 1533

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 23, p. 535–537.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 436–438.

1. Schepper's delay was not his fault, it was due to the Queen's illness, who has excused him in front of the Emperor as well. They are looking forward to Schepper more than the letters; he promised to come by January the latest. He hears that the people of Koroni keep breaking out to the Turks, doing damage. It would be of great help for King Ferdinand I if the Emperor launched the campaign in the summer. As far as Weze's affairs are concerned, the Queen has read his letter; there is no need for a secretary because she not only understands German, French, and Latin, but she also remembers everything, she is a worthy sibling of King Ferdinand I. She will look into it when the Danish envoy arrives. 2. If the King does not have enough power in Oláh's case, he will need to wait. But he does not fully understand what they have accomplished, could Czeplédi talk to him at all, or what he said and what he wants. He is surprised that according to Weze's letter Laski would have switched parties, this can only be some kind of trick. They are expecting the Emperor's letter. They do not know anything about the decision at Marseille.

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori caesaris.

[1.] Nudiustertius redditae sunt mihi litterae<sup>1</sup> tuae datae IX. huius. Mora Cornelii<sup>2</sup> non ipsius culpa, ut antea scripseram,<sup>3</sup> accidit, sed ob reginae valetudinem, quae iam a multo tempore ita languit, ut saepe dubitaverim de eius vitae diuturnitate, hanc ob causam Cornelius hinc citius expediri non potuit. Credo imperatorem eius hanc mo- 5  
rulam aequi bonique consuluisse, nam regina litteris suis illius moram excusavit. Nunc maiestas sua ab aliquot diebus meliuscule ex gratia Dei coepit habere. Medicos<sup>4</sup> licet habeat satis diligentes et utcumque doctos et expertos, utpote qui adsciscant sibi etiam aliorum collegia. Tamen nunc oblata est nobis quaedam vetula civis huius oppidi, quae potionibus ex ordeo et aliis simplicibus leguminibus confectis in eam 10  
reginae valetudinem adduxit, ut melius iam valeat. Haec ideo praemisi, quod Cornelium excusare meo nomine poteris apud regem et in ipsius tarditatem reginae valetudini adscribere. A quo ex Hispaniis nihil habuimus novi, duo menses iam aguntur, quod nullum illinc habuerimus veredarium. Ipsismet potius exspectamus quam litteras. Nam dixerat se ad summum huc reversurum ad primum Ianuarii proximum, 15  
nisi imperator eum retineat. Quod eum non puto facturum, si rei necessitatem et

435,10 confectis] *corr:* ex confectos

435 <sup>1</sup> This letter is not extant. | <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. | <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 424. | <sup>4</sup> We only know one of her physicians, namely Doctor Jacob Cicolin or Jacob Eechau (Aichhoven?), see RÉTHELYI 2007, 1204–1205.

celeritatem aestimaverit. Si quid de Grithi adventu et de Vespasiano a Zara<sup>5</sup> acceperis, fac me certiore.

Nescio, quid in Turcia geratur. Tamen accepimus Coronenses<sup>6</sup> nostros contra  
20 illos strenue rem suam agere, et novissimis aliquot suis eruptionibus non parvam stragem Turcis intulisse. Si caesaris, uti speratur, expeditio aestiva accederet, in immensum regi proficeret. Cacionerum<sup>7</sup> nunc nihil aliud credo in civitatibus montanis facturum, quam laetos acturum, ut solet, dies, et incolas et accolae ultra modum etiam antea gravatos nunc magis etiam a militibus nostris gravari. Eiuscemodi ex  
25 utraque parte expeditiunculis, quid aliud fit, quam regnum desolatur, ita ut si etiam alios hostes non haberemus, haec particularis defensio praeberet modum sufficientem regni ruinae, Deum precari deberemus, ut haec bella et dissensiones sopirentur et pax sequeretur quiesque omnium. Litteras regias et tuas in conditionem rerum tuarum et Gothscalci<sup>8</sup> scriptas reginae heri praesentavi. Non est opus secretarium Alemanum  
30 admovere. Nam regina sola eas diligenter de verbo ad verbum perlegit me praesente, quae vero legit sive Alemanice sive Gallice sive Latine, non modo intelligit, sed etiam retinet, et meminit bene singulorum, ut aliquando ipsa secretarios non secretarii eam admoneant, perspicacis est ingenii et acuti, rara est inter sexum mulier. Laboris patiens dum sana est, et singula brevibus intelligens, sed postea executionis  
35 tardioris. Si regem introspeixisti a tam diuturna conversatione, quemadmodum ego illum (cuius etiam licet insufficiens sum secretarius et consiliarius) iamdudum cognovi, haec illi soror vera est non modo sanguine, sed etiam ingenio, probitate, virtute, aliisque animi et corporis dotibus. Non igitur est expers earum, quae legit, post litterarum lectionem, ego quoque rem, ut potui, adauxi. Litteras mihi dedit, facturam  
40 se, ut antea saepe, ita nunc quoque pollicita est, dum orator Danus advenerit, cuius adventum exspectamus, in quem tamen diem adventurus sit, nescimus. Ego quoque tunc rem non negligam. Et Panormitanum<sup>9</sup> et alios sollicitabo, faciamque meum singulare, quod potero, officium.

[2.] In tua in rebus meis sollicitudine praestita nihil dubito. Si rex nullam in illum  
45 habet auctoritatem, patientia haberi debet, exspectanda est dies melior. Ex litteris tuis non satis fundamentaliter intelligere potui, quid in illis meis rebus sit actum: quid rex responderit ad supplicationem sacellani mei, et an commiserit vel per se, vel per nuntium, vel per litteras Valentino Thewrek<sup>10</sup> restitutionem bonorum, et quid ille dixerit, vel quid velit. Si mandatum regis non admittit, saltem meo iudicio mitti ad  
50 eum aliquis potuisset, dum istic erat, qui tractasset de restitutione, haec ego olim in aliorum causis feci et vidi fieri, cuperemque scire, quam ille causam dicat retentionis

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<sup>5</sup> Vespasian of Zara, as Hieronymus of Zara's son, was a negotiator of peace between King Ferdinand I and Suleiman I, see SETTON 1984, 371–372. | <sup>6</sup> Koroni. | <sup>7</sup> Hans Katzianer. | <sup>8</sup> Jean Goscalc or God(t)schal(c)k (1507–1571), was a Franciscian and a philologist. He was an agent of Johan Weze, see GORTER-VAN ROYEN 2009, 215. and E.-H.-J. REUSENS 1884–1885, 19–20. | <sup>9</sup> Jean II Carondelet.

<sup>10</sup> Bálint Török.

eorum tam iniquae et violentae. Et an rex eius animi sit, ut si nunc fieri id non potest, aliquando tamen mea reddantur omnino. Haec si constant tibi, cuperem intelligere, ut scirem de meis rebus cogitare. Hinc reginae commendationes non mihi deessent, quot vellem, sed scio regem non facturum commendationibus, quod pro meis servi- 55  
tiis in rebus meis iustis non faciat. Miratus fueram proximis litteris tuis lectis Lasconium<sup>11</sup> et voluntatem et dominum mutavisse, quod et regina mirabatur, suspicabar tunc quoque aliquid inesse fraudis, si tamen a Ioanne abstrahi potuisset, rebus regiis non potuisset officere, modo ut eius opera rex fuisset usus, sed ne ille eo ministro 60  
uteretur et rerum suarum sollicitatore. Svatero<sup>12</sup> litteras reddidi, qui commendat operam suam tibi, conclusi cum eo, ut principis Christierni filias ad reginam deducamus in rerum tuarum commendationem, dum orator Danus advenerit. Nunc laterem lavaremus, cum eius rei non sit tempus. Interea spero et litteras imperatoris huc per-  
venturas, quas scio magnum ponderis rebus ipsis allaturas. Uxor Svateri<sup>13</sup> salutata a me tuo nomine te resalutat. Litteras Ioanni Stanshart<sup>14</sup> reddidi, cuius ternas cum 65  
praesentibus mitto. De conclusione Marsiliensi<sup>15</sup> nihil certi habemus. De rebus Hungaricis et aliis, si quando aliquid certi acceperis, scribe, et res meas habe commendas, dum occasio est, ac velis me in clementia regia conservare. Vale.

Bruxellae 28. Decembris 1533.

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61 principis] *corr.* ex principes | deducamus] *corr.* ex deducans

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435,62 laterem... 63 lavaremus] Proverb, cf. Sen. *Contr.* X,11.

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<sup>11</sup> Hieronymus Łaski changed sides only in 1536. | <sup>12</sup> Philippe de Souvastre. | <sup>13</sup> Madame de Souvastre. She took care of Christina of Denmark. | <sup>14</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 10.

<sup>15</sup> Marseille.





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The indexes contain all the proper and geographical names are to be found in the texts of the letters as well as of the commentaries. Page numbers printed in bold indicate places where biographical data are available about the given person, page numbers printed in italic indicate places where the given name occur not in the main text but in the footnotes. The geographical names are registered in the form in which they can be found in the text of the commentaries.



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