

Pál Ács

Thomas Cranmer's Martyrdom as Parable

Hungarian Adaptation in Verse of John Foxe's Martyrology
by Mihály Sztárai (1560)

Why did Mihály Sztárai, one of the most successful Hungarian reformers of the 16th century¹ call himself a “miserable man”² at the end of the 1550s?³ Did he fall into conflict and break with his followers – with the one hundred and twenty Protestant churches that he had himself founded by preaching “the word of the cross”⁴? Was he untactfully attacked by his fellow pastors? Did he have a conflict with himself, did he blame himself for some hasty deed that he had bitterly regretted? Did he falter, was his soul shattered and shaken? Was his dignity as a bishop – that he had been so proud of – damaged? Or was he simply swept away by the tempest of Reformation, by the tempest that he himself had created and then tried in vain to appease?⁵

These questions keep coming up but – in the lack of precise and unambiguous historical data – there is a consensus that only the faithful interpretation of Sztárai's works may take us closer to the truth. In my paper, I am going to pose – and, inasmuch as possible, try to answer – the above questions through a history in verse hitherto not much studied, Sztárai's poem about the martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.⁶

The verse-chronicle written in 1560 describes an event that is extremely far geographically but all the more close in time, current, as it were: “Story of archbishop Thomas Cranmer's faithfulness in the true faith, who was condemned to an awful death in England by Queen Mary for having denied the knowledge of the Pope” – so reads the argumentum of the poem. Thomas

1 Mihály Sztárai (Drávasztára?, ca. 1510–Pápa, 1575) began his education in Hungary and continued it in Padua, Italy (1543). He was one of the most influential and most active Protestant preachers in the Ottoman Hungary: between 1544 and 1551 he founded 120 Protestant congregations. He was the first Lutheran bishop in the Ottoman Hungary, on the territories of Baranya and Slavonia in the 1550s. At that time mostly he worked in Tolna, later he moved to Laskó (today: Lug, Croatia). Sztárai was an outstanding writer. He published paraphrases of the Psalms, as well Biblical and historical works. He wrote his Hungarian verses on Thomas Cranmer at Laskó in 1560. Sztárai left Laskó in 1563 and served as a pastor and preacher in a few different towns in Hungary (Gyula, Tolna and Pápa).

2 RMKT 5: 209.

3 Literary self-reference in Sztárai's Hungarian verse-chronicle entitled *Historia de vita beati Athanasii Alexandriae episcopi fidelissimi*.

4 RMKT 5: 209.

5 Esze: 1973, 106–125.

6 Sztárai: 1582.

Cranmer, one of the legendary pioneers of English Reformation, the first senior bishop of the Church of England, was burned in Oxford on 21 March 1556, during the cruel prosecution of Protestants under the instructions of the Catholic queen, Mary Tudor ("Bloody Mary").⁷

Mihály Sztárai's biographers all wondered how news from a faraway island arrived so fast, in less than three years to Laskó, a forgotten corner of the Ottoman Hungary.⁸ Considering, however, the extremely efficient propaganda of international Reformation, as well as the dense European network of Sztárai's acquaintances,⁹ this quick reaction is natural.¹⁰ This up-to-dateness is also self-evident if we take into account the fact that the "great book" serving as Sztárai's source – John Foxe's Protestant martyrology written in Latin (*Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum... commentarii*) –, had been published in Basel a year before the Hungarian verse-chronicle was written.¹¹ It is not surprising that Foxius's work arrived to the Ottoman Empire with record speed because this region was considered a very important Protestant mission area.¹² In the swift communication system of the Reformation, books belonging to the theme of Christian martyrology were the quickest to move around.¹³ Besides several similar Dutch and French writings, John Foxe's above-mentioned monumental work shaped the basic forms of the then evolving Protestant identity by updating the classics of martyrology (e.g. *The History of the Church* by Eusebius of Caesarea) in the spirit of the Reformation.¹⁴ As opposed to the traditional Medieval cult of the martyrs of faith, emphasis was shifted to the following of their example, from relics to *exemplum*. The strength of renewed faith was nurtured by the fire of stakes burning all over Europe. The stake became more and more a Protestant symbol, that of the relationship between God and the community facing the ultimate trial. The stories of martyrs, differing in details but always built on the basic scheme of "steadfastness in faith", had enormous argumentative power. It is not by chance that besides the English Bible and the *The Common Prayer* published by Thomas Cranmer, *The Acts and Monuments* was the work that definitely made England a Protestant country.¹⁵ "Bee of good comfort M. Ridley, and plaie the manne: we shall this daie light suche a candle by Gods grace in Englande, as (I trust) shall neuer be put out." – legend has it that these had

7 MacCulloch: 1996.

8 RMKT: 5, 366; Horváth: 1957, 69–70; Keveházi: 2005, 272–273.

9 Téglásy: 1984.

10 Sztárai was well acquainted with a number of European intellectuals among them Francesco Contarini in Venice, Philipp Melanchthon, Heinrich Bullinger, Matthias Flacius as well.

11 Foxius: 1559, cf. Erdős: 1914.

12 Szakály: 2000.

13 Gregory: 1999, 142–145.

14 Foxe: 2006; cf. Greengrass/Lloyd/Smith: 2004.

15 King: 2006, 2.

been the words of Hugh Latimer, Cranmer's fellow martyr in Oxford, before he was burned.¹⁶

The Protestant feeling stemming from martyrdom – that later tradition thought to be an original, English peculiarity – took on a literary form on the Continent, among those in exile, heading towards the most important spiritual centres abroad. Foxe himself was employed by the Oporin printing house in Basel until 1569. The works written in exile arrived in England and were translated to English only when the immigrants (among them John Foxe) could return after the death of Mary Tudor (1558).¹⁷ In Sztárai's words: "Cursed Mary had left this world / Her cruel servants and bishops / Had all died"¹⁸. English and Hungarian Reformation were spiritually nurtured by the same big German and Swiss publishers. This led to the strange situation that the Hungarian reception of the Latin Foxius of Basel – Sztárai's poem – preceded the English one by three years: the first English edition of *The Book of Martyrs* was only published in London in 1663.

Thus, the question is not how John Foxe's martyrology found its way to Mihály Sztárai, rather how he adapted and interpreted it. Among all the histories of martyrs, why did he feel that the archbishop of Canterbury deserved to be remembered in Hungarian verses? It is obvious that the most general basic elements of the story – the deepening, the confession and the confirmation of faith – and the important message to be deduced – reinforcing the determination of the faithful – could not in themselves urge Sztárai to adapt Foxius. Beyond the possibility of an abstract moral lesson, the minute details of Thomas Cranmer's life and death also proved apt to convey a peculiar message, specifically addressing Hungarian readers.

Sztárai's poem on Cranmer is an allegory. When Sztárai wrote the verse-chronicle in question, he had gained longstanding and profound experience in the allegorising methods of figurative storytelling. Fourteen years earlier, in 1546,¹⁹ he wrote a poem about the apocryphal Biblical story of the Maccabean martyrs, the Jewish priest Eleazar, seven young faithfuls and their mother who died during the persecution of Jews under the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV.²⁰ Hagiography considers the story of the Holy Maccabees respected like Christian saints as the model of all martyrdom. Sztárai wrote the Maccabee story as the court priest of Péter Perényi,²¹ an aristocrat who supported Reformation. It is highly likely that he used the parable of the determination of the martyrs to comfort his master imprisoned by the

16 The historical genuineness of the legendary sentence is not generally acknowledged. It firstly appeared only in the second 1570 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*.

17 Gregory: 1999, 169; Wade: 2004; Overell: 2008, 186–187.

18 "Az átkozott Mária világból kimúlt vala, / Ő kegyetlen szolgálai és püspeki, doktori / Mind megholtanak vala" (RMKT 5: 262).

19 Sztárai: 1546.

20 Sztárai: 1546; cf. Ács: 2005.

21 Keveházi: 2005, 26–89.

emperor Ferdinand I, which means that the sufferings of the Maccabees symbolised the trials facing the Protestant aristocrat. Sztárai could easily have learned the method of allegorical interpretation of Biblical stories – among them that of the martyrdom of the Maccabees – from Péter Perényi. In his poetic Biblical concordance composed in his Wiener Neustadt prison, the aristocrat himself wrote a poem on the death of the Holy Maccabees.²² As far as Péter Perényi is concerned, he was in intimate correspondence with Philipp Melanchthon, from whom he could have learned the projection upon each other of the stories of the Old and New Testament and their application to the present and the future. Melanchthon turned the allegorising method of the Protestant interpretation of the Bible into the key to interpreting world history.²³ John Foxe, the English martyrologist and Sztárai, the writer of Hungarian verse-chronicles both used Melanchthon's key to explaining stories.

Mihály Sztárai's poem follows Foxe's biography of Cranmer very closely.²⁴ Research concluded one hundred years ago that the entire poem may almost be followed word by word in the Latin text. There are no personal remarks or comments on the Hungarian circumstances of the age, with the exception of a line mentioning the rule of king Matthias Corvinus.²⁵ On the other hand, there are many expressions and rhetorical solutions – exaggerations, omissions and parables – that already appear in the source but are reinforced with a special emphasis in Sztárai's text. Among these, I am going to have a look at the emblematic expressions of the taking on of identity and role.

Many scholars have noticed the stanza praising Erasmus:²⁶ "In the meantime, Erasmus had written great books, / In beautiful Latin". We must, however, understand that Sztárai did not only consider the Rotterdam Master a great Humanist but also the precursor of Reformation:

Priests, monks, weak nuns / He had criticised a lot, / pious Thomas Cranmerus / Liked to read his books." Thus, the stanza praising Erasmus is strongly connected to the next one, citing the merits of Luther: "Then God sent Martin Luther, / To preach his holy words, / To mock the knowledge of the Pope, / To make many hate it: / Thomas Cranmerus was then thirty years of age, / Full of desire to learn."²⁷

22 Falkenau: 1999.

23 Barnes: 1988, 100–140.

24 Erdős: 1914, 216.

25 Sztárai determined the date of the birth of Cranmer (1489) by the time of the rule of King Matthias Corvinus (RMKT 5: 241).

26 Horváth: 1957, 70; Esze: 1973, 124; Keveházi: 2005, 271.

27 "Azonközben Erasmus szép könyvet írt, / Kinek ő deáksága nagy csodálatos, / Papokat, barátokat, az gyenge apácákat / Nagygyon gyomlálja, / Kinek az új könyveit jámbor Cranmerus Tamás / Igen olvassa, / [...] Ezután Luther Mártont hogy az Isten támasztá, / Ki által szent igéjét nyilván prédikáltatá, / Az pápa tudományát véle megcsúfoltatá, / Sokkal megutáltatá: / Cranmerus Tamás akkor harminc esztendőse, / És igen tanul vala." (RMKT: 5, 242).

This means that Sztárai interpreted Cranmer's studies and development as reformer in the process of the development of Reformation from Erasmus to Luther. This idea, at least in this form, cannot be found in Foxius's text. John Foxe characterizes the "humanist" stage of Cranmer's life by the study of the works of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples ("Fabri") and Erasmus. According to Foxe the major impact of Luther's writings to Cranmer was that the latter archbishop with firm belief turned to the theology and tried to understand the questions of religion from the point of view of both sides, that is the Protestants and the Catholics.²⁸

The Hungarian poet must have known that the archbishop of Canterbury had only been Lutheran during a certain phase of his career, leaving behind Lutheran theology at a later stage. As we know, Cranmer, under the influence of Italian and German refugees swarming to England and especially that of Pietro Martire Vermigli (Petrus Martyr), turned in the Swiss Reformation and in his influential pamphlets raised doubts as to the real and bodily presence of Christ in the Holy Communion.²⁹ During the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553) Cranmer's Eucharistic theology gradually radicalized. The archbishop's ideas on condemning the "real" Eucharistic presence appear in the reformed *Common Prayer*³⁰. He defended his new Eucharistic theology in his famous treatise on the Lord's Supper based on Vermigli's and other Italian Protestant refugees' doctrines.³¹ Sztárai was well informed about this, since the "great book" lying in front of him unambiguously says that Cranmer and Petrus Martyr worked closely together in the ecclesiastic reformation of the Church of England developing the dogmatic reforms concerning the Holy Communion.³² John Foxe's martyrology leaves no doubt as to the fact that later, during the re-Catholisation of England, Cranmer had to pay for his Lutheran and Zwinglian principles alike.³³ Sztárai only follows the great debate between the archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester as far as it concerns the basic Lutheran principles, namely the veneration of saints, the mass, the marriage of priests, confession and communion under both kinds. The Latin Martyrology of Foxius deals the Eucharistic aspects of the dispute mentioning Cranmer's book written against Gardiner on the above question.³⁴ The Hungarian verse-chronicle consistently omits to mention the most important part of the dispute – centred around the issues of the Holy Communion³⁵ – and it is also silent about the fact that the reformation of the Church of England carried out by Cranmer used both Lutheran and Calvinist

28 Foxius: 1559, 709.

29 Anderson: 1988; Methuen: 2009; Boutin: 2009, Opitz: 2009.

30 Cranmer: 1549; 1552.

31 Cranmer: 1550; cf. MacCulloch: 1991.

32 Foxius: 1559, 714; cf. Campi: 2004.

33 Foxius: 1559, 717.

34 Foxius: 1559, 711, 716; Cranmer: 1551.

35 Anderson: 1988; Anderson, J. H.: 2001; Overell: 2008.

elements. This is obviously due to the fact that Mihály Sztárai steadfastly and consistently followed Luther's original teaching all his life and never faltered in his Orthodox Lutheranism.³⁶ He turned Thomas Cranmer into a Lutheran martyr, which suited Sztárai's epic aims more than it suited reality.

We may observe a hyperbolic building of text, contrasting with the rhetoric of omission, in the naming of the hero of the verse-chronicle. Sztárai repeats the word *Érsek* [Archbishop] so often, with such monotony that it can under no circumstances be considered the two-syllable substitution, replacement of the five-syllable name, "Thomas Cranmerus". The text of the Hungarian poem obviously attaches great significance to the fact that Thomas Cranmer had martyred as the first senior priest of the "national" Church of England. John Foxe also keeps stressing the high rank of the martyr bishop: Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England by God's grace – so reads his official title. All that Cranmer thought, wrote or did came from him as a high priest and this rank – regardless of the bearer's "heretic" person and views – was sacredly respected everywhere, from Rome to London. Cranmer needed this archbishop title to validate Henry the VIII's³⁷ divorce and his new marriage with Anne Boleyn, he needed his archbishop's authorisation to put an end to "the Pope's power in England"³⁸. In the basic concept of Foxe's martyrology, however, Cranmer's title as an archbishop does not have a crucial significance. In *The Book of Martyrs*, the trials and public execution of martyrs anticipate the ultimate salvation of the last judgment. And there is no difference in rank between the "latter day saints".³⁹

Sztárai did not attach much importance to this apocalyptic aspect of martyrology. He was attracted by the possibility of a parabolic interpretation of Cranmer's story, that is why he emphasised the English martyr's rank as an archbishop.⁴⁰ Many signs indicate that he presented himself in Thomas Cranmer's figure. Sztárai's being a bishop is a long-standing, still unresolved problem of Evangelical-Lutheran and Reformed church history in Hungary. Lutherans believe that between 1553 and 1558, Sztárai was the head of an enormous episcopacy, comprising half the country under Ottoman and Habsburg rule, with the town of Tolna as a centre.⁴¹ The Reformed, however, say that since Hungarian Protestant church structure has not even been formed at the time, Sztárai could not have been more than an "imaginary bishop",⁴² the first real bishop of the huge diocese of Baranya being the Reformed Protestant István Szegedi Kis.⁴³

36 RMKT: 5, 318–322; Esze: 1973, 109; Keveházi: 2005, 131–135.

37 To quote Sztárai on the basis of Foxius's simile: "king Hercules", Foxius: 1559, 710; RMKT: 5, 242.

38 RMKT: 5, 246.

39 Bauckham: 1978.

40 See Áron Szilády's introduction to Sztárai's poetical works (RMKT: 5, 323).

41 Botta 1978: 79; Botta: 1989.

42 Zoványi: 1932; Kathon: 1974, 220.

The gesture of Sztárai identifying himself with Thomas Cranmer does not thoroughly settle the debate but strongly supports the Lutheran point of view: the writer of the poem indeed considered himself a bishop, what is more a “real Christian” primate at the same rank with a “Papistic” high priest, “a mirror of true priesthood”, head of a national Protestant Church. It is a completely different issue who hurt him, when and how and in what way did these shocks form the fate of his “Baranya episcopacy”. He evidently included the story of his own trials in the sad history of Thomas Cranmer.⁴⁴

Sztárai was interested most in the last, tragic phase of Cranmer’s life. Indeed, this was one of the most famous and most influential parts of the *Acts and Monuments*. In the dramatic struggle of revenge and defencelessness, intrigue and trust, treachery and faith, weakness and strength, the hero dies after awful trials, but in his last moments, he overcomes his greatest enemy: his own despair.⁴⁵ This dramatic sequence of scenes forms the bulk of Sztárai’s poem, all the other – preceding or subsequent – events play a subordinate role.

When the “true Christian” – that is, Protestant – king Edomandus (Edward VI) died young, Sztárai says, a struggle broke out for the throne that was captured by the enemies of Reformation. Edward wanted to prevent the Catholic Mary (who was otherwise the rightful heir) from taking the throne, so he designated his niece, the Protestant Lady Jane Grey as his heir on his deathbed. The well-educated young lady only ruled for nine days, as the Catholic rivals won, Mary took the throne and Lady Jane was executed with her followers.⁴⁶ The new government destroyed the achievements of Reformation by physical force. The trials against Protestant high priests began soon. Cranmer was tricked into openly turning against Mary: “False news were spread about him”, Sztárai says, he was rumoured to have returned to Rome and celebrated a mass. The open denial of the rumour was enough cause to arrest the archbishop. He was sentenced to death for high treason. He was soon taken with other Reformed priests to Oxford where their church trial was held and they were all sentenced to death for heresy. Cranmer was put to enormous mental torture. “He was held in the strong prison for two years, / And they tried again and again to make him revert to his faith, / But he would have later been killed for some other reason” – says Sztárai.⁴⁷ Queen Mary, who could never forgive Cranmer for having separated her mother from her father, Henry VIII, was determined to break the archbishop, she did not want to let him die

43 According to the Reformed historiography the title “episcopus” of Sztárai did not really mean bishop but dean.

44 Cf. Esze: 1973, 111.

45 It is well-known that John Foxe was a playwright as well. See his Latin drama: *Christus triumphans. Comoedia apocalypctica*, London 1551 (Knott: 1996).

46 Ives: 2009.

47 “Az nagy erős tömlecben két esztendeig tarták, / És minden időben nagy sokszor megkísérték, / Hogyha valamiképpen véle ezt tehetnének, / Hogy visszatéríthetnék, / Mindazáltal azután más okkal megöletnék, / És dolgok jobban esnék” (RMKT: 5, 251).

comforted by his faith, she wanted to force him to deny his Protestant conviction. We know what vile methods the government used: Cranmer had to watch his fellow Reformers die at the stake from the top of the Bocardo prison in Oxford.⁴⁸ After that, his long, strict imprisonment was relaxed a little, he was taken to the house of the dean of Christ Church where he stayed in pleasant intellectual company and was even allowed to play ball games. That is when he was approached by hirelings of the Queen and promised him forgiveness in exchange for a declaration of reconversion. Sztárai gives a psychologically authentic account of the process of mental torture, during which the archbishop was completely broken. He wrote several "letters of denial", *recantations* in which he signed everything they had asked him to.⁴⁹ Only the last ceremony remained, the public denial of his faith. Cranmer suddenly suspected that had been tricked. He unexpectedly turned his last prayer of repentance – cited in tears from the pulpit of University Church – against his tormentors and said: "I only have one great sin, / And I shall pay for it by putting my right hand in fire"⁵⁰; – which means that he decided to put the hand that signed the *recantatio* in the fire first. Then he denied the Pope and all his falsity as the enemy of Christ and the Antichrist. He bravely stepped onto the stake. Everyone could see his 'long old beard' that witnessed his deepest conviction: he let his beard grow like all the Reformers, as a sign of the "true" faith breaking with the past. He held his hand in the fire.

Why did Mihály Sztárai identify with the martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer in the Ottoman Hungary where Protestants were not prosecuted at all and there were hardly any Catholics? Simply because he felt a similarity between his own fate and that of the English archbishop who feebly denied his faith first, but later regretted his deed. Sztárai was meanly deceived, and those who deceived him could not have been Catholics. He probably gave his signature under strong mental pressure to a pact that was against his conscience. Sztárai got to the heart of the matter interpreting Foxius' low opinion of religious dissimulation (Nicodemism) sharply dividing the 16th century Protestant intellectuals.⁵¹ "He was again asked for his signature, / And the Archbishop did all that he was asked, / because he knew, / that if he does not do it / He could not speak freely to the community"⁵² – he writes about Cranmer.

We know for certain that in the years preceding the writing of the *Cranmerus-chronicle*, the author of the poem had troubles with the Reformed

48 King: 2006, 208.

49 Foxius: 1559, 717–718; Cranmer: 1556.

50 "Énekem egy nagy vétkem vagyok, majd megjelentem, / Kiért az én jobb kezem tűzben megbüntetem." (RMKT: 5, 259).

51 Gregory: 1999, 154–162; Overell: 2008, 98–101.

52 "Ismét keze írását az alá kéri vala, / Hogy annak mássát venné, arra is intik vala, / Az Érsek mindezeket megcselekedte vala, / mert ő jól tudja vala, / hogyha ezt nem mívelné, tehát az község előtt / Szabadon nem szólhatna." (RMKT: 5, 254).

Protestantism that spread rapidly in Tolna and Baranya as well.⁵³ The only question is when and how the conflict broke out. According to the Lutheran point of view, the two denominations had lived happily side by side until 1558 when they suddenly quarrelled; that is when Sztárai's bishopness was questioned and he was forced to leave Tolna.⁵⁴ According to the history of the Reformed church, however, the disagreements appeared earlier, in 1554 when Sztárai personally ordained István Szegedi Kis, the future apostle of the Hungarian Reformed church and accepted the decision of the synod appointing Szegedi as the ecclesiastical head of all Baranya county. The Reformed church considers this act the founding of the diocese of Baranya. Lutherans, on the other hand, believe that Sztárai was still bishop at the time and remained one for a long time.⁵⁵ In these parts, four years is a lot of time. It is obvious that both denominations try to place the offset of the Hungarian Reformed church in the Ottoman Hungary according to their own interests. The issue of Sztárai's bishopness is more or less a taboo on both sides and with good reason: nobody wants to overemphasise the old rivalry between the two Protestant denominations. It is much more interesting to note that Sztárai himself did not choose to openly admit the conflict, he decided on allegorical speech instead.⁵⁶ This is why the conflict of Sztárai and the Reformed Church was omitted for a long time from the tradition of Hungarian church history.

In this respect, the Cranmerus-chronicle seems to confirm the Reformed view. In 1560, Sztárai saw himself as a deceived, failed, "miserable" man, as a bishop who had been removed from his office. By that time, he was so angry with his Reformed Protestant rivals that he was ready to compare them to Bloody Mary, "similar to the devil in Hell". At the same time, he blamed himself: he would have loved to burn his hand that had signed – what? – Unfortunately, we do not yet know. Nevertheless, the parable on Thomas Cranmer strongly suggests that he signed a document he did not agree with. When he did that, he obviously thought that this gesture may save him and the cause he had been serving. In the "miserable year of 1560"⁵⁷, however – when the Reformed Protestants became the majority all over the country –, he felt he had signed his own death sentence.

The description of the illustrations

Fig. 1: Ioannes Foxius: *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum ...* Basel: Nicolaus Brylinger/Ioannes Oporin 1559.

53 Esze: 1973, 121–123.

54 Kevekázi: 2005, 134.

55 Cf. Kathona: 1974, 124–125.

56 Esze: 1973, 121.

57 Sztárai's words in the last strophe of the Cranmerus-chronicle.

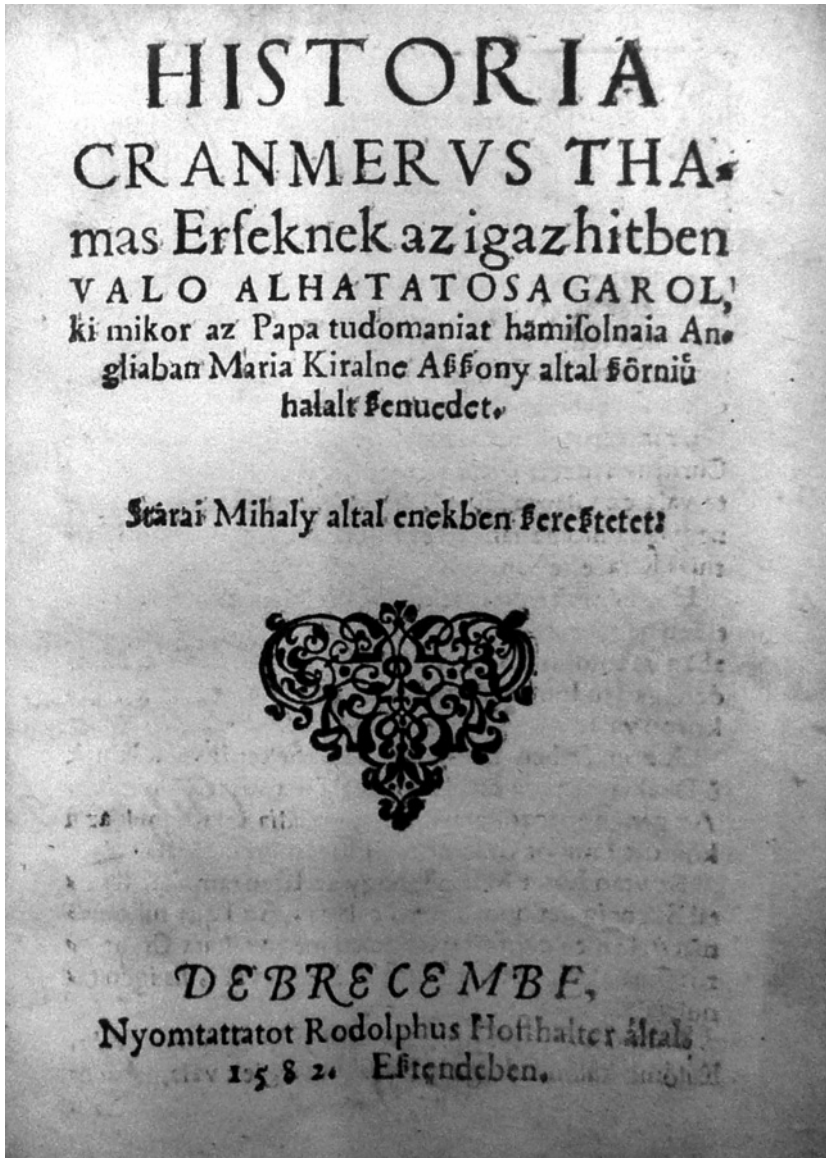


Fig. 2

the Reformed Church Diocese of “Dunamellék” (Kecskemét, Hungary).

Fig. 4: Cranmer ‘s Martyrdom. Illustration of the 1559 Basel edition of Foxius’ Rerum in ecclesia gestarum, p. 726.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Abbreviations

- RMKT 2 (1880): Régi Magyar Költők Tára. XVI. századbeli költők művei. Második kötet [Repertory of Ancient Hungarian Poetry. 16th Century, vol. 2], Szilády, Áron (ed.), Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
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