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THE “HUNGARIAN AFFAIRS” IN THE PADUAN LIBRARY OF GIAN
VINCENZO PINELLI
(PARTICULARLY, THE HUNGARIAN EVENTS OF THE SIXTIES OF
THE 16TH CENTURY)

Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, the famous scholar and bibliophile, died in Padua on 3 August 1601;¹ during the long illness that had struck him, he counted on the continuous assistance of his friend Paolo Gualdo – vicar of the Padua bishop Marco Cornaro – and, at least before his death, of his nephew Cesare.² In the absence of direct heirs, the scholar’s collection – consisting not only of about 750 manuscripts and 9000 printed volumes, but also of scientific instruments, art objects, celestial and terrestrial globes, geographical and hydrographic maps, minerals, fossils, medals, and ancient coins – passed to his favorite nephew Cosmo, Duke of Acerenza and Marquis of Galatina, eldest son of Gian Vincenzo’s brother Galeazzo. The young Pinelli, who owned himself a library, was married to the noble Nicoletta Grillo and lived in Naples to follow the commercial activities of his family, originally from Genoa.

As soon as the news of the transfer of the collection from Padua to Venice and, from there, to the Kingdom of Naples spread, the Serenissima Republic

¹ Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601) was a strong collector of books in Padua during the second half of 16th century. His library was one of the most important centre of meeting for Italian and European scholars in the Venice Republic. The bibliography relating to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and his library is really vast; since it is impossible to give an exhaustive account of it, for the purposes of this study it seems appropriate to mention at least: Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*; Rivolta, *Un grande bibliofilo del secolo XVI: Contributo a uno studio sulla biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo”; Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall’agosto 1601 all’ottobre 1604”; Ferrari and Navoni, *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell’Ambrosiana*: Nuovo, “La struttura bibliografica della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)”; Nuovo, “Per una storia della biblioteca Pinelli”; Nuovo, “The creation and dispersal of the Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli”; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all’Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo”; Nuovo, “Manuscript Writings on Politics and Current Affairs in the Collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)”; Callegari, “Pinelli Gian Vincenzo”; Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*.

² For the biography of the theologian and jurisconsult (1553–1621), Archpriest of the Cathedral and Vicar of the Bishop of Padua, cf. at least: Calvi, *Biblioteca e Storia di quegli scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza che pervennero fin’ad ora a notizia*; Cozzi, “Intorno al Cardinale Ottavio Paravicino, a Monsignor Paolo Gualdo e a Michelangelo da Caravaggio”; Gualdo Jr., 1650. *Giardino di chà Gualdo*, 8.: XXI–XXIV; Bellinati, “Galileo e il sodalizio con gli ecclesiastici padovani in Galileo e la cultura padovana,” 351–54; Ronconi, “Paolo Gualdo e Galileo.”

suspended the transport operations to ascertain that the vast fund of contemporary writings, copied and preserved in large quantities by Gian Vincenzo, did not contain private information about its internal management, which, if disclosed, could have provoked unpleasant consequences.

In fact, the Pinellian library contained not only literary, historical-geographic and scientific works, but also the correspondence between Gian Vincenzo and the most eminent European writers (such as, just to name a few, the Florentine humanist Jacopo Corbinelli;³ the French jurist and humanist Claude Dupuy;⁴ the famous composer Philippe de Monte, preceptor of a very young Gian Vincenzo and *Keppelmeister* at the Habsburg court;⁵ etc.), in which he discussed both on literary and philological issues and on personal events or related to contemporary historical events. In addition, Pinelli tirelessly copied, often with the help of his servants, lots of official and unofficial texts on the political, historical and social Italian and European current affairs of the sixteenth century (such as notes, diagrams, university lectures, family trees, maps, medical prescriptions, dispatches, reports by ambassadors, letters, writings relating to public and private affairs, etc.). However, Gino Benzoni has well underlined how this phenomenon was usual for many Venetian nobles:

The aristocracy – in its hanging out with philosophy, erudition, religion, poetry, in its indulgence in private diaristic memorisation – does not shy away [...] from the vice and vice or, in some cases, the need to write, nor does it deny itself the pleasure of writing. Collecting [...] the management of the state as pertaining to the entire aristocracy. [...] The collecting prince, then, the patrician class and, also, where he deliberates and his deliberation is diligently reported in writing, collecting author, collecting writer of parts, especially if gathered in the senate. [...] This is therefore the body that writes the most and also, given that ambassadors and rectors report to it, the one that receives the most writings. [...] The entire patriciate writes, either as chancellor or ambassador, to update or, as senator, to specify what further updates it needs. The result is that of an immense collective writing that incessantly

³ The correspondence between Corbinelli and Pinelli was the subject of two doctoral theses discussed at the Université de Lausanne, both directed by Alberto Roncaccia: Bianchi, “Il codice Ambrosiano B 9 inf. e le lettere di Jacopo Corbinelli a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: Interessi eruditi e storici tra Italia e Francia (1565–1578)”; Gazzotti, “Scambi culturali tra Italia e Francia nel XVI secolo: Le lettere di Jacopo Corbinelli a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1579–1587) nel codice ambrosiano T 167 sup.” Its commented edition will be soon published.

⁴ The correspondence is published in: Pinelli and Dupuy, *Une correspondance entre deux humanistes*; cf. moreover at least: Nuovo, “A proposito del carteggio Pinelli-Dupuy.”

⁵ For the relations between Pinelli and de Monte, cf. at least: Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte (1521–1603): Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent*: 139–71; on pp. 201–23 it is also possible to read the transcripts of the letters sent to Gian Vincenzo from the Prague court during the years 1584–1585; Wistreich, “Philippe de Monte: new autobiographical documents.”

feeds on itself, that indefatigably grows on itself, careful not to disperse because everything is conserved, archived in special repositories.⁶

So, Mario Infelise, too:

Formally, dispatches read in the Senate had to remain secret. This, however, did not prevent a large patriciate, accustomed to dealing with politics even outside the palace, from leaking all kinds of information to the outside world that could arouse interest.⁷

Despite of this, Pinelli's relentless collection is exceptional; Paolo Gualdo himself, in his *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli* described the scholar attitude in this way:

In eam curam, dum vixit, ardentem incubuit, ut libros editos manuscriptosque linguarum doctrinarumque omnium in unum cogeret, cui operi destinarat scriptores librarios plerosque, quorum ipse unus operas fere omnes mercede conduxerat.⁸

The authentic reason of this behaviour was therefore obscure even to his own secretary, but he suspected that the collection could have served for the compilation of an historiographical work or of a commentary on Aristotle's works.⁹

But let's go back to the library; the Pinelli volumes were packed and arranged within 100 boxes. The *Podestà* of Padua, Francesco Bernardo, controlled them and, among the 14 boxes devoted to the manuscripts, he disputed 2, consisting of about 300 pieces. Many bureaucratic delays followed, because Bernardo nor released the boxes containing only printed books, nor send the seized material to the Council of Ten for a second sorting; only thanks to the intervention of Gianfrancesco Mussato, a close friend of Gian Vincenzo, Gualdo finally obtained to end the seizure of the library and at least a hundred documents were returned.¹⁰

⁶ Benzoni, "La cultura: contenuti e forme," 543. (The quote is translated from Italian.)

⁷ Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)*, 26. (The quote is translated from Italian.)

⁸ Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 24.

⁹ Gualdo, 48.

¹⁰ The documents definitively seized, containing internal management calculations, diplomatic instructions, writings on water management, etc., were instead inventoried, arranged within two volumes and deposited in the section called ASVe Secreta, Archivio proprio Pinelli, 2. The first volume, which on fol. 1r records the resolution of the Council of Ten, contains approximately 330 documents and a list of the writings returned by the secretary Zaccaria Rosso to Silvestro Pagnone, agent of Pinelli's heir, on 6 September 1601 (fols. 17r–18v). The second one, on the other hand, consists of about 40 documents and it is provided with an index.

By the first ten days of September, the collection was finally embarked on three different ships to avoid the risk of a shipwreck in order to reach the Apulian port of Fortore; there, Girolamo Velo, the Bishop of Larino in Molise, would have taken care of the transfer to Naples, where the collection would have been finally reunited with other 22 boxes of volumes, deposited by Pinelli himself since 1580 in Rome at Abbot Ravaschieri's residence.¹¹ However, as it's known, off the coast of Marche one of the ships, carrying 33 boxes, was attacked by Turkish pirates, who threw numerous books, scientific objects and works of art into the sea. The assaulted ship was then carried by the currents to Porto San Giorgio, where it was possible to recover the contents of at least 22 boxes, thanks to the recovery operations promoted by Cosmo and Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, Legate of the Marca Anconitana.¹²

In any case, the surviving part of the collection was transported to the Pinellian fief of Giugliano, eleven kilometers from the Neapolitan capital. Six months after the shipwreck it was still not possible to establish with certainty the losses suffered, because Cosmo, having not finished the analysis of each box's content – which he preferred to conduct by himself –, had not yet completed an index of the material rescued. In April 1602, the young Pinelli left for Genoa with his wife and two children, where he spent the summer; from here he went to Milan (around mid-September) and Padua, to promote the construction of Gian Vincenzo's funeral monument, designed by Galileo Galilei and then never completed, in the Basilica of St. Anthony. Cosmo suddenly contracted a mysterious disease and, despite the care of the most famous Paduan doctors, he died in Venice on 31 October 1602.¹³ The title and the family fortune were therefore inherited by little Francesco Galeazzo, under the protection of his mother; considering the widow's lack of interest in the fate of the Paduan library, it remained crammed into 84 boxes in the upper hall of the Giugliano residence for many years.¹⁴

In 1603 one of the most eminent cultural figures of that time – the Milanese cardinal Federico Borromeo, who had had friendly relations with Gian Vin-

¹¹ Rodella, "Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo," 93.

¹² Ferro, "Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo," 270. Excerpts from two letters sent by Cosmo to Gualdo are transcribed. Dated between September and December 1602, they concern the recovery of the lost material: some books were found on the beach of Fermo, together with some parchment leaves reused as shelter for the coastal houses' windows. Cosmo, however, hoped to recover also other boxes because a "chioggiotta" boat was seen picking up a cargo after the Ottoman assault.

¹³ Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 116–17.

¹⁴ This information can be deduced from the inventory – completed by October 1604 – of the volumes located in the Neapolitan Pinelli's fief, about which we will discuss shortly; cf. BNM, Ms. Ital. cl. X, 61 (6601), fol. 1r.

cenzo Pinelli – began to try to buy the collection, which was famous throughout Europe for its ampleness.¹⁵ The negotiations started only four years later – precisely in January 1607 –, when Grazio Maria Grazi,¹⁶ a close collaborator of Borromeo, went to Giugliano to personally contact them. The Borromeo’s agent read the volumes, already priced, and made a selection of them, but he then preferred to leave for Puglia and Calabria to acquire other manuscripts. The negotiations were then entrusted to other two Federico Borromeo’s assistants: the prior of San Martino in Naples, Severo Turboli, and the Neapolitan lawyer Fabio Leuco.¹⁷ Even the new agents had numerous difficulties: at first, the entire library – or, at least, the selection made by Grazi – should have been bought by some Neapolitan booksellers, who would have then resold it to Turboli at an agreed sum, but the deal fell through and this attempt failed. Then, the prior claimed he wanted to buy the entire collection (to put the surplus volumes for a second sale), but the heirs were not yet convinced. At the end, even Turboli resigned his mandate.

After seven months of negotiations carried out by Leuco alone, on 14 June 1608 a public sale auction was finally held in Naples.¹⁸ Abbot Giovanni Battista Besozzi,¹⁹ who arrived in Naples on 1 January 1609, ratified the acquisition on behalf of Borromeo and organized the transfer to Milan. At first, he transferred the collection from Giugliano to the monastery of San Severino in Naples (24

¹⁵ For the complex phases of the acquisition cf. specifically Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” in which the correspondence between the main participants involved in the sale can be integrally or partially read. For the relationship between Borromeo and Pinelli: Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 19, 39, 121–22; Motta, “Borromeo, Pinelli e Quarenghi: Letteratura e collezionismo librario tra Cinque e Seicento,” 129–34; Bonomelli and Rodella, *Cartai, tipografi e incisori delle opere di Federico Borromeo: alcune identità ritrovate*, 22–23.

¹⁶ For the Sienese scholar, who was one of the Ambrosiana founders and Borromeo’s secretary from 1619: Moreni, *Bibliografia storico-ragionata della Toscana*, I: 460; de Angelis, *Biografia degli scrittori sanesi composta ed ordinata dall’ab. Luigi De-Angelis*, I: 346; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 96, note no. 51.

¹⁷ For the correct identification of Leuco, who was in all probability a Neapolitan lawyer as well as the contact of Borromeo for the kingdom of Naples: Ceruti, *La Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, 21; Hobson, “A Sale by Candle in 1608,” 218; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 97, note no. 53.

¹⁸ Anthony Hobson illustrated this peculiar “sale by candle,” which was first used in Italy for just this occasion; later, Massimo Rodella highlighted the basic value of the auction (3025 *scudi*) and the role of Leuco in successfully completing the acquisition. Hobson, “A Sale by Candle in 1608,” 222–24; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 106–10.

¹⁹ About the Canon of the Milanese Cathedral (†1637), as well as Borromeo’s chamber master and administrator of the archiepiscopal table: Fustella, *Biografie dei sacerdoti che si fecero oblati dal 1601 al 1620*, 113–15; Marcora, “Il Collegio dei Dottori e la Congregazione dei Conservatori,” 203.

January); towards the middle of May, the most precious Greek manuscripts and printed books, packed into 22 boxes, was shipped via Genova to Milan. In the meantime, Antonio Olgiati²⁰ studied the collection's catalogue (about which more will be said shortly) prepared by one of San Severino's monks – a certain Costantino de' Notari – and selected other prints to send to Milan, which arrived only in October 1609. By November, therefore, the most precious nucleus of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library was received in the Ambrosiana Library, just in time for its official opening (8 December 1609).

On the basis of their format, the manuscripts were placed on the Ambrosian shelves together with other Borromean *codices*; at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Pinellian unbound sheets were then collected in factitious *codices* together with documents of different origin. Instead, the printed books suffered an unfortunate fate: deposited in the Sala Federiciana, which was bombed in the night between 15 and 16 August 1943 by the Anglo-Americans, they were largely destroyed together with other sixteenth and seventeenth century books.²¹ Only the *incunabula* and a large number of Pinelli's annotations – currently marked BAMi, S.R. and S.Q.C.–S.Q.Z. – were saved, because, considering their obvious value, they were placed together with the manuscripts.²²

Unfortunately, only one of the catalogues of the Pinelli library compiled during the founder's lifetime has survived and it contains only the registration of the 2309 printed books belonging to the initial nucleus of the collection (1564–1565); apograph but intensely annotated by Gian Vincenzo himself, it is now kept in Milan (BAMi, O 249/2 sup.).²³ For the reconstruction of the com-

²⁰ About the first prefect of the Ambrosiana Library, Antonio Olgiati (+1647): Oldelli, *Dizionario storico-ragionato degli uomini illustri del Canton Ticino*, 124–26; Castiglioni, "I prefetti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana," 399–400; Fustella, *Biografie dei sacerdoti che si fecero oblati dal 1601 al 1620*, 297–300.

²¹ About the bombing and its disastrous consequences: Galbiati, *L'Ambrosiana dopo la Seconda Guerra Mondiale*.

²² Among the most valuable postillated *codices*, Angela Nuovo includes at least the interleaved Tacitus (BAMi, S.R. 242), a Cicero with annotations written both on special additional sheets and on margins (BAMi, S.R. 246) and finally, the monumental Greek edition of Aristotle by Aldo Manuzio in 10 volumes fully interleaved (BAMi, INC. 374). Nuovo, "Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604," 45; Rodella, "Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo," 124–25.

²³ Composed by 71 folios and bound in paper, the catalogue contains 2247 titles in alphabetical order and, in its final part, other 62 editions listed without any criteria. Although Pinelli had abandoned its compilation, this inventory is valuable for reconstructing the initial fundation of the Paduan collection, mostly characterized by texts of Italian, classical Latin and Greek literature. Also it demonstrates how Gian Vincenzo used to integrate this list with all the new acquisitions, to replace the editions in his possession with more recent publications and often to buy *incunabula* and ancient editions. Nuovo, "Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604," 48–49. Unfortunately, no trace is left of the eight indexes of Pinelli's manuscripts

plete fund – although reduced because of the losses of September 1601²⁴ – it is therefore necessary to rely on its aforementioned *post mortem* inventories: BNM, Ms. Ital. cl. X, 61 (6601) and BAMi, B 311 suss.²⁵ The first index, commissioned by Cosmo Pinelli after the arrival of the books in Giugliano, had a long and complex drafting (almost two years), certainly slowed because of the heir's premature death. However, in October 1604 the catalogue was completed; the number of manuscripts surveyed was 738, while the number of printed editions was 6428.

The Pinellian collection was re-examined at the beginning of 1609 on the initiative of the new owner, Federico Borromeo, who wanted to know the exact severity of the losses of 1601; the assignment, as previously mentioned, was entrusted to one of the Benedictine monks of the monastery of San Severino in Naples, where the Borromeo emissaries had temporarily deposited the collection. According to the suggestions of Antonio Olgiati, Costantino de Notari da Nola, assisted by Fabio Leuco, inventoried 770 manuscripts and 5400 printed books. The catalogue (BAMi, B 311 suss.), made of 194 sheets, has the title: *Index librorum bibliothecae Pinellae secundum ordinem arcarum in qui-*

(divided into: Greek; Latin and vulgar; annotated printed books; writings of the doctors of the Paduan Studio; *catalogus catalogorum*; manuscripts awaiting collocation; Greek manuscripts already printed; management rules of the library) and of the catalogue of the printed editions. They were already lost in 1609, when a desolate Paolo Gualdo was forced to confess to Federico Borromeo that “*per quanto si fosse affaticato per averli, mai gli era stato possibile, essendogli stato scritto da Napoli, che non si trovavano*” BAMi, G 202 inf., fol. 6r. Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604,” 50–51; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 94–95; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 273.

²⁴ Despite the efforts of Cosmo Pinelli and, then, of Borromeo, it has never been possible to establish definitely the number of volumes irremediably lost in September 1601; in fact, since the original and complete indexes of the collection were lost, it was not possible to compare them with the catalogues prepared by the two owners after the boarding. According to the information sent by Paolo Gualdo to Borromeo on 21 February 1609, the missing boxes were eleven (8 of which containing books, 2 paintings and 1 musical instruments and scientific objects); therefore, the loss must have amounted to the 8% of the Paduan collection. BAMi, G 202 inf., fol. 6r; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 272–74.

²⁵ Also BAMi, X 289 inf. (fols. 158r–187v) – prepared after Cosmo's death – and Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, codex no. 1769 of the Peiresc's collection – which contains Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc's annotations on some Pinellian volumes before their transfer to Giugliano – help to reconstruct the original Pinellian library. The French scholar and collector met Pinelli during his youthful stay in Padua and established excellent relations with Paolo Gualdo; he was in Padua also when Gian Vincenzo died. In that occasion, he obtained the permission to access the collection for studying in depth the manuscripts cataloguing method, copying at least 486 titles of the 8440 printed books kept in the library. Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604,” 49–51; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 272, note no. 40.

bus libri inclusi sunt. Iuxta forma tradita ab admodum reverendo domino Antonio Olgiato bibliothecario Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Fols. 1r–142r contain the description of the 45 boxes of printed material, both in Italian and Latin; the list of manuscripts, which were crammed into boxes nos. 46–60, follows (fols. 142r–177r). Finally, among the fols. 177r–179r, there is the description of the 61st box (“61 et ultima cassa”), with the list of some Pinellian handwritten quires marked with capital letters from A to Z (and, subsequently, from AA to ZZ and, again, by AAA to ZZZ), accompanied by a brief description of each series’ subjects.²⁶ This first part of the inventory ends with the monk’s and Leuco’s signatures (“D. Constantinus a Nola monachus. Neapoli 18 febrarii. Fabius Leucus Neapoli die ultima”). The second section of the catalogue (fols. 181r–193r), also signed by the religious (fol. 193r: “Ita est. D. Constantinus Nolanus monachus. Neapoli ex monasteris s.ti Scu.ni [sic] 10 febrarii”), is instead deputy to the census of the *Opera graeca graece mmss et tipis impressa*, which were distributed in 11 boxes. All the texts are also provided with their monetary value expressed in ducats, tarì and grains of the Neapolitan kingdom.²⁷

According to fol. 177r, the Pinellian ZZ quire (“mazzo segnato ZZ”) have been specifically assigned to the “cose di Ungaria” (i.e. Hungarian affairs). Thanks to thorough investigations conducted in the Ambrosiana, it was possible to identify at least 13 of the documents belonged to this quire; characterized

²⁶ The documents of these quires mainly consist of short political writings, letters sent by a specific interlocutor and notes on various erudite topics, “*briciole di sapere [...] accumulate in maniera paziente e metodica sul filo dei giorni,*” characterized by very different dates and formats. Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 59. Unlike the manuscripts of a certain extension, in the Pinellian library these texts did not enjoy autonomy and they were at first grouped by subject and literary genre (cf. the oldest catalogue of Pinelli’s manuscripts, BAMi, I 230 inf.); from the mid-1570s, when they became more and more numerous, they were then collected in unbound quires, called *mazzi*, according to the homogeneity of their subjects. Each subject was hence identified by a capital letter from A to Z and, subsequently, from AA to ZZ and, again, from AAA to ZZZ. Within each quire, the writings were separated by a sheet with Arabic numbering: each document, therefore, had a shelfmark which first distinguished the subject (capital letter) and, then, its position within the quire (Arabic numeral). The absence of bindings allowed the scholar to modify the order of the texts when new documents were added. In any case, once they arrived in the Ambrosiana, these quires were unfortunately only partially bound in order to respect their original composition: they were in fact bounded in a fragmented manner within different factitious *codices*. Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 27–29; Barbero, “Obiettivi e contenuti del progetto Indici e del catalogo Manus,” 16–19; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all’Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 167–69; Nuovo, “Manuscript Writings on Politics and Current Affairs in the Collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601),” 203–4; Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 61–62.

²⁷ Angela Nuovo hypothesizes that these monetary valuations, rather than for patrimonial purposes, had to facilitate the sale of those pieces that were not chosen by Borromeo for the Ambrosiana in the kingdom of Naples, in order to finance the transfer of the most precious nucleus to Milan. Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall’agosto 1601 all’ottobre 1604,” 48.

by different formats, they are currently kept in BAMi, S 86 sup., only partially respecting their original order.²⁸ They are mostly copies of strategic-military discourses – one of which dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II and presumably dated to 1574 –, letters, and reports regarding the sixteenth century battles between the Habsburgs and the Turks on the Hungarian territory:

- ZZ-2 *Lettera di Ferdinando conte di Ardech et altri capitani del presidio di Giavarino sopra la resa di quella fortezza avvenuta nel 1594*, 29 September 1594, copy (codicological unit 18, fols. 198r–199r); the shelfmark ZZ-2 identifies also the *Relazion del regno d'Ungaria al tempo di re Matia*, before July 1463, kept in BAMi, R 94 sup. (codicological unit 22, fols. 297r–305v).²⁹
- ZZ-3 *Discorso intorno ai movimenti del Turco nella Croazia nel 1593* (codicological unit 20, fols. 233r–261v).
- ZZ-4 *Patriarcharum Aquileiensium catalogus usque ad Ioannem Grimum* (codicological unit 6, fols. 124r–127r).

²⁸ For an accurate description of BAMi, S 86 sup. and of its texts of Hungarian relevance: Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 142–44, no. 29. All these documents will be included in the database created by the Vestigia II project entitled *Hungarian historical and literary sources of the 14th–16th centuries in Italian archives and libraries* (NKFH no. K 128797). About BAMi, S 86 sup.: Revelli, *I codici ambrosiani di contenuto geografico*, no. 364; Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, no. 166; Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca ambrosiana*, 59–60; Bascapé, *Le Relazioni fra l'Italia e la Transilvania nel secolo XVI*, 197; Carpentieri and Nuzzo, “Egy olasz szemtanú beszámolója Balassi Bálint haláláról”; Carpentieri and Nuzzo, “Una fonte italiana sulla morte di Bálint Balassi, insigne petrarchista ungherese.”

²⁹ Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 153, no. 35. In the transcriptions of titles of manuscript works and, later in the essay, of *incipit*, *explicit* and portions of text in Italian the following criteria have been adopted: 1. division of words in *scriptio continua* according to the current usage; 2. introduction of punctuation according to modern usage; 3. introduction of diacritics; 4. normalization of upper and lower case letters according to modern usage; 5. elimination of the etymological and para-etymological *h* and in the entries of the verb “to have”; 6. normalization of *u/v* allographs; 7. normalization of the allographs *i/j/y* (they have been instead kept in Hungarian or Slavic toponyms or in personal names with results in *-ye -y-*, because the ancient writers might have known their correct forms); 8. maintenance of the conjunction *et* before vowel and normalization in *e* before consonant; 9. normalization of the voiced palatal affricate; 10. latin scripts: considered the age of these texts, they are just graphic residues; when they have no phonological value, they have been therefore eliminated; 11. localities: they have been standardized using their modern toponyms. This choice has turned out extremely useful in consideration of the criteria adopted in the general online Ambrosiana Library catalogue (www.ambrosiana.comperio.it), in which toponyms sometimes appear in their ancient form and, sometimes, in their modern one, both Italian, German or Hungarian. In this regard, I'm grateful to György Domokos, Ilona Kristóf, and Tibor Neumann, who helped me in identifying the toponyms and names that were more difficult to understand.

- ZZ-5 *Breve discorso sui moti in Croazia* (codicological unit 7, fols. 128r–133r).
- ZZ-6 Ferhad Pascià, *Epistula ad principem Transilvaniae*, 29 July 1595, copy (codicological unit 8, fols. 134r–136v); Mehmet III, *Epistula ad Principem Transilvaniae*, 29 July 1595, copy (fols. 136v–137r); Kurt agà, *Epistula ad Principem Transilvaniae*, 29 July 1595, copy (fol. 137r).³⁰
- ZZ-7 *Discorso sulla guerra d'Ungheria del 1595* (codicological unit 9, fols. 138r–141v).³¹
- ZZ-8 P. Busto, *Lettera a suo fratello che narra la congiura contro Sigismondo Bathori e descrive la Transilvania*, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Weissenburg/Keist, today Alba Iulia, Romania), 21 January 1595 (codicological unit 10, fols. 146r–150r).
- ZZ-9 *Coniuratio adversus serenissimum Transilvaniae principem Sigismundum Bathorium conflata anno 1594* (codicological unit 11, fols. 152r–157r).
- ZZ-10 D. Francesi, *Nuova maniera di guerreggiare in Ungheria contro il Turco, proposta all'imperatore Massimiliano II da Domenico Franzi napoletano*, about 1574, copy (codicological unit 12, fols. 158r–162r).³²
- ZZ-11 *Lettera scritta dal Petrino ingegnere sotto Strigonia a Astorre Leoncelli cameriero e cavalerizzo del prencipe di Baviera*, 1594, copy (codicological unit 13, fols. 164r–168v).³³
- ZZ-12 *Lettera di P. I. a papa Clemente VII sulle cose d'Ungheria*, 1594, copy (codicological unit 14, fols. 170r–171v).³⁴
- ZZ-13 G. Raguseo, *Discorso al principe di Transilvania per la buona direzione delle sue armi*, Gyulafehérvár, 10 January 1595 (codicological unit 15, fols. 172r–175v).
- ZZ-14 *Discorso circa la guerra d'Ongheria e sopra l'elezione di un capitano generale*, 1595 (codicological unit 16, fols. 176r–183v).³⁵

³⁰ Carpentieri, 156–57, no. 38.

³¹ Carpentieri, 163, no. 44.

³² Carpentieri, 224–28, no. 97.

³³ Carpentieri, 149–51, no. 33. This important letter, which is a source on the circumstances of the famous Hungarian soldier and poet Bálint Balassi's death during the Christian siege of Esztergom in 1594, is published with commentary in Carpentieri and Nuzzo, "Egy olasz szemtanú beszámolója Balassi Bálint haláláról"; Carpentieri and Nuzzo, "Una fonte italiana sulla morte di Bálint Balassi, insigne petrarchista ungherese."

³⁴ Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 142–44, no. 34.

³⁵ Carpentieri, 162–63, no. 43.

Five of these documents – precisely those with shelfmark ZZ-3, ZZ-5, ZZ-8, ZZ-9 and ZZ-13 – are actually strictly related only to Transylvanian and Turkish events of the late sixteenth century and they contain no mention of the surviving kingdom of Hungary. In addition, the examination of the *Patriarcharum Aquileiensium catalogus* has made possible to ascertain that this text has no connections with the “things of Hungary”; in fact, it numbers the patriarchs of Aquileia’s names, with the calculation of their offices, starting from the evangelist Mark, *primus praedicator*, and up to the fifteenth century.

However, the Pinellian *hungarica* does not end with the documents formerly kept in the ZZ quire. First of all, at least 9 texts belonged to some other quires contain conspicuous references to the Hungarian history and to the cultural relations between Italy and Hungary in the 15th–16th centuries. The *Oratio habita Cracoviae anno 1595* (now kept in BAMi, D 208 inf., fols. 181r–187v), delivered by the Hungarian ambassador Demeter Naprágyi at the meeting of the Estates General on 2 March in the presence of the Emperor and King of Hungary Rudolf II of Habsburg,³⁶ for example, pertained to the H quire (it was in fact marked H-42), which, according to the catalogue BAMi, B 311 suss., kept all the “speeches and reports of Poland and other similar writings” (fol. 177v).³⁷

The GGG part 2 quire, which contained “letters and voyages of Pigafetta for the most part” (cf. BAMi, B 311 suss., fol. 178v), included 3 texts concerning the Long War’s military campaigns between the Habsburg and the Turks written by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand I’s³⁸ adviser and informant on political and military issues, Filippo Pigafetta: the *Scrittura di Filippo Pigafetta per la riputazione degli austriaci, al duca di Toscana Ferdinando de’ Medici del giugno 1594*, marked GGG-25;³⁹ the *Scrittura di Filippo Pigafetta per il dominio del Danubio*,

³⁶ Rudolf II Habsburg (1552–1612), Holy Roman Emperor (1576–1612), King of Hungary and Croatia (as Rudolf I, 1572–1608), King of Bohemia (1575–1608/1611) and Archduke of Austria (1576–1608).

³⁷ Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 115–16, no. 6.34–36.

³⁸ Ferdinando I de’ Medici (1549–1609), Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609).

³⁹ Now kept in BAMi, R 125 sup., fols. 41r–45v; cf. Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 141–42, no. 28. This speech (copy) concerns the importance of an army’s reputation, which generates authority. For Pigafetta, the imperial troops had gained this reputation by killing 5000 Turks, so they must act before the infidels regain their courage, conquering the city of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) and the nearby fort of Párkány (today Štúrovo, Slovakia), which ensured the Turks free navigation to Buda (Ofen). The Christian forces must show themselves united and exploit their technical superiority, supporting the land expedition by a naval one. Excerpts of this writing are published in Pozzi, “La ‘lunga Guerra’ negli scritti di Filippo Pigafetta,” 1067–68; and Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, I: 45–46.

Florence, 13 May 1594, with shelfmark GGG26;⁴⁰ and, finally, the *Ragionamenti del med. Pigafetta sopra diverse parti e successi del mondo, cavati dal giornale di Alfonso Raona*, Vicenza, 9 February 1596, marked GGG-30.⁴¹

Moreover, the *Quibus itineribus turci sint aggrediendi Felicis Petancii cancellarii Segniae ad Vladislaum Hungariae Boemiaeque regem libellus*, written by the Croatian scholar Felix Petancius for King Vladislaus II in 1502,⁴² was preserved in tenth position within the Pinellian X quire, which collected “various speeches of different subjects, and in particular of fortification” (cf. BAMi, B 311 suss., fol. 178v). The Q part 1 quire (devoted to “actions against the Turks”, BAMi, B 311 suss., fol. 178v) retained three other *hungarica*: F. della Valle, *De’ fatti e morte di Luigi Gritti del 153[5]*, with ancient shelfmark Q-7,⁴³ F.

⁴⁰ BAMi, R 125 sup., fols. 47r–52v; Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 130–41, no. 27. In this work the bend of the Danube was identified as strategically fundamental for the control of Hungary: according to the author, who among the Imperials and the Turks would have conquered this area – where the main Hungarian cities were located – would have had great tactical advantages. He also proposed to send a fleet of galleons suitable for river navigation to support the land army for the transport of supplies and heavy artillery. Excerpts of this writing are published by Pozzi, “La ‘lunga Guerra’ negli scritti di Filippo Pigafetta,” 1066–67; and Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, I: 44–45.

⁴¹ BAMi, R 125 sup., fols. 75r–82v; Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 175–77, no. 54. Report (copy taken from the *Giornale di Alfonso Ragona*) of Pigafetta’s return to Vicenza from the Hungarian front and of his talks about the Imperial campaign against the Turks in 1595. According to Pigafetta, if the Transylvanian, Hungarian and German forces had managed to conquer Buda, Constantinople could have been besieged. He then dealt with the site of Comar island (Camarum, Komorn, Komárom, Komárno), Győr (Iaurinum, Giavarino, Raab) and the main events of the war (in particular, the Turkish siege of Győr, which is also sketched up at fol. 80r). Excerpts of this writing are published by Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, II: 69.

⁴² Now kept in BAMi, Q 116 sup., fols. 209r–214v. In this treatise, Petancius (1445–1517) illustrated to the Hungarian King some routes used by the ancient Romans to reach Eastern Europe; since these ways were almost unknown by that time, according to the author they should be rediscovered to attack the infidels in their own territories. Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 207–9, no. 84. But Agostino Pertusi proved that this work is simply plagiarism: based on the manuscript written in 1480 of Martino Segono Bishop of Dulcigno, in which, for example, the prologue and epilogue are identical, Petancius only has changed the name of the monarch. Pertusi, “I primi studi in Occidente sull’origine e la potenza dei turchi,” 485–6, 489–91; Dávid and Lakatos, “Felix Petancius és a török szultánokról készített első európai családja,” 54.

⁴³ Kept in BAMi, Q 116 sup., fols. 111r–130r. This life (without the dedicatory letter to Alvise Pisani) of Luigi (or Alvise) Gritti, son of the Doge of Venice, Andrea, was written by Francesco della Valle, his secretary between 1531 and 1532. In the text Gritti’s extraordinary political career was highlighted: he was elected governor by János Szapolyai in 1532, ascended to the Hungarian throne with the support of Suleiman the Magnificent after Louis II’s defeat. An account of some diplomatic trips made by Luigi – to Belgrade to meet Suleiman; to Brassó (Corona, Kronstadt, today Braşov, Romania), Tîrgovişte (Romania), in the Carpathians, etc. – and of his capture and murder by the Moldovan voivode Petru IV Rareş (1527–1538, 1541–1546) followed. Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti

Petantius, *De Turcorum statu libellus cum epistula ad Vladislaum Hungariae Boemiaeque regem* (about 1502), marked Q-22;⁴⁴ and, finally, the *Ragguaglio dello stato nel quale si ritrova quest'anno 1594 il governo dell'impero turchesco e della causa perché egli abbia rivolto l'animo all'Ungaria* (1594), with Pinellian shelfmark Q-40.⁴⁵ Lastly, the *Prima capita* "De architectura" by Filarete, translated by the famous humanist Antonio Bonfini (Buda, about 1487–1488, copy), was part of the Y part 2 quire, relating to "mathematical things" (cf. BAMi, B 311 subs., fol. 178v); it was marked Y-30 and it is now kept in BAMi, A 71 inf., fols. 37r–51r.⁴⁶ Also it is possible to find numerous other texts of Hungarian interest even among the Pinellian documents no longer provided with their original shelfmarks, which, however, retain *marginalia*, *annotations* and rubrics by Gian Vincenzo's hand.⁴⁷ Among these, first of all the 113 letters kept in BAMi, D 196 inf. should be considered. Sent to Pinelli by the Flemish philologist and Canon of Eger (Agria, Erlau) and Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, today Bratislava, Slovakia) Nicasius Ellebodus between 1571 and 1577, they contain significant insights into the Hungarian political, civil, and intellectual history of the second half of 16th century.⁴⁸ Densely annotated by the hand of Gian Vincenzo, these letters testify the intense activity of translation and

storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 441–42, no. 282. The text is published by I. Nágy in della Valle, "Una breve narrazione della grandezza, virtù, valore, et della infelice morte dell'Illustrissimo Signor Conte Alouise Gritti." The edition is based on the manuscript BNM, Ms. Ital. cl. VI, 122 (6211).

⁴⁴ Now kept in BAMi, N 340 sup., fols. 25r–30v. Discussion on the Ottoman Empire (origin, language, history, chronology of the main Sultans, extension of the kingdom, etc; concluding chapter: organization of the Turkish army) by Felix Petancius, Croatian scholar who resided in Buda at the court of King Matthias I between 1487 and 1490 and later became a diplomat of King Vladislaus II. Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 206–7, no. 83.

⁴⁵ Now kept in BAMi, D 484 inf., fols. 31r–42v. Text by unknown author on the Sultan Murad III and on his war campaigns of 1594. BAMi, S 115 sup., ff. 17r–28v keeps another copy of this text, without any Pinellian shelfmark. Carpentieri, 146–47, no. 30.

⁴⁶ Carpentieri, 199–201, no. 78.

⁴⁷ In addition to the manuscripts mentioned in this essay, the Ambrosiana Library preserves at least other thirty Pinellian factitious *codices*, which keep dozens and dozens of *hungarica*. Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde." All these documents have been notified on the above mentioned Vestigia II project (NKFIH no. K 128797).

⁴⁸ Z. Kovács, Nicasius Ellebodus Casletanus tra Padova e Posonio, in *Rapporti e scambi tra umanesimo italiano ed umanesimo europeo: l'Europa è uno stato d'animo*, edited by L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, Milano, Nuovi orizzonti, 2001, pp. 679–90. Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," Addenda, no. 12., in which the summaries of the 117 letters sent by Ellebodus to Pinelli, Mercuriale, Guilandino and to two anonymous addressees, as well as of two epistles sent to Nicaise, are given. In addition, the commented edition of this correspondence is being prepared in the research project entitled *The Correspondence of Nicasius Ellebodus. Critical Edition and Network Studies* (NKFIH no. FK 132710).

commentary of Latin authors (Cicero, Livio, Plautus, Pliny, Sallust, etc.) and Greeks (Aristotle, Aristophanes, Polybius, Herodotus, Hippocrates, etc.) carried out by Ellebodus during the years he spent as a doctor of István Radéczy, Provost of Pressburg, Bishop of Várad (Varadinum, today Oradea, Romania) (from 1568 to 1572) and then of Eger (1573–1586), and lieutenant of the king. Since his first stay in Padua (1561–1571), Ellebodus was accustomed to discuss philological problems with Pinelli and some other members of his Paduan entourage (such as the doctor Girolamo Mercuriale, the botanist Melchiorre Guilandino, the engineer Domenico Francesi, the mathematician Giuseppe Moletti, etc.) and, even from Hungary, he continued to ask for help from his friends to interpret all the dubious passages encountered during his translation activity. Often complaining about the poverty of Bishop Radéczy's library, he also used to exchange information with Pinelli on the most recent editorial news; the two also often commissioned each other to buy volumes accessible only beyond the Alps or in Italy. These books were then delivered, not without difficulty, by couriers or by taking advantage of their friends' travels, such as, for example, the librarian of the Imperial Library in Vienna, Ugone Blozio. Ellebodus, who sent continuous updates to Padua about his journeys in Austria and in Hungary following the bishop, also gave an account of Girolamo Mercuriale and Domenico Francesi's staying at the court of Vienna (Mercuriale, who had been asked by the Emperor in 1573 to stop serving, refused the proposal; Francesi, on the other hand, was refused in 1574 because of his lack of practical experience in military engineering). In addition, the canon's letters contained very interesting and sometimes curious information on disparate Hungarian customs: alongside observations on viticulture, on wheat cultivation, on the native flora and fauna and on the geological features of the area, there were also news on contingent issues, such as, for example, the terrible plague epidemic of 1576–1577, the annual Diets of Hungary, the progress of the war against the Turks, etc. These letters were also often accompanied by soil samples, minerals, plants, beaver glands and so on, which increased the already rich mineralogical and botanical Pinellian collection.

Also the collection of dispatches, reports and notices sent to the scholar from the most important Italian and European cities is very interesting for our purpose: it constitutes, in fact, an appropriate repository of information relating to that period.⁴⁹ In the second part of this essay, I would therefore specifi-

⁴⁹ These writings were collected and grouped systematically by Pinelli starting from 1566 and up to 1600 in volumes according to a chronological criterion; today they are kept in the Ambrosiana in 12 different units. Nuovo, "Manuscript Writings on Politics and Current Affairs in the Collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)," 198–201; where their inventory is offered: BAMi, G 276 inf. (dispatches relating to 1566); BAMi, D 489 inf. (1569); BAMi, D 491 inf. (1573); BAMi, G 54 inf. (1574); BAMi, D 188 inf. (1575–1576); BAMi, D

cally focus on the two factitious *codices* BAMi, G 276 inf. and BAMi, D 489 inf., which collect all the notices arrived in Padua during the sixties of the sixteenth century (and, precisely, in 1566 and 1569); among these, in fact, respectively 31 and 12 dispatches – sent from Augusta, Pressburg, Vienna and from the Caesarean war camp against the Turks – mainly concern the Hungarian events of February–December 1566 and January–October 1569. Before thoroughly analysing these volumes, it seems appropriate to clarify, at least summarily, the historical context to which the letters belong, in order to better understand their content.

Until the defeat at Mohács (1526), the Kingdom of Hungary – which included territories inhabited by different ethnic groups, such as Slavonia, and was in a personal union with Croatia – enjoyed territorial and political unity. After the death of King John I,⁵⁰ the Ottoman Empire took possession of the central and southern Hungarian territories by the middle of the century, the Habsburgs annexed the northern and western parts of the Kingdom of Hungary to their empire, and finally, with Ottoman support, the autonomous and ‘national’ Principality of Transylvania was established in the eastern part of the country in 1571.

When Szapolyai died in 1540, he left only one heir, John Sigismund,⁵¹ born a few months earlier. Although Suleiman I⁵² conquered Buda in 1541, John Sigismund was proclaimed King of Hungary under the tutelage of his mother, Queen Isabella Jagiellon⁵³ and Bishop Giorgio Martinuzzi of Várad.⁵⁴ Ferdinand I⁵⁵ opposed this decision, so the Sultan continued hostilities with the Austrian army by force, occupying the entire area between Pécs, Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) and Szeged. The peace treaty of 19 June 1547 not only restored the Eastern Kingdom under John Sigismund, declaring it a Turkish protectorate, but also confirmed the Ottoman territorial conquests of those years and forced the emperor to pay annual tribute to the sultan.

493 inf. (1577); BAMi, G 266 inf. (1579–1580); BAMi, D 492 inf. (1584); BAMi, D 490 inf. (1584–1585); BAMi, G 274 inf. (1594); BAMi, G 274 inf. (1596–1598); BAMi, E 142 sup. (1600).

⁵⁰ John/János I. Szapolyai (1480/1487–1540), Count of Szepes (today Spiš, Slovakia), Voivode of Transylvania (1510–1526), King of Hungary (1526–1540).

⁵¹ John Sigismund Szapolyai (1540–1571), King of Hungary as John II (1540–1551 and 1556–1570), and the first Prince of Transylvania (1570–1571).

⁵² Suleiman I /Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1520–1566).

⁵³ Isabella Jagiellon (1519–1559), Queen consort of Hungary, she married John Zápolya, Voivode of Transylvania and King of Hungary (1539–1540).

⁵⁴ Giorgio Martinuzzi/Fráter György/Juraj Utješenić (1482–1551), politician, Bishop of Várad (1534–1551), Archbishop of Esztergom (1551), Cardinal (1551).

⁵⁵ Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–1564), Archduke of Austria (1521–1564), King of Hungary and Bohemia (1526–1564), Holy Roman Emperor (1558–1564).

From the following year, Martinuzzi Governor of Transylvania, while maintaining friendly relations with Suleiman, tried to facilitate the transfer of the estates of the House of Szapolyai to Ferdinand. The King of the Romans then sent a contingent of 3000 Spanish and 500 Tyrolean soldiers under Giovanni Battista Castaldo; the victories achieved by Martinuzzi's army at the outbreak of civil war forced the Queen to approve the transfer of the rights to the crown of Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs (19 July 1551). Isabella and her son fled to Silesia, while Martinuzzi, who had just become cardinal, was soon killed for alleged collusion with the Turks. This event, however, provoked a reaction from Suleiman, who, despite the defence organised by Castaldo, recaptured several strongholds – Temesvár (today Timișoara, Romania), Lippa (today Lipova, Romania), Veszprém, Szolnok, etc. – until the heroic garrison of Eger, led by István Dobó,⁵⁶ stopped the Ottoman attack (1552). From then on, although no truce was concluded, the Turks did not conduct any other regular campaigns in Hungary for about fifteen years, although the skirmishes between the Christians and the Ottomans continued tirelessly.

In April 1566 Suleiman, already seriously ill, decided to move in person from Istanbul with his entire court for his last campaign: the goal was the conquest of Vienna. In aid of the new Emperor Maximilian II,⁵⁷ who had taken power in 1564, reinforcements arrived also from Italy, specifically from Cosimo I de' Medici⁵⁸ (with Francesco I, his eldest son, who was in fact regent since 1564), who promptly sent money and soldiers; from the Duke of Urbino Guidobaldo II Della Rovere;⁵⁹ and from the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II d'Este,⁶⁰ who left for Hungary in person.⁶¹

⁵⁶ István Dobó (c. 1502–1572) famous commander of Eger. Hungarian landowner and famous captain who defended Eger, with a garrison of just 2000 soldiers, from the Turks' assault led by the Grand Vizier Ahmed and the Pasha of Buda Ali in 1552. In recognition of this achievement, he gained Déva (today Deva, Romania) and Szamosújvár (today Gherla, Romania) and in 1553 he became Voivode of Transylvania at the behest of King Ferdinand I. When Transylvania attempted to free itself from Habsburg domination, Dobó was put in prison (1566). However, he was soon released and Ferdinand appointed him captain of Léva (today Levice, Slovakia). When Suleiman I the Magnificent marched against Vienna in 1566, Dobó joined the Habsburg army, but he was accused of treason and connivance with the Turks; by order of Maximilian II he was then arrested. In the end, the accusation turned out to be unfounded and he was released in April 1572. He died in Szerednye (today Сєреднє, Ukraina) Castle in the summer of the same year. Cf. at least Borbély, "The Gate of the Upland: Eger in the 16th – 17th Centuries"; *Encyclopaedia Britannica on line* (www.britannica.com/biography/Istvan-Dobo).

⁵⁷ Maximilian II Habsburg (1527–1576), King of Bohemia (1562–1576), King of Hungary and Croatia (1563–1576), Holy Roman Emperor (1564–1576).

⁵⁸ Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574), the last Duke of Florence (1537–1569), the first Grand Duke of Tuscany (1569–1574).

⁵⁹ Guidobaldo II della Rovere (1514–1574), Duke of Urbino (1538–1574).

⁶⁰ Alfonso II d'Este (1533–1597), Duke of Ferrara (1559–1597).

⁶¹ On the participation of the Italian contingents and especially of the Ferrarese one, see at

On the Turkish front, the Prince of Transylvania attacked Hungary from the North, while the Sultan's army broke through in two different points: the Second Vizier Pertev Pascha had to retake Gyula with the reinforcements of the beylerbeyi of Temesvár Mustafa Pasha, of the Sanjak of Belgrade (Nándorfehértár, today Београд, Serbia) and of the other beys of the Transylvanian border, with the beys of Semendire and Sirem's support; the rest of the army, led by Suleiman himself, who had been transported on a litter for all the journey, besieged Szigetvár (Inselburg, Siget), a strategic stronghold on the road to Vienna. The siege was memorable and inspired numerous writings.⁶² Count Miklós Zrínyi, captain of the stronghold, resisted for more than a month with his 2400 soldiers, slowing down the Turkish advance; Emperor Maximilian II was camped near Győr, but, despite Zrínyi's repeated requests for help, he refused to intervene with his troops, deputies to defend Vienna. Also, Alfonso II

least: Provasi, "Alfonso II d'Este alla campagna in Ungheria (1566): Spese di guerra, spese di rappresentanza," and the bibliography indicated.

⁶² First of all, here I recall the chronicle written by Ferenac Črnko, secret waiter and secretary of Zrínyi and only survivor, together with three Hungarian nobles, of the carnage that ended the siege. Črnko wrote his memories in Croatian; they were soon translated by Samuel Budina into Latin and German and printed in 1568 in Vienna by Gaspar Stainhofer with the title: *Historia Sigheti totius Sclavoniae fortissimi propugnacoli, quod a Solymano Turcarum imperatore nuper captum Christianisque ereptum est, ex Croatico sermone in Latinum conversa per m. Samuelem Budinam Labacensem*. This Latin translation became the primary source of many other texts inspired by the story of count Zrínyi; among these, I mention at least the poem *Vazetje Sigeta Grada* by Brne Karnatutić (Venice, 1584, with a dedication to the hero's son, György Zrínyi). It is also worth remembering how the text left its mark also in the oral tradition in Ottoman region; as Sofia Zani reports, there are in fact at least four popular songs containing precise references to this event: *Ban Miklouš Zrinski u Segetu gradu, bugarštica, Mujo Ljubović pod Segetom*, of the Herzegovina's Muslims, *Boj na Segetu*, in decasyllables, and the brief *Smrt cara Sulejmana pod Segetom*. In 1568 the first two German editions of Črnko's report were also published; the first was commissioned by the printer Stainhofer, immediately after the appearance of the Budina's translation in Vienna. Reichert Sorsch, instead, translated the text directly from the Croatian, using a copy of Črnko's memories belonged to his father (as the author himself declared in the dedication), who had taken part in the battle of Szigetvár. In 1569 the first Italian translation was also published by the Spanish Alfonso de Ulloa: *Historia dell'impresa di Tripoli di Barbaria... Alla quale sono state aggiunte... le cose fatte in Ungheria l'anno MDLXVI da sultan Solimano, con la narrazione della morte di esso sotto Seghetto et la creazione di Selim, suo figliolo* (Venice, Marchiò Sessa, 1569). The translation was probably based on the Budina's Latin version. The "things done in Hungary in the year MDLXVI by sultan Suleiman" were so successful that they were reprinted in the second edition of the *Comentari... della guerra che il Sig. Don Fernando Alvarez di Toledo, duca d'Alva...*, published in Venice by Bolognino Zaltieri in 1570. In 1569 the appendix was finally published as a separate volume by Giovanni Crigher in Turin; in 1570 a second edition already followed, licensed in Venice for the types of Bolognino Zaltieri. See: Zani, "Povijest Segeta Grada (Historia di Zighet): L'eroe, l'autore, il testo, la traduzione italiana," 428–30; Carpentieri, "Rapporti Italia-Ungheria in cinque testi del XVI secolo," 74–118, with a commented edition of the text published by Zaltieri in 1570; Carpentieri, "Su alcune edizioni a stampa di argomento ungherese conservate presso la Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano," 33–39. For Zrínyi and the siege: Varga and Evans, *Europe's Leonidas*; Fodor, *The Battle for Central Europe*.

d'Este, who had arrived in Vienna on 28 August and had paraded with his small army of 4200 men on 3 September, had already reached the imperial camp, but his forces remained unused (because of the loss of many soldiers due to illnesses and in consideration of the expenditure of great resources, the duke returned home on 18 December). On 7 September, Zrínyi and the 200 surviving Hungarian and Croatian soldiers then decided to attempt a last desperate sortie, during which they were killed. On 8 September, Szigetvár capitulated, exactly two days after the death of Suleiman himself.

Hostilities were suspended in October due to the onset of winter, but there was no longer any interest on either side of the Danube to continue the war. In the spring of 1567 the art of diplomacy replaced the war: the Ottoman army interrupted the campaign and preferred to return to Constantinople. In 1568 Selim II,⁶³ the new Sultan, and Maximilian II stipulated a formal truce with the peace of Adrianople (Hadrianopolis, Ἀδριανούπολις, today Edirne, Türkiye), in which all the recent Turkish conquests were recognized and the borders between the two powers were established. The truce was very advantageous for the Sublime Porte: Hungarian territories fallen under the Turkish rule became imperial provinces (vilayet) ruled by the Pasha of Buda; the previous counties were replaced with sanjak (sandjaks); and the Pasha and all the beys became responsible for military, administrative, and legal matters in these new territories. From an economical point of view, then, the peace provided with an annual “gift of honor” both the Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu⁶⁴ (2000 ducats), major supporter of this agreement in Constantinople, and Selim II (30 000 ducats). However, at the same time, a relative tranquillity was guaranteed to the Habsburgs on a traditionally turbulent front. The peace formally lasted for twenty-five years, but in that period expeditions, local conflicts and capture of enemies continued unabated, with mutual losses and conquests of border strongholds. Nevertheless, the agreement was never considered violated.⁶⁵

⁶³ Selim II/ Selim the Blond (1524–1574), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1566–1574).

⁶⁴ Sokollu Mehmed Pasha /Mehmed-paša Sokolović (1506–1579), Ottoman statesman of Serbian origin most notable for being the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁵ For the Turkish-Habsburg wars of that period, just summarized here, cf., among many others, at least: Asztalos and Pethő, *Storia della Ungheria*, 201–9; Sugar, Hanák, and Frank, *A History of Hungary*, 86–89; Housley, *The Later Crusades (1274–1580)*, 118–50; Hanák, *Storia dell'Ungheria*, 46–47; Szakály, “L'espansione turca in Europa centrale dagli inizi alla fine del XVI secolo,” 133–51; Fodor and Dávid, *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*; Jačov, *L'Europa tra conquiste ottomane e leghe sante*, 32–38; Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1650: The Structure of Power*, 52–55; Clot and Reisz, *Suleiman the Magnificent*, in particular, the seventh chapter *The Twilight of the Empire*; Fodor, *The Battle for Central Europe*.

This is the historical context. As already said, BAMi, G 276 inf. and BAMi, D 489 inf. retain many information on the sixties of the sixteenth century in Hungary and, therefore, they connote themselves as precious first-hand source for the reconstruction of that period. First, the bibliographic description of these two codices will now be provided and, subsequently, a list of all their dispatches of Hungarian interest – each one accompanied by the transcription of its *incipit* and *explicit* and by a summary – will be offered.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 276 inf.⁶⁶

The Pinellian codex G 276 inf. (fols. II, 246, I'; 322 x 224 mm), consisting of numerous leaves and quires written by different hands, has a binding in half leather and brown marbled paper. On the spine, black cartouche with gold-stamped shelfmark (276). In the center of the inner front board, handwritten shelfmark in brown ink. II + I' flyleaves; on the recto of the second, previous shelfmark (*C 195 p.te inf.*), deleted; beside modern note, in pencil: "NB: sotto a questo H6 antico non trovasi nell'indice;" in the center: *Avvisi d'Orazio a Gio. Vincenzo Pinello. 1566*, in brown ink, to which a different hand added: "Teodoro Malatesta (p. 15 verso)" and "Domenico Franzi (n. 28)," in brown ink too. On the upper right corner of the recto of each folio, ancient Arabic progressive foliation within the volume, in brown ink. The codex – which is quite well preserved, despite the presence of extensive damp spots – keeps about 200 dispatches sent to Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli from various European cities (Rome, Madrid, court of France, Malta, Augusta, Pressburg, Venice, Naples, Constantinople, etc.) in 1566; among these, at least 31 documents contain references to the Diet of Hungary of 1566 and to the imperial campaign against the Turks in Hungary in February–December 1566.

The quires are devoid of catchwords and ruling and they often contain several dispatches in succession – sometimes written by the same hand –, each one provided with its date and locality of composition. Furthermore, frequently, on the upper margin of the first folio of many quires, a greeting formula addressed to Pinelli ("Molto mag.co mio signor oss.do") is written by a different hand, which, according to the indication on the II guard sheet recto, we must be supposed to that of a Venetian agent of Pinelli, called Orazio.⁶⁷ In such cases, at the bottom

⁶⁶ Related bibliography: Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, no. 255; Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, II, 189; Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 415–17, no. 258, 259, Addenda no. 13; "Manus online, CNMD\38706."

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, at the moment, no information about Orazio has been found; he is not mentioned in any of the studies cited in note no. 1 and no identification is proposed even in the *Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane* of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico, which, however, identifies and records his hand (www.manus.iccu.sbn.it).

of the last dispatch kept in the quires, the same hand takes care with “basciare la mano” (i.e. kiss the hand) to the recipient and, sometimes, writes some additional information, specifying also the sending date from Venice, which never exceeds more than fifteen days the original dispatches’ dates, as proof of the well-functioning communication system set up by the Paduan scholar. Finally, on the verso of the last folio of these quires, Pinelli’s address is specified (“Al molto mag.co mio signor oss.do, signor ~~Giovanni Vincenzo Pinello~~.⁶⁸ Padoa, in Santa Soffia”)⁶⁹ and there are traces of the ancient sealing wax stamp.⁷⁰

List of dispatches relating to Hungarian events from 13 February to 5 December 1566.⁷¹

1. Codicological unit 12, fol. 18v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 13 February 1566.

Incipit: “Lunedì prossimo partirà di qua il serenissimo arciduca Carlo[...].”

Explicit: “[...] intendono che fa il Turco.”

Summary: Archduke Charles⁷² is leaving for Pressburg (“Posonio”) to attend the Hungarian Diet;⁷³ the Hungarian participants are already on site.

2. Codicological unit 23, fol. 43r: *Avviso politico inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*,⁷⁴ Pressburg, 6 March 1566.⁷⁵

Incipit: “Oggi li statti d’Ongaria hanno da dar la risposta al ser.mo arciduca Carlo[...].”

⁶⁸ Deleted.

⁶⁹ Pinelli moved from an unknown address to Santa Sofia in 1565, in a portion of the buildings of Bishop Leonardo Mocenigo restored by Palladio in 1558, which the scholar rented until 1575; Puppi, “‘Questa eccellente professione delle Mathematiche e dell’Architettura.’ Idea di cultura e ruoli sociali nel pensiero di Vincenzo Scamozzi,” 20; Rauegi, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 66 and note no. 24.

⁷⁰ All these elements are present in the quires which kept the dispatches listed here with no. 2–3, 5, 7–8, 10–17, 21, 25–30.

⁷¹ For a better understanding, the dispatches are presented in a chronological order, which does not always coincide with the order by which they are organized within the factitious codex.

⁷² Archduke Charles II of Austria (1540–1590), son of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

⁷³ For the establishment and functioning of the Hungarian Diet – composed by two chambers and by the *Tabula superior* of the magnates and the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries – which, following the Turkish conquest of Buda, met in Pozsony, Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 55–72.

⁷⁴ The title has been modified from the one in the online Ambrosiana catalogue, which contains the modern German toponym of Pozsony (*Avviso politico da Presburg inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*).

⁷⁵ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 18 March and it contains, at the bottom of the text, a brief note on the condition of the Jews of that city and the signature of Orazio (cf. fol. 44r).

Explicit: «... aveano traghettato alla terra di Pesto 40 pezzi d'artiglieria.»

Summary: On the final works of the Diet of Hungary and on the campaign against Suleiman I in Hungarian and Transylvanian territory: Hungarian Estates don't want to pay the three Hungarian florins requested per tenant plots by the Archduke Charles II to finance the war operations, but they have offered a florin and a half, with the possibility of reaching a maximum of two.⁷⁶ The elected king, John Sigismund Szapolya, is preparing himself for war. The Turks are arming Esztergom ("Strigonia") and Pest ("Pesto").

3. Codicological unit 25, fol. 47r: *Avviso politico inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*,⁷⁷ Pressburg, 14 March 1566.⁷⁸

Incipit: "Oggi il ser.mo arciduca Carlo ha replicato agli ongari, essortandoli a dargli almeno due fiorini per casa e presto[...]."

Explicit: "[...] Il signor Lazaro Svendi dimanda mille archibuscieri italiani e 400 cavalli."

Summary: Report of the agreements between Archduke Charles II and the Hungarian Estates, gathered in the Diet. Charles would like to quickly obtain a donation of at least two gold florins per casa (i.e. house), as it seems that the Turks are ready to attack. News is also reported on the campaign against the Turks in Hungarian-Transylvanian territory: important prisoners have been captured, which hopefully will reveal significant details. Pietro Usotutu⁷⁹ is preparing to

⁷⁶ The Habsburg taxation system in their own domains was based on an ordinary and an extraordinary income, which had to be approved by the Diets of the various regions. Ordinary taxes came from various sources, such as the royal estates, the *regiae civitates*, and the ecclesiastical possessions; moreover, from the royalties applied to the extraction activities in the mining towns, to minting, to the salt trade and to customs duties. They were used for the expenses of the court, diplomacy and, also, for the debts of the Crown. The extraordinary taxes, on the other hand, also called "war taxes" (*subsidium, dica, contributio*), were mainly used to finance the war operations against the Turk in Hungary. In this region, they had to be approved by the Diet of Hungary, their amount varied from year to year and they were collected by special officers (*thesaurarii*) elected by the same Diet. For the nobles, they were based on the declared value of properties and proceeds, while the inhabitants of the cities paid only on the basis of properties. In the 16th century, the earlier tax, levied on the basis of tenant plots (*portae*), was extended to individual households or families (in the documents under study, *per casa*, meaning "house," or *per fuoco*, meaning "fire"), thus significantly expanding the scope of those liable to pay the tax, since one tenant plot often had several families living in it. Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 34–36, 55–72.

⁷⁷ The title has been modified from the one in the *online* Ambrosiana catalogue, which contains the modern German toponym of Bratislava (*Avviso politico da Presburg inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*).

⁷⁸ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 26 March and it is signed by Orazio (cf. the *recto* of the quire's last folio: fol. 50r).

⁷⁹ Unidentified person, probably ambassador of Emperor Maximilian II in Constantinople.

leave for Constantinople with 20 Turks freed. Captain Lazarus von Schwendi⁸⁰ is preparing his own army.

4. Codicological unit 29, fol. 53r: *Avviso politico da Augusta inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Augusta, 18 March 1566.

Incipit: “Continuano sempre gli avvisi [...]”

Explicit: “[...] accordo tra il re di Svevia e quel di Dannimarca.”

Summary: Among other news: the Pasha of Buda⁸¹ is deploying his army on the banks of the Danube to attack Hungary; Emperor Maximilian II, instead, is hiring a large number of soldiers in his possessions near the river. George, son of the Margrave of Brandenburg,⁸² wants to leave the front with imperial license to return to his father, whose health has deteriorated.

5. Codicological unit 31, fol. 57v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 31 March 1566.⁸³

Incipit: “Oggi è gionto qua il serenissimo arciduca Carlo de ritorno dalla Dieta di Possonia[...]”

Explicit: “[...] ove li pare che il sito sia più forte e più monito e più sicuro.”

Summary: Archduke Charles II has returned to Vienna; during the Diet of Pressburg, it has been decided that the Hungarians should provide “un fiorino per fuoco et un uomo per casa”⁸⁴ in support of the resumption of the war against the Turks, who seem to prepare an attack; Lazarus von Schwendi has moved the Caesarean camp to a more sheltered place, three leagues away from the previous one.

⁸⁰ Lazarus von Schwendi (1522–1583), military commander of the Holy Roman Empire.

⁸¹ Arslan/Arszlán, the Pasha of Buda (1565–1566).

⁸² John George of Brandenburg (1525–1598), prince–elector of the Margraviate of Brandenburg (1571–1598).

⁸³ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 8 April and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 58r).

⁸⁴ The Hungarian military organization was based on the system of armed units called *banderia*, established since 1435. The royal *banderia* of a thousand knights was financed directly by the king; the prelates and the religious corporations, in turn, had to provide *banderia*, which were permanently stationed in the border fortresses for the anti-Turkish defence. Furthermore, the nobles had to recruit *banderia* of four hundred or two hundred knights, depending on their income, stationing them in their castles or near the border. In case of emergency, additional troops were added, enlisted through the general levy and formed by noble landowners who lacked their previous *banderia*, by the minor nobility – which had to provide a knight for every twenty *portae* owned – and by the contingents of the *liberae et regiae civitates*, whose numerical entity was calculated on the number of bourgeois houses in each city. Finally, one infantryman had to be supplied for every five peasants, even if this request was already abolished in 1514, when peasants were forbidden to carry arms. Due to the pressure from the Turks, the Emperor very often modified this organization, increasing the border *banderia* with his own troops and with mercenary soldiers under the guidance of royal officers. Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 62–63.

6. Codicological unit 33, fols. 61v–62r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 April 1566.

Incipit: “I nostri soldati d’Agria sul confin de corvacia volsero[...].”

Explicit: “[...] che sia rinovata la pratica del matrimonio di essa regina nel serenissimo arciduca Carlo.”

Summary: The garrison of the Hungarian fortress of Eger (“Agria”) is carrying out raids against the Turks. News is provided on the enemy army led by the Pasha of Buda, Arslan. The elected King John Sigismund Szapolyai wants to summon a Diet to obtain financial subsidies to support the war. Elizabeth I, the Queen of England,⁸⁵ has expressed her willingness to help the Emperor in the war against the Turks; it seems that the procedures for her marriage with Archduke Charles II can be resumed.

7. Codicological unit 55, fol. 108r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 30 May 1566.⁸⁶

Incipit: “Qua abbiamo nova che li soldati[...].”

Explicit: “[...] è stato constretto di affrontarsi con loro e serrarli il passo.”

Summary: Some skirmishes have occurred between the imperial soldiers and the Turks of Esztergom, during which at least 200 Turks were killed and captured; it was understood by the prisoners that the Pasha of Buda himself is coming to help the city with provisions and supplies. The Tartars have successfully attacked the King of Poland.⁸⁷

8. Codicological unit 54, fols. 106r–107r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 June 1566.⁸⁸

Incipit: “Il serenissimo arciduca Carlo è stato e è alquanto indisposto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] è imputato che abbia comesso.”

Summary: Among other news: Archduke Charles II is indisposed, but he is expected to arrive in Vienna in a few days; von Schwendi has besieged the castle of Huff⁸⁹ and hopes to take it soon. Count Zrinyi is raiding as far as Pécs (“Cinqueshire”), while the Turks have reached Esztergom.

⁸⁵ Elizabeth I Tudor (1533–1603), Queen of England (1558–1603).

⁸⁶ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 9 June and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 109v).

⁸⁷ Sigismund II Augustus Jagiellon (1520–1572), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1548–1572).

⁸⁸ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 17 June and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 107r).

⁸⁹ Unidentified settlement.

9. Codicological unit 50, fol. 97r and codicological unit 51, fol. 99r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 7 June 1566, two exemplars.

Incipit: “Tre dì sono che passò qui per le poste il figlio del conte Serin[...].”

Explicit: “[...] ha mandato innanzi più di 70 mila cavalli.”

Summary: Count Zrínyi's son⁹⁰ is reaching Emperor Maximilian II to bring news of the death of Suleiman I the Magnificent during the siege of Szigetvár (“Seghetto”).⁹¹ Archduke Charles II has been sick since four or five days, but his illness does not seem serious. A description of the Imperial forces and of the powerful Turkish army follows. John Sigismund Szapolyai is awaiting the mighty Turkish army in Buda, ready to join it.

10. Codicological unit 60, fols. 116v–117v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 13 June 1566.⁹²

Incipit: “Ancor che fosse stato scritto che non si dubitava che ' Turchi andassero a Palata, luogo appresso Giavarina otto leghe[...].”

Explicit: “[...] sopra l'isola di Candia e altro non avendo a V. S. bacio la mano.”

Summary: The Pasha of Buda is besieging Várpalota (“Palotta”), which is located eight leagues from Győr (“Giavarina”). The arrival of Archduke Ferdinand II⁹³ and of the Bohemian reinforcements is expected on 24 June. Archduke Charles II is still indisposed. Regiments are moving to Pressburg. Marriage practices between the Queen of England and the Archduke Charles have stalled because Elizabeth does not want marry a man “who does not live according to her religion.” Reinforcements are expected from the Duke of Florence.⁹⁴

11. Codicological unit 62, fols. 120r–121r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 18 June 1566.⁹⁵

Incipit: “Il Bassà di Buda d'Alba Regale che andorno[...].”

Explicit: “[...] in Constantinopoli alli X o XI detto.”

Summary: After having besieged Várpalota, the Turks are directed to Székesfehérvár (“Alba Regale”); Archduke Ferdinand will not arrive before 3 July. A detailed list of the Imperial forces (in particular, of the Caesarean cavalry) follows.

⁹⁰ György Zrínyi (1549–1603), Croatian nobleman, general.

⁹¹ The Sultan actually died on 7 September, before the capitulation of the fortress.

⁹² The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 24 June and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 117v).

⁹³ Ferdinand II of Austria (1529–1595), Archduke of Further Austria (1529–1595) and Imperial count of Tirol (1564–1595). Son of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

⁹⁴ Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574), the last Duke of Florence (1537–1569), the first Grand Duke of Tuscany (1569–1574).

⁹⁵ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 1 July (cf. fol. 121v).

12. Codicological unit 65, fol. 126r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 27 June 1566.⁹⁶

Incipit: “Non fu vero che li Turchi tornassero sotto Palatta[...].”

Explicit: “[...] quelli di Fiorenza che sono in viaggio.”

Summary: Information on the Turkish army’s movements, which, after crossing the Danube, is heading towards Buda, where it intends to join the Tartar, Wallachian, and Moldavian reinforcements. The Imperial army must decide whether to arm or dismantle the site of Várpalota, while the borders near Eger, Szigetvár and Szatmár (“Satmar”) are well defended. It seems that the “Transylvanian” (i.e. John Sigismund Szapolyai) will soon meet the Turks. Meanwhile, Florence and Riva of Trento armies are on their way.

13. Codicological unit 69, fols. 134v–135r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 11 July 1566.⁹⁷

Incipit: “Il Turco passò il Danubio a Petro Varadino[...].”

Explicit: “[...] che detta armata alli dì era alla Vallona.”

Summary: Having crossed the Danube, the Turks have reached Pétervárad (“Petro Varadino”, today Петроварадин, Serbia) and Szeged (“Seghedino”): it seems they are ready to face Lazarus von Schwendi’s army and invade Transylvania. In addition, they have sent contingents to besiege Gyula (“Giula”); the Italian contingent of the Duke of Urbino⁹⁸ has finally arrived.

14. Codicological unit 72, fols. 138r–139r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 18 July 1566.

Incipit: “Alli 12 arrivò qua un gentilmodel Conte Nic. de Sdrin che è posto alla custodia di Seghetto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] verrà parte a Fiume e parte a Segna e altro non avendo a V. S. bascio la mano.”

Summary: A soldier from Szigetvár alerts the Viennese court that the Pasha of Bosnia⁹⁹ is marching towards Pécs. Fights between Christians and Turks near the Drava river are reported. Information is provided on Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles II movements and on the exploits carried out by some warlords’ personal armies, such as Giovanni Alfonso Pescara Castaldo¹⁰⁰ and Lazarus von Schwendi.

⁹⁶ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 7 July and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 127r).

⁹⁷ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 21 July and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 135r).

⁹⁸ Guidobaldo II della Rovere.

⁹⁹ Sokollu Ferhad Paşa / Ferhad-paša Sokolović (1530–1586).

¹⁰⁰ Nephew of the famous Giovanni Battista Castaldo (1493–1563), general of Charles V of

15. Codicological unit 73, fol. 140r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 25 July 1566.¹⁰¹

Incipit: “Ieri venne nova come li cristiani domenica passata che fu alli 21 presero per forza Tata[...].”

Explicit: “[...] tutta quanta cavalleria di Slesia.”

Summary: Among other news, the Imperials have reconquered the fortress of Tata, which had fell into Turkish hands. The best place to establish the Caesarean camp is being studied. General Lazarus von Schwendi has reached the Tisza (“Tissa”) river to rescue Gyula, besieged by the Turks.

16. Codicological unit 81, fol. 151r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 1 August 1566.¹⁰²

Incipit: “Lunedì scorso per lettere del conte di Salma scritte a sua maestà cesarea s’intese che i Turchi si sono ritirati da Giulia[...].”

Explicit: “[...] lunedì sua maestà andarà al campo.”

Summary: Summary news on the Hungarian situation: the Turks have abandoned Gyula and have headed back to Pétervárad. The exhibition of the Imperial cavalry has taken place. Zrínyi’s son has brought trophies to Maximilian II, and three Turks captured in Tata have also been brought in his presence.

17. Codicological unit 84, fol. 157r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 15 August 1566.

Incipit: “Venerdì a li 22 l’arciduca Ferdinando entrò in questa città a parlar a sua maestà privatamente[...].”

Explicit: “[...] guasconi cavagli di ma[...].”

Summary: Archduke Ferdinand has gone to Vienna to meet Emperor Maximilian II. It seems that Sultan Suleiman I has killed the Pasha of Buda¹⁰³ and a beglerbeg because of the loss of Tata and Veszprém (“Vesprimio”). Reinforcements have been sent to Esztergom, where also three thousand soldiers of infantry sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I de’ Medici have arrived. The Turks have lifted the siege of Gyula and they are probably heading towards Buda.

18. Codicological unit 82, fols. 152v–153v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 22 August 1566.

Habsburg.

¹⁰¹ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 4 August (cf. fol. 141r).

¹⁰² The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 8 August (cf. fol. 151r).

¹⁰³ Pasha Arslan was executed on 3 August 1566.

Incipit: “L’imperatore doveva partir di Achemburgh con tutto il campo[...].”

Explicit: “[...] sono gente molto temuta da’ Turchi e da’ Tartari e si crede che sua maestà gli assoldaria.”

Summary: The Emperor is expected in Giavarino to attempt the reconquest of Strigonia; Archduke Charles II is engaged in the reconquest of Seghetto; the Imperials have won a battle against the Turks at Gyula; Maximilian II has announced the general levy in Germany. The Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II is going to arrive in about five days.

19. Codicological unit 87, fol. 166r: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 27 August 1566.

Incipit: “Finora sono stati dati sette assalti a Sighet[...].”

Explicit: “[...] sua maestà ha spedito novamente 4 mila cavalli sassoni e pag.li [!].”

Summary: Count Zrínyi is fighting the Turks in Szigetvár; skirmishes are in progress between Hungarians and Turks near Győr; General Lazarus von Schwendi has won a victory over the Turks. Numerous “disbanded” men of the Duke of Florence Cosimo I have returned to Italy.

20. Codicological unit 87, fol. 166r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 29 August 1566.

Incipit: “Il duca di Ferrara arrivò qui[...].”

Explicit: “[...] fu preso un boemo sbandato dal campo con 8 cavalli; si dice sia renegato e spia.”

Summary: The Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II d’Este has arrived in Vienna with his army. The Hungarian explorers have not reported any news. While reinforcements are reaching the Caesarean camp, the Turks have arrived in Székesfehérvár to obstruct the Habsburg advance against Esztergom.

21. Codicological unit 89, fol. 170r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 September 1566.

Incipit: “Sua maestà cesarea parti da Giavarino e va a Comar[...].”

Explicit: “[...] con fortuna così prospera come si può dire che ha avuto sin qui.”

Summary: Maximilian II has moved from Győr to Komárom (“Comar”, today Komárno, Slovakia), waiting for reinforcements to succour Esztergom and to attack the Turks. Szigetvár is valiantly defending itself from the Ottoman assaults. The Turks have lifted the siege of Gyula and have joined the armies stationed in Buda and Székesfehérvár to prevent the Imperial advance towards Esztergom. General von Schwendi has conquered Fülek (“Filet”, today Fil’akovo, Slovakia). The Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II has left Vienna to reach the Caesarean camp.

22. Codicological unit 93, fol. 178r–v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 11 September 1566.

Incipit: “Ieri al tardo quando manco ne dubitavamo vene aviso che ’ Turchi avevano preso Seghetto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] aspettando d’intendere che disegno sarà quello del Turco perché da quello sua maestà farà il suo.”

Summary: A Hungarian soldier has arrived at the Imperial camp from Szigetvár and – only survivor along with two other witnesses – has reported the news of the massacre of the Christian garrison. The Turks have conquered the fortress and Count Zrínyi, hit by an arquebus,¹⁰⁴ has been executed with these words: « Croatian dog, did you think you could hold or stand against my strongest and most victorious army? You did not give me this place willingly, now you have given it to me by force» (fol. 178r).

23. Codicological unit 93, fol. 178v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 17 September 1566.

Incipit: “Doppo la perdita di Seghetto, sua maestà si è ritirata con l’esercito sotto Giavarino[...].”

Explicit: “[...] dal campo dell’arciduca Carlo scrivono che ’l Turco vuol prender Bobagia e Canissa, non si sa che sarà”.

Summary: The Imperial armies, after the loss of Seghetto, have reached Giavarino and have formed a single camp. The next move by the Turks is expected; according to conflicting reports, they are about to move towards Székesfehérvár or Babócsa (“Bobagia”) and Nagykanizsa (“Canissa”)

24. Codicological unit 94, fol. 179r: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 24 September 1566.

Incipit: “Doppo la perdita di Seghetto, Bobora e tre altri castelli di poco momento furono abbandonati da certi pochi soldati[...].”

Explicit: “[...] le galere hanno dato la caccia alle fuste sino a Strigonia.”

Summary: The Turks, after having fortified Szigetvár, have approached the Imperial camp, putting the Hungarian countryside on fire; some knights have been sent to counter Turkish contingents near Székesfehérvár.

25. Codicological unit 96, fol. 182r–v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 30 September 1566.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Arquebus is a form of long gun that appeared in Europe and the Ottoman Empire during the 15th century. (The quote is translated from Italian.)

¹⁰⁵ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 11 October and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 183r).

Incipit: “Martedì mattina mandò sua maestà sotto d’Albaregale da 20 mila uomini[...].”

Explicit: “[...] gagliardamente e la facci ad altro modo.”

Summary: A contingent of twenty thousand knights has been sent by Emperor Maximilian II to Székesfehérvár, but any victory has been reported yet. After the conquest of Szigetvár, it is believed that the Turks will return to Constantinople, leaving a garrison led by the beglerbeg of Greece in Hungary. Skirmishes are registered between the two armies near Pápa (“Pappa”) and disagreements have arisen between the contingent of the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II and the German one due to the theft of a horse belonging to a captain from Ferrara, perpetrated by an Aleman soldier.

26. Codicological unit 96, fols. 182v–183r: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 1 October 1566.¹⁰⁶

Incipit: “S’ha avviso che ’l Turco non è ancor partito da Seghetto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] li nostri hanno abbrugiato e rovinato Sattimar di là dalla Tissa e poi abbandonato.”

Summary: It seems that the Turks are still in Szigetvár; a fire has broken out in Győr.

27. Codicological unit 98, fol. 186r–v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 8 October 1566.¹⁰⁷

Incipit: “Sua maestà è deliberata di starsene in campagna[...].”

Explicit: “[...] e li spogliano e li danno anco delle ferite.”

Summary: Among other news: the Turkish army is still in Szigetvár, but it is expected to return to Constantinople, leaving the beglerbeg of Greece in Hungary. Archduke Ferdinand is planning to return to his Bohemian possessions. Maximilian II has decided to dismantle the camp and to go to Prague. John Sigismund Szapolyai has joined his army with the Turkish one near Várad (“Varadino”). The Esztergom conquest is going to be soon completed. Numerous soldiers have died of diseases and cold, which begins to get very bitter, especially during the night.

28. Codicological unit 98, fols. 186v–187r: *Avviso politico dal campo dell’arciduca Carlo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 8 October 1566.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the previous note.

¹⁰⁷ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 18 October and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 187r).

¹⁰⁸ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 11 October and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 183r).

Incipit: “Per le nostre spie s’è inteso che giovedì passato il Turco se ritirò da Seghtto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] si spera che con la partita del Turco si farà qualche signalata impresa.”

Summary: The Turks have left Szigetvár; an Imperial contingent has approached the fortress and has won a victory over the infidels; similarly, victorious raids are carried out against the Turks.

29. Codicological unit 108, fol. 203r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 24 October 1566.¹⁰⁹

Incipit: “S’intende per lettere di 22 dal campo che sua maestà cesarea era partita con li signori duchi di Ferrara e di Ghisa[...].”

Explicit: “[...] s’aveva gran numero de’ spagnoli e italiani.”

Summary: Among other news: Maximilian II has left for Vienna; General Lazarus von Schwendi has been seriously injured, bringing relief to the stronghold of Tokaj (“Tocai”), besieged by John Sigismund Szapolyai. Archduke Ferdinand is on his way to Prague to take part in the Diet.

30. Codicological unit 120, fol. 225r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 21 November 1566.¹¹⁰

Incipit: “Ancora non è venuta la risoluzione delli ellettori sopra la Dieta, ma s’aspetta ogni giorno[...].”

Explicit: “[...] la maggior parte di essi sono presi e ammazzati.”

Summary: Among other news: it is not yet known whether the Turks are going to stay in Hungary or return to Constantinople; they are conducting raids near Gyula and, having discovered an ambush near Giavarino, they have massacred about 2,000 “ferraioli” (i.e. armoured infantry soldiers).

31. Codicological unit 125, fol. 234r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 December 1566.

Incipit: “In questa Dieta d’Austria, la maestà cesarea ha domandato[...].”

Explicit: “[...] si farà una Dieta la quale è stata intimata per il mese di febbraio.”

Summary: Among many other news: a Turkish attempt to conquer the island of Komárom has failed. Bridges are being built near Szigetvár.

¹⁰⁹ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 9 November and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 203v).

¹¹⁰ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 31 November and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 226r).

Milan, Ambrosiana Library, D 489 inf.¹¹¹

The Pinellian codex D 489 inf. (fols. I, 259, I'; 325 x 215 mm), consisting of numerous leaves and quires written by different hands, has a cardboard binding covered with beige paper; the spine, reinforced with ocher paper partially watercolored in red, has a cartouche with gold-stamped shelfmark (489) on its fifth compartment. On the upper edge of the inner front board, handwritten shelfmark in brown ink and modern date ("22.9.64") in blue pen. I + I' modern flyleaves. On fol. 1 verso, cartouche with handwritten shelfmark: *Avvisi a Gio. Vincenzo Pinelli del 1569, '68, '65 da Orazio da Venezia*, in brown ink. On the upper right corner of the recto of each folio, ancient Arabic progressive foliation within the volume, in brown ink. The codex is badly preserved: most of the documents are in fact characterized by extensive dark and purple spots and some leaves are almost partially unbounded. It keeps more than 200 dispatches sent to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli from various European cities (Rome, Pressburg, Venice, Vienna, Ferrara, Lyon, Turin, Paris, Constantinople, Milan, Genoa, Malta, etc.) between 1565 and 1569. Among these, at least 13 documents contain information on Hungarian historical and political events of that years.

Also, in this codex, the quires are devoid of catchwords and ruling and they often contain several dispatches transcribed in succession – sometimes by the same hand –, each one provided by its date and city of composition. Despite the indication on fol. 1 verso, which identifies their author in Orazio, on the upper margin of the first folio of the quires of our interest, the greeting formula to Pinelli is always absent, such as the eventual additional information and the sending date from Venice. Instead, on the verso of the last folio of these quires, there are always traces of the ancient sealing wax stamp and Pinelli's address, which, however, changes: in dispatch no. 1, in fact, it still is "Al molto mag. co mio signor oss.do, signor ~~Giovanni Vincenzo Pinello~~.¹¹² Padoa, alla Soffia", while, in those from 2 to 12, it is: "[...] Padoa, su la crosara del Santo."¹¹³

¹¹¹ Related bibliography: Revelli, *I codici ambrosiani di contenuto geografico*, 87; *Rivolta, Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, no. 244; Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, I, 660; Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 417–27, no. 260–72; "Manus online, CNMD\35071."

¹¹² Deleted.

¹¹³ The residence "alla Crosara del Santo" (i.e. near the basilica of Sant'Antonio), equipped with numerous spaces to house the Pinellian library, was identified by Msgr. Claudio Bellinati in the current seat of the Presbyterium (via del Santo, no. 131); according to the available bibliography, the transfer, however, dates back only to June 1575. Cf. Stella, "Galileo, il circolo culturale di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la 'Patavina Libertas,'" 317–18; Raugè, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 46 and note no. 66.

List of dispatches relating to Hungarian events
from 13 January to 21 October 1569.¹¹⁴

1. Codicological unit 6, fols. 11r–12v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 13 January 1569.
 Incipit: “S. M.tà Ces.a ha risoluto di non andar per ora a Possonio[...].”
 Explicit: “[...] per mandarli in Fiandra.”
 Summary: Updates on the Habsburg campaign against the Turks in Hungary and on the trial for treason against the two Hungarians István Dobó and János Balassi.¹¹⁵ The text also mentions the bishop of Várad.¹¹⁶

2. Codicological unit 84, fol. 164v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 18 August 1569.
 Incipit: “La M.tà Ces.a e l’imperatrice ier mattina s’imbarcorno sopra il Danubio[...].”
 Explicit: “[...] aboccamento.”
 Summary: Among other news: information on the movements of Emperor Maximilian II and his wife Mary¹¹⁷ in Hungary. After their meeting with the king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus, they are ready to leave for Prague.

¹¹⁴ Also here the dispatches are presented in their chronological order.

¹¹⁵ János Balassa (1518–1577), chief bailiff (*comes*) of Zólyom (1553–1566) and chief captain of Zólyom county, and father of the poet, Bálint Balassi. On the controversial conspiracy with the Sublime Porta against the Habsburgs: Dávid, “János Balassi and His Turkish Connections”; and its bibliography. These are the salient points of the study: Balassi, captain of the fortress of Zólyom (today Zvolen, Slovakia), was accused of having had correspondence, sending secret information, with the Pasha of Buda and other beglerbegs of Hungary since the rise to the sultanate of Selim II, in 1566. He was incarcerated in Vienna, but escaped from captivity in 1570 and took refuge in Poland. He returned to the imperial graces in 1572, when Rudolf II ascended the Hungarian throne, and he was elected chamberlain of the court and settled in Vienna. According to Géza Dávid, in 1571–1572 he nevertheless sent at least two offers of collaboration to the Turks, but, in March–April 1575, he defeated two thousand six hundred Turks near Selmečbánya (today Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia). The Ottomans then abandoned Balassi as their informant and Sokollu Mustafa, in the summer, conquered his castles of Kékkő (today Modrý Kameň, Slovakia) and Divény (today Divin, Slovakia). When Maximilian II asked the Ottomans to return the castles, he received letters of denunciation from the Sultan, the Grand Vizier and the Pasha of Buda. In December 1575, however, Sokollu Mustafa sent a safe conduct offer to Balassi, as if nothing had happened, inviting him to place himself under Ottoman protection, as already been offered several times. In 1576 Balassi sent two Turkish prisoners to the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed, promising to join the Ottomans. In 1577 Balassi was again involved in a conspiracy, but shortly thereafter he died. According to Géza Dávid, therefore, Balassi tried, in effect, to establish contacts with the Ottomans in various moments of his life, but they were never fully realized, at least according to the current researches.

¹¹⁶ István Radéczy (+1586), Bishop of Várad (1567–1572), Bishop of Eger (1573–1686).

¹¹⁷ Maria of Austria (1528–1603), Archduchess of Austria, Empress Consort and Queen Consort of Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

3. Codicological unit 85, fol. 166r–v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 31 August 1569.

Incipit: “Questi signori non hanno ancora dato risposta alle richieste di S. M.tà[...].”

Explicit: “[...] che Casimiro metta gente insieme non abbiamo certezza alcuna.”

Summary: Details on the Hungarian Diet: the nobles have not yet expressed an opinion on the Emperor’s monetary request to support military operations. However, it seems that they intend to obey and to close the Diet in two weeks, so as to move to Vratislavia (today Wrocław, Poland), although some important issues still remain to be resolved, such as the election of the archbishop of Esztergom.¹¹⁸ The Hungarians have agreed to pay two florins per fuoco (i.e. per fire) to finance the war against the Turks.

4. Codicological unit 86, fol. 169r–v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 29 August 1569.

Incipit: “Che a li 19 la M.tà Ces.a dopo l’aver fatto celebrar la messa solenne[...].”

Explicit: “[...] Il principe Rodolfo s’aspetta di Spagna, inanzi il principiar della Dieta imperiale.”

Summary: Among other news concerning the European political situation (Queen Elizabeth I Tudor of England is also mentioned), information is given on the developments of the war against Selim II and the Pasha of Buda¹¹⁹ in Hungary. Also, the Emperor’s monetary requests to the Hungarian nobles for the financing of the military operations are specified: they amount to 3 thalers per testa (i.e. per head) and one armed horse for every 10 serfs during the wartime. The arrival of Prince Rudolf¹²⁰ from Spain is expected before the beginning of the Imperial Diet.

5. Codicological unit 92, fol. 183r: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 6 September 1569.

Incipit: “L’abboccamento con il serenissimo di Pollonia tuttavia si dica che seguirà[...].”

Explicit: “[...] del signor Emilio Malvezzi con li signori Fucari.”

Summary: The Diet of Hungary has decided to grant Maximilian II the economic requests presented; the end of the works is expected within a month and then the Emperor is going to return to Vienna.

¹¹⁸ The dignitate of archbishop of Esztergom will then be entrusted to Antal Verancsics (1570–1573).

¹¹⁹ Mustafa Pasha Sokolović/Sokollu Mustafa, Pasha of Buda (1566–1578).

¹²⁰ Rudolf II Habsburg.

6. Codicological unit 95, fols. 188v–189v, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 13 September 1569.

Incipit: “Quel uomo del re de Pollonia che fu mandato in compagnia de l’ambasciator del Turco[...].”

Explicit: “[...] s’aspettarà la risposta del re cattolico e secondo quella se delibererà.”

Summary: Among other news, information on the progress of the Hungarian Diet: the nobles are discussing about the economic finance and other public and private matters. The ambassadors of the king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus and Selim II are very dissatisfied about their meeting with Maximilian II; Sigismund wants to keep the peace with the Muscovite¹²¹ at all costs. The Emperor wants to postpone the meeting in person with the king of Poland due to multiple commitments.

7. Codicological unit 94, fol. 186r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 20 September¹²² 1569.

Incipit: “Ieri parti di qua il conte Varniense per la volta di Roma[...].”

Explicit: “[...] per convenire del luogo e del tempo.”

Summary: News on the progress of the Diet of Hungary and, in particular, on the upcoming election of the new archbishop of Esztergom. The Warmian Cardinal¹²³ is going to leave for Rome. The Diet is going to end in early October, as it seems that the Hungarian nobles have accepted the Imperial request to pay two florins per fuoco (i.e. per fire).

8. Codicological unit 97, fol. 192r–v, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 20 September 1569.

Incipit: “Si attende qui alli negozii della Dieta, la quale si pensa che durerà ancora molti giorni[...].”

Explicit: “[...] Uno fu preso e giustiziato e l’altro se ne è fuggito.”

Summary: Along with other news, information on the Diet of Hungary: probably it is going to last a long time, because the Hungarians want the Palatine¹²⁴ to be

¹²¹ Ivan IV, the Terrible (1530–1584), Grand Duke of Moscow and first Tsar of Russia (1547–1584).

¹²² Wrongly dated to 20 November 1569 in the general *online* catalogue of the Ambrosiana Library.

¹²³ Stanislao Osio/Stanisław Hozjusz (1504–1579), theologian and cardinal, prince-bishop of Warmia (1551–1579).

¹²⁴ In Hungarian, *nádor*; chief official, he held the highest position of the State, was elected by the Diet and had to defend its rights and privileges towards the Emperor. In 1530 Ferdinand I did not allow the role to be filled by anyone and, instead, established the figure of the *locumtenens regius*, who became the official head of State, the representative of the king

elected from among them, while Maximilian II is probably going to choose Count Hecchio di Salma¹²⁵ as General of the kingdom. The residences of Archduke Charles II of Austria and Bishop Tinniniensis¹²⁶ will probably be established in Vienna. The Warmian Cardinal was nearly killed in a fire in his quarters in Silesia. The king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus has moved to Lithuania.

9. Codicological unit 99, fols. 197r–198v, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 10 October 1569.

Incipit: “Ancora non vediamo il fine di questa Dieta, la qual speriamo però che sia tra 15 giorni[...].”

Explicit: “[...] l’armata.”

Summary: Among news concerning the French wars of religion,¹²⁷ information on the Diet of Hungary: it is expected to finish within 15 days, because the Emperor has to move to Bohemia.

10. Codicological unit 109, fol. 214r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 11 October 1569.¹²⁸

Incipit: “Venne un corriero di Pollonia col quale l’ambasciator cesareo che è appresso quel re avisava[...].”

Explicit: “[...] Qui tuttavia cresce la carestia.”

Summary: News on the final works of the Diet of Hungary. The king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus is ready to reach Boroszló (Breslavia, Breslau; today Wrocław in Poland) to meet Maximilian II, but Proscotchi¹²⁹ has been sent to announce the Emperor’s delay because of the Diet. It seems that, in the end, the Hungarians are going to pay 2 thalers per fire for the whole year, but it is not yet certain. The election of the archbishop of Esztergom has not yet taken place.¹³⁰

and the president of the Council of the Lieutenancy. Only in 1543, because of the insistence of the Diet, Ferdinand approved the election of a *locumtenens palatinalis*, which, however, held exclusively legal functions and was subordinate to the Royal Lieutenant. The role in its original sense was re-established only in 1608. Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 60–61.

¹²⁵ Eck Graf zu Salm (?–1574), Colonel-Captain in Győr.

¹²⁶ When Andreas Dudith left the bishopric of Knin (1563), the see remained vacant until 1571.

¹²⁷ Henry I, Prince of Joinville, Duke of Guise, Count of Eu (1550–1588). Head of the family and the Catholic League during the War of Three Henries (1584–1588).

¹²⁸ This dispatch, as well as the subsequent one, is kept in a factitious quire, composed by 8 fols. of different size written by different hands; the address of Pinelli’s house, with traces of the sealing wax stamp, appears only on fol. 217v.

¹²⁹ The Emperor’s waiter.

¹³⁰ Antal Verancsics, who held this office from 1570 to 1573, was elected bishop of Esztergom only few days later.

11. Codicological unit 107, fol. 210r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 18 October 1569.

Incipit: “Ieri S. M.tà nominò arcivescovo di Strigonia monsignor di Agria[...].”

Explicit: «“[...] l'imperatore partirà alla fine del mese.”

Summary: Along with some news regarding the spread of heresies in Europe, informations are given about the election of the Archbishop of Esztergom Antal Verancsics, which has satisfied the Hungarians, and about the trial for treason against István Dobó, János Balassi and Gáspár Homonnai.¹³¹

12. Codicological unit 113, fol. 220r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 21 October 1569.

Incipit: «“Oggi è partito di qua il serenissimo arciduca Carlo che vi è stato 6 giorni, [...]”

Explicit: «“[...] S'intende di più che Oranges se ne era passato in Inghilterra.”

Summary: Along with news concerning the French wars of religion,¹³² information on the Diet of Hungary, which is about to end. The Hungarians have granted the Emperor a thaler for fire for the years 1570–1572 and have welcomed the eldest son of Maximilian II as their king.¹³³ Count Eck von Salm has been elected Governor of Győr. The trial for treason against István Dobó and János Balassi is going to take place in Vienna: Maximilian has found their correspondence with John Sigismund Szapolyai and wants to punish them harshly.

(Translated by the author)

¹³¹ Belonging to the noble Drugeth family, of French origin, whose possessions were located in the North-East of Hungary; in 1569 he was accused, together with his brother István, Dobó and Balassi, of treason and conspiracy against the Habsburgs. When the return of Ungvár (today Ужгород, Ukraine) Castle, which was taken in 1551, was offered to the two brothers, Gáspár Homonnai, smelling a trap, fled to Poland – from where he returned only years later –, escaping the arrest. On 15 April 1572, on urgent request of the Hungarian Parliament, an amnesty was granted to all the defendants involved in the trial. On him and his family, cf., for example: Borbély, “A Homonnai Drugethek Felső-Magyarországon a 17. század első évtizedeiben,” 87.

¹³² John Casimir/Johann Casimir von Pfalz-Simmern (1543–1592), Count Palatine of Simmern, and firm Calvinist, who repeatedly helped the Huguenots and the rebel Netherlands – and William the Silent/William of Orange (1533–1584), the main leader of the Dutch revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs that set off the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) and resulted in the formal independence of the United Provinces in 1648 – are mentioned.

¹³³ Rudolf II Habsburg.