RENAISSANCE HUMANISM

FOUNDATIONS, FORMS, AND LEGACY

VOLUME 2 • HUMANISM BEYOND ITALY

Edited by Albert Rabil, Jr.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS
PHILADELPHIA 1988

29. This work was published in 1979 at Zagreb by the Institute for the History of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb's Center for Historical Sciences. The same institute organized an international conference in 1979 at Cres on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Petrić's birth. The conference papers, which deal with most aspects of Petrić's philosophy, were published in a special number of *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 5 (1979).
30. In 1975 *Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto* was published in a reprint edition at Zagreb. In the afterword of this edition Andjelko Runjić comments on the literature on Kotruljić.
31. E. Hercigonja, *Nad iskonom hrvatske knjige* [*At the Source of Croatian Books*] (Zagreb, 1983), passim.
32. The description of the life of Nikola of Modruš, the list of his works and their survey, and the comment on the literature on Nikola can be found in S. Hrkać, "Nikola Modruški," *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 2 (1976): 145–56.
33. Ioannes de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. I. Boronkai (Budapest, 1980).
34. M. D. Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius: Poet and Politician* (Zagreb, 1981). See also Chapter 25, "Humanism in Hungary," in this volume.
35. Cited in Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius*, 12.
36. Franičević, *Povijest*, 294.
37. J. Schwarzwald, *Bartol Djurdjević: Bibliografija izdanja 1544–1686* [*Bartol Djurdjević: A Bibliography of Publications, 1544–1686*] (Zagreb, 1980).
38. A series of books, treatises, and articles have been written on Matija Vlačić (Flacius Illyricus). Among the most important are W. Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Erlangen, 1859–61, 2d ed. 1964); G. Moldaenke, *Schriftverständnis und Schriftdeutung im Zeitalter der Reformation*, vol. 1, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus* (Stuttgart, 1936); L. Haikola, *Gesetz und Evangelium bei Matthias Flacius Illyricus* (Lund, 1952); M. Mirković, *Matija Vlačić Ilirik* (Zagreb, 1960). Mirković also wrote a biographical foreword to the selections of the *Catalogus testium veritatis* in Croatian translation. See Matija Vlačić Ilirik, *Katalog svjedoka istine* [*Catalog of Witnesses of Truth*] (Zagreb, 1960), xi–lxix. For other works on Flacius, see Franičević, *Povijest*, 753–54; and I. N. Kordić, "Novija literatura o Matiji Vlačiću" ["Most Recent Literature on Matthias Flacius"], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 9 (1983): 219–28.
39. V. Gortan and V. Vratović, "Temeljne značajke hrvatskog latinizma," in *Hrvatski latinisti*, ed. Gorton and Vratović, 1:13.
40. I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, *Ital'janskoe vozroždenie i slavjanskie literatury XV i XVI vekov* (Moscow, 1963).
41. *Il Rinascimento italiano e le letterature slave dei secoli XV e XVI*, trans. S. Graciotti and J. Křesálková, 2 vols. (Milan, 1973).

25 HUMANISM IN HUNGARY

Marianna D. Birnbaum

> Europe has three pearls: Venice on the waters, Buda on the hills, and Florence on the plains.
>
> *Ambrogio Calepino*

IN HUNGARY LITERATURE (AND, IN A BROADER MEANING, WRITING) in the period from the ninth century to the fifteenth was primarily in Latin, while from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth it was bilingual. In poetry, during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, Latin frequently surpassed and almost always equaled in quantity and quality its Hungarian counterpart. Beginning with the seventeenth century, Latin became a language of national self-assertion against German. The centers of Latinity were the royal court, the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, the monasteries, and to some degree the courts of the aristocracy.

Although the language of the clergy and the administration was Latin (and so remained for many centuries, well into modern times), already in the Middle Ages a literature in the vernacular appeared. The Latin alphabet was found to be entirely suitable for the notation of Hungarian sounds, and there was increasing need for the translation of legends, hymns, and the like for beginners and for nuns whose education did not include Latin.

The beginnings of the Latin language renaissance in Hungary go back to the rule of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437). It flowered during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458–90). The Jagiello period (Ladislas II, ruling 1490–1516, and his son Louis II, 1516–26), was already marked by decline.

The battle of Mohács (1526), and the subsequent Turkish and Habsburg dominations that split the country into three parts, changed the character of Hungarian Renaissance humanism. The spreading of Reformation ideologies simultaneously gave birth to works in the vernacular. Beginning in the 1530s, Hungarian and Latin writing appeared side by side, frequently in the oeuvre of the same authors.[1]

From the first decades of the sixteenth century a Christian variant (as advocated by Erasmus and Philipp Melanchthon) gradually replaced the Greco-Roman orientation of traditional Italian Renaissance humanism

in central Europe. The new direction took a peculiar and fascinating form in Hungary and Croatia. It developed amidst conflicts between townships and the new aristocracy, against the backdrop of a malfunctioning split kingdom, and in a region devastated by the Turkish occupiers.

The century that saw the birth of large-scale vernacular literature in Hungary and Croatia and was the background to the poetry of Bálint Balassi and the plays of Marin Držić, also was the century in which Latin humanists, uprooted by the Turks, made their last significant showing. Many were eager to gain a new insight into the sacred Christian texts and, in turn, an understanding of the changing values around them. Their efforts were spurred by the proximity of a third faith—Islam—which, next to the Reformation, posed an equally manifest danger for Roman Christianity. In addition to their religious concerns, the humanists of Hungary were engaged in searching for the reasons behind the catastrophe that had befallen their country and guarding the intellectual achievements of the previous generation, who had worked under more felicitous conditions.

Compared to our own times, the politics of the sixteenth century was even less predictable in its pursuits and style. The "international" network was looser, the notion and identification of responsibility less stable, communication slow and frequently unreliable. Hence, individual careers were perhaps even more hazardous, their course even more arbitrary.

The Mohács disaster polarized the humanities. The confusing political situation and the permanent armed conflicts notwithstanding, there was great mobility in this area. Humanists moved to the West in order to escape the Turks, or to the courts of the simultaneously elected, competing monarchs (Ferdinand and János Zápolya), often switching their loyalties to serve first one and then the other. Many, engaged by these rulers, or in the service of the church, traveled as envoys to the sultanate.

When on 12 September 1526, the victorious Suleiman entered the deserted capital city of Hungary, he was mesmerized by the beauty of the town and by the splendor of her royal palace. "I wish I could move this castle to the shores of the Golden Horn," he is alleged to have said. He was unable to move the entire palace, but he did what he could. Laden with the priceless volumes of the Bibliotheca Corviniana which, not long before, Naldo Naldi had called the "sanctuary of wisdom," and with the detachable treasures his soldiers hoarded on board, Suleiman's galleys made several trips from Buda to Constantinople. Soon the fabulous capital became but a skeleton of her previous self, and descriptions about her past were increasingly used as comparisons to the sorry state Buda had been relegated to in the ensuing centuries.

The concept of the "Hungarian Quattrocento," which is frequently regarded as the most glorious period in the country's history, is clearly tied to the person of János Vitéz (ca. 1408–1472), "the father of Hungarian Humanism." At his episcopal see at Várad, and later as archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary and Croatia, Vitéz was a fountainhead and disseminator of humanist learning. His famed library was admired and imitated by many aristocrats; as founder of Pozsony University (Academia Istropolitana) and as patron of scholars and artists all over Europe, Vitéz also contributed to the spread of humanist values far beyond the borders of the country and his own immediate political influence.

Born in Zredna (Sredne), Slavonia, Vitéz is the archetype of that Hungarian Renaissance personality who, originally Croatian, Serbian, Romanian, Polish, or German, came to serve at the Buda court. Related to János Hunyadi, the famed anti-Turkish crusader, Vitéz first entered the services of Sigismund of Luxembourg. His career began at the emperor's chancery, where his name as notary first appears in 1433. Records show that soon thereafter he attended Vienna University, but did not complete his studies, moving back to the chancery in 1437, in the service of Albert of Habsburg. His ardent wish to improve his education and call on the famous Italian centers of learning remained unfulfilled—a distant hope throughout his life. In 1445 Hunyadi secured for Vitéz the lucrative bishopric of Várad, making him a wealthy prelate, who then began sending his relatives and protégés to study in Italy at his own expense. Vitéz accompanied Hunyadi (by then regent of Hungary) on all his important trips, served as his envoy at the courts of Frederick III and Djordje Branković, corresponded with Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Pope Nicholas V, and mediated between his patron and Alfonso of Aragon. He was most instrumental in the election of Matthias Corvinus (Hunyadi's younger son) to the Hungarian throne, and was soon considered the most influential member of the chancery at the side of the young king.

The Hungarian chancery functioned much like the ones in Italy during the same period. From a relatively modest beginning a large bureaucracy had evolved by the second half of the fifteenth century. Competent and versatile personalities were needed, who had the diplomatic and political expertise and the authority to deal with the newly arisen functions.

In Hungary, just as in Italy, the papal court was the model of administrative efficiency. Vitéz's contacts with such humanists as Poggio Bracciolini (then secretary to the curia) and Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1442–45, secretary to Frederic's Vienna Chancery, and previously to the Council of Basel) made him aware of the importance of epistolary art. It is quite likely that their elegant letters guided Vitéz in his first similar

efforts. Humanist correspondence was not an end to his aspirations, but a means by which his political and episcopal functions could attain a high level of success. He became famous for his tact and style, for being capable of couching the most devastating message in an artistically formulated phrase, mellowing its sting by his charm and wit, and often by a disarming personal tone. Even if many of his letters witness to remnants of medieval scholasticism, they are to be viewed as compelling evidence of a sophisticated humanist court in Hungary.

Vitéz's *Epistolae* were first collected and edited by Pawel Ivanich (in or about 1451). Recently a new critical edition was published by I. Boronkai, Hungary's foremost Vitéz specialist.[2] Vitéz's dream of visiting Italy was fulfilled by his nephew, Janus Pannonius, who, for an important period of his life, made *Ausonia* his second home.

Janus Pannonius (1424–1472), one of the most important Neolatin poets of the Renaissance, is almost entirely unknown to the modern reader. Yet he was a many-sided, fascinating person whose career epitomizes the trend of his times. As a youngster he was sent by Vitéz to Ferrara, in order to study with the famous Guarino of Verona. The boy from "North of the Alps," a region considered uncouth and void of culture by the Italians, soon became the pride of Guarino's school, emulated even by his seniors. Guarino had students from all over Europe, about whom the world is informed primarily from Janus's panegyric, devoted to his teacher.[3] Among his fellow students, however, he was famous for his biting epigrams, which, written in the style of Martial, delighted and amused them. Yet Janus also used his epigrams as weapons with which he fought for his own place among the "locals."

You attacked me and claimed that a bear was my mother,
  I am ferocious therefore and rough.
A Pannonian bear was indeed my wetnurse,
  But Gryllus, your mother was not a bear, but a bitch.[4]

His epigrams were copied, recited, and imitated by his comrades and also by such arrivés as Tito Strozzi and Galeotto Marzio, his closest friend. This genre remained Janus's favorite, of which his erotic epigrams caused the greatest delight among the students of the straitlaced Guarino.

You say, you bear my child, always hounding me,
  Silvia, this charge is dirty and unfair:
If you wander among a forest of roses,
  How can you say, "It was *this* thorn that pricked me?"[5]

He was sent to Guarino in order to learn what an educated humanist was supposed to know, with immediate plans for his future service in the royal chancery of Hungary. The blossoming of his creative talent was an unexpected bonus and later perhaps the cause of much of his unhappiness. The next station in his life was Padua, where he received his doctoral degree in law and theology. Returning to Hungary in 1458 he first served as secretary to Matthias's wife, Katherine of Poděbrady, but soon received the lucrative see of Pécs and was consecrated "Episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis." Deep in his heart he remained forever bound to Italy, suffering in what he regarded as a cultural desert, furiously confessing, "musis et mihi cano" ("I sing to the muses and to myself"). He became increasingly engaged in politics and the business of government. His poetry also underwent a marked change. The joyful epigrams steadily decreased in number, yielding their place to elegies in which loneliness and pessimism permeate the lines. Also his output became minimal, with the exception of a brief period immediately following his ambassadorial trip to Italy. The journey during which he met all the outstanding humanists of his time—among them Marsilio Ficino—briefly revitalized his creative energies.

His consumption flared up in the harsh climate of Hungary. In a century in which the idealized human body was admired and depicted by artists and poets alike, Janus's detailed naturalism by which he describes the symptoms of his illness transports the reader to this century:

Just as sharpened arrows had been stabbed through my ribcage
  Saliva thickens with blood gathering in my mouth.
Added to this I am gasping for air, refused by my lungs,
  While my wretched inside is feverish, burning up.
What does life mean if it is spent in such suffering!
  Life equals health, and he who cannot conquer illness
No longer lives, but perishes slowly, day by day.[6]

He was not afraid of dying, but he was worried about his name and reputation as a poet, forced to leave unfinished works behind—a torso instead of a complete corpus.

Janus wrote in Latin only. He was truly universal and belonged primarily to the international network of humanists who had no real country and no real mother tongue. His world was the antique world. Italy was his *locus amoenus,* and therefore his oeuvre has no detectable Hungarian or Croatian qualities. But while his work was determined by the Latin universalism of Renaissance Europe, his fate was typically Hungarian. In Hungary he—and his uncle—represented a new class,

that of the lower nobility which was the actual carrying force of the Renaissance.

Janus's career and that of his fellow humanists prove that although there was a hothouse character to the Buda Renaissance, there was also a definite need for the development of the class to which he belonged. His fall is also typically Hungarian and unique to the period. Matthias's mistake was that he feudalized his humanists, and then expected them to continue fighting for the aims of centralization, in other words, against their own vested interests.

Following in the footsteps of Sigismund of Luxembourg, Matthias reaffirmed the power of the Hungarian throne and strove for a strong centralized monarchy and, ultimately, for the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor. It soon became clear to Janus that for this purpose Matthias was willing to ignore the increasing Turkish danger and possibly even make a pact with the dreaded enemy. For his wars against the West, Matthias needed more and more money, and the privileges of the estates were increasingly curtailed. Discontent led to two armed conspiracies. Janus remained loyal to Matthias until the second plot, of which he became the guiding force. The conspiring magnates and prelates wanted to dispose of Matthias and elect Casimir, grandson of the Polish king, instead. The plot was discovered, and although several of the conspirators were forgiven, there was no mercy for Janus, the one-time favorite. He fled the rage of the king but died, exhausted physically and mentally, in a renewed attack of tuberculosis on his way to Italy, in the fortress of a coconspirator, Oswald Thuz, bishop of Zagreb.

After the plot Matthias lost interest in humanist scholarship. Many aspiring humanists did not return from Italian schools, fearing the wrath of the king. Only after his marriage to Beatrice d'Este of Naples and Aragon (1476) did a new influx of humanists—primarily Italian—reach the court of Buda.

The view that without Vitéz and Janus Pannonius there would have been no humanist court in Matthias's Hungary is, of course, highly romanticized. Very soon after the country became Christian (1001), students were sent to the great universities of France, Italy, and England. Hungarian students made their mark very early at the universities of Paris, Padua, and Bologna. Another interesting but less frequently quoted fact is that Hungary had early contact with Oxford. The earliest recorded undergraduate of Oxford was Nicolaus Clericus de Hungaria, who studied there from 1193 to 1196. The cost of his education was defrayed by Richard I the Lionhearted, who was distantly related to the Hungarian king: his sister-in-law was Queen Margaret of Hungary, the second wife of Béla III. Of the signatories of the Golden Bull (1222), one

bishop was of English extraction, another fought with English barons in the crusades. This contact might have affected even the content of the Golden Bull, which was signed merely seven years after Magna Charta and dealt with the same issues.

Later the lesser nobility usually sent their sons to Cracow or to Prague, while the children of the wealthy continued to travel to Italy. The University of Prague, founded in 1348, followed the structure and divisions of the Sorbonne. The University of Cracow, founded in 1364, was recognized in 1400. By 1440 there were 140 Hungarian students enrolled there, and by the end of Matthias's reign their number had increased to 465.

The sons of the aristocracy had an even wider choice of schools in Italy. The first Hungarian student appeared at Vicenza as early as 1208, and even the faculty had Hungarian members. Regarding Hungarian scholars teaching at Italian universities, Nicholas de Ungheria, who in 1307 became rector of the University of Bologna, and Johannes de Ungheria, who in 1367 functioned as rector of the University of Padua, should be remembered.

By the fifteenth century scores of Hungarian students attended universities in Italy, primarily in Padua and Bologna. Simultaneously the University of Vienna drew a large number of budding humanists to its fold. The short-lived Academia Istropolitana (founded in 1467), Matthias's and Vitéz's common creation, could never reach a comparable peak.[7]

In addition to the University of Vienna, it was Cracow University that had a long-standing relationship with scholars and students of Hungary. There was also a traditional contact between the courts of both countries, and also among the humanists active at those courts.

An ever-increasing number of students visited Cracow University as early as the fifteenth century. Three Thurzós, all bishops, studied there. Also, Pawel z Krosno (Paulus Crosnensis), who had a major influence on the development of Janus scholarship, was a Cracow alumnus. But after the battle of Mohács there was a rapid decrease in Hungarian and Croatian enrollments, and by 1558 the Hungarian *bursa* was closed down.

* * *

During the Jagiellonian period a much broader group was brought into contact with humanist learning in Hungary and Croatia than ever before. Later, however, the defeat of the country shook the foundations of the Renaissance-type cultural life of the lesser nobility. Many lost their properties and possessions and turned into soldiers, or traveling scholars. The new Renaissance literature that flourished among the new aristocracy

had a changed focus, befitting the changed times. Iványi's thorough bibliography of libraries and presses in Hungary, however, ascertains that hundreds of lower nobles had considerable book collections also during the Middle Ages.[8] By contrast, after Mohács, many powerful administrators of the court and wealthy prelates lost their independence and were thus forced to revert to the life-style of the penniless courtiers, depending on the wishes and whims of their new masters.

In speaking of Hungarian or, for that matter, Polish or Croatian humanism, frequently the broader term "central European humanism" is used, especially by the native scholars of those countries. However, while each component of this phrase has a special and poignant meaning for the above-mentioned lands, the feature that was common to them was that, as opposed to German humanism (Erasmus) or English (Thomas More), the central European humanism of Hungary, Croatia and Poland was always off-center. It was neither Italian, Austrian, French, nor English. It was outside the mainstream, and therefore often also derivative.

The highlights of the Jagiellonian period's cultural achievements were undoubtedly the foundation of the Litteraria sodalitas Danubiana and the concerted and, by and large, successful efforts to publish the poetry of Janus Pannonius. The personalities involved in those activities were partially the same: their work represents Hungarian and Croatian humanism in the eyes of western contemporaries. By the sixteenth century, Vienna University was attracting more and more students also from Hungary.[9] Its famous Collegium Poetarum, and not the least the presence of Conrad Celtis, made the university an important humanist center. Vienna's fascination for "central European" scholars began, however, much earlier. Its academic coat of arms, which first appeared at the Council of Constance (1414–18), contained fourteen crests—one of them was that of Pécs.[10]

Conrad Celtis was the intellectual model for the first decade of the new century. His *Ars versificandi* (1486) and his *Amores* (1502) were widely read by the humanists of central Europe. He lectured on Horace in Ingolstadt, edited Tacitus's *Germania* (1500), and as Pfeiffer put it, "it was therefore a classical scholar, working after the Italian fashion, who initiated German scholarship."[11] He fails to add, however, that he significantly stimulated scholarship also among the Hungarians, the Croats, and the Poles. Celtis visited Hungary for the first time in 1490. Of this visit very little is known. He returned in 1497, that time with the program to found the Litteraria sodalitas Danubiae, which was to work in cooperation with the Viennese humanist circle. The first president of the

society was János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Veszprém, relative of János Vitéz and Janus Pannonius, a confidant of Emperor Maximilian.

The Sodalitas was founded almost contemporaneously in Vienna and in Buda, where it was called the Sodalitas litteraria Hungarorum. Among its members were also German, Czech, and Italian humanists active in Buda. It was a loosely knit organization with symposia forming the basis for the meetings. Celtis's own works were the group's best-preserved records regarding their activities. The name Sodalitas Collimitiana, often used in Hungarian works, is derived from Collimitius (Georg Tanstetter, royal surgeon and archivist) whose Buda home the society frequented for their meetings.

According to J. Ábel, the Sodalitas, as well as the other scholarly societies founded by Celtis, limited themselves to such activities as electing a president who, together with the members, administered the affairs of the organization, accepted anyone into its ranks who could write a Latin poem, sympathized with the more pleasant aspects of social life, and was recommended by a member.[12] In its organized frequent gatherings—modeled on the *symposia*—a variety of scholarly subjects was discussed, ending at the well-stacked tables where, richly supplied with wine, they undertook to chase away the lowly troubles of daily existence. Yet, Celtis's influence was enormous for eastern European humanism. His *Ars versificandi*, a first proof of modern ideas and methods, became a bible of the young humanists in Jagiellonian Hungary. His emphasis on history and science deeply affected the type and style of writing for the entire century. His philosophy, based on Neoplatonism and Neopythagoreanism, influenced the makeup of the Sodalitas and the ideas of its members, who wrote epigrams in which they celebrated their master. Those also appeared in *De mundo*, published by Celtis. By the time the Sodalitas dissolved in 1511, its Viennese section was already defunct. The death of Celtis brought an end to the enterprise, proving that it was he who was important and not the association that he had brought to life.

Philology, epigraphy, and the study of grammar were also stimulated in the first decade of the sixteenth century by the North, due primarily to the work of Erasmus. His *Antibarbari*, a dialogue in which he and some of his friends promulgated a humanistic program against their opponents, the "barbarians" (first published in 1520), touched a sensitive chord in many a Hungarian humanist. His treatise against aggression (also Luther's!), pleading for *tranquilitas*, connected with tolerance and freedom of *humanitas*, was an attractive alternative for Hungaran and Croatian humanists living in the turbulent decades during the

Jagiellonian rule.[13] The Erasmists thus looked for peace and harmony and rejected war, sedition, and unrest. Among Erasmus's followers, Miklós Oláh (Olahus) perhaps decided against returning to Hungary because of such beliefs shared with his idol.

One of the most interesting personalities of Ladislas II's court was Feliks Petančić whom some scholars, based on Oláh's writing, identify with Felix Ragusinus, active in the workshop of the Corvinian library.[14] Feliks Petančić was dispatched to Rhodes, France, Venice, and the Porte in the service of Ladislas. He drew up a fascinating plan by which the Turks could be attacked on land. Dedicated to the king, he provided a detailed road description and information about the countries through which he had traveled. His work, *De itineribus in Turciam libellus,* which soon became a classic, was first published by Cuspinianus in 1520. It is known that Johann Cuspinian (Cuspinianus) also used Petančić's work while writing his own *De Turcarum origine* (Antwerp, 1541).

Since they were surrounded by humanists, one would assume that the Jagiellonian kings of Hungary were true Renaissance rulers, themselves learned men. The fact, however, was that Ladislas had little interest in the arts, with the exception of music, and Louis found more pleasure in sports and hunting than in books. Ladislas knew little or no Latin and did not develop a desire for book collecting. Instead of enlarging the prodigious collection of Matthias, he lent out or gave away many a precious manuscript to his favorites. He spent no money on books or libraries, or on any large-scale building endeavors. We know of two prayer books commissioned by him prior to his election, but the work on one began in Matthias's lifetime. The collection of the Corvinian Library was merely increased by works that had been received as gifts.

Cuspinian and Wolfgang Lazius (Latius) spread the ideas of the Viennese Renaissance farther during their legations to Hungary. It was the kind of humanism that grew best on the soil of a royal court, and which used the royal chancery as its base. In Hungary it was György Szathmári and, before him, Tamás Bakócz who were the focal points and fosterers of Celtis's thoughts. Bakócz still belonged to the old school; his career had started with Matthias, whom he accompanied to Vienna and at whose deathbed he stood. His own humanist activities diminished during the years in which, for all practical purposes, he wielded royal power. He was respected as the mentor of countless members of his own family, and of students he had found worthy of support.

Szathmári, the son of a merchant, followed Bakócz in the archiepiscopal see in Esztergom. He worked from 1493 in the chancery as royal secretary, later as chancellor. Through his offices he was deeply involved in the foreign affairs of the kingdom. While still in the chancery, a circle

of humanist scholars formed around him. It included Pietro Balbo, Sigismund Thurzó, Stjepan Brodarić, and Oláh. His controversial qualities notwithstanding, Szathmári was a generous patron of artists and scholars, to which the numerous dedications to him bear testimony.

The Janus "cult" of the early sixteenth century actually had begun already at the end of the fifteenth, when Matthias Corvinus entrusted Péter Váradi (Petrus of Warda) in the mid-1470s to collect the epigrams of his once-favorite poet. Matthias had Janus's epigrams collected not because, as has been claimed, they included praise of him and his family, but because they were the best-known pieces during the poet's lifetime. He, too, was aware of the fact that Janus was the best publicity his kingdom had had. But there was no national cultural concept behind the royal decision. The entire idea of *patria* is a sixteenth-century phenomenon; thus Matthias had no need to find cultural traditions for a national literature, which was to evolve a century later.

The only Janus poem still appearing in print in the fifteenth century was his elegy composed in Narni in 1458. It was devoted to Feronia, patroness of groves and fountains, and was occasioned by an excursion he had made together with his friend Galeotto Marzio to the nearby spring named for Feronia. Giovanni Ercoli, Galeotto's biographer, also translated the poem into Italian, and a part of his translation is engraved at the site.[15] The elegy first appeared in a publication, *Polybius latine; Jani Pannonii ad divam Feroniam naiadum Italicarum principem carmen,* in Venice, 1498.

Moved by the desire to collect and guard for posterity the oeuvre of Janus, Stjepan Brodarić approached Aldo Manuzio in 1506 and negotiated with him for an edition of the poet's work. His was the earliest attempt in the century, followed by Pawel z Krosno six years later. The publishers of Janus's work were also the most educated humanists in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. They represented the transitional period between the Matthias kind of Renaissance splendor and the Jagiellonian years of successive decline.

Between 1512 and 1526 there were eight editions of Janus's poetry. In view of the great interest in the subject of traveling, it is not at all surprising that by the end of the sixteenth century a part of Janus's Marcello panegyric became separated from the corpus and appeared on its own in Nicolaus Reusner's popular collection of famous travels.[16] Beatus Rhenanus wrote in a letter to Jacob Sturm (Sturmius) that his masters were Erasmus and Janus, an indication that Janus was not merely thought of as equal to his own antique models (about which many of his publishers wrote), but was also considered relevant for the period preceding Mohács. The young humanists of the 1510s could take

additional pride from the praise that another of their idols, Erasmus, had lavished on Janus. He reminded the world that the brilliance of Janus was already discovered by his hosts and that it was Italy who first offered him the laurel.[17]

Janus was indeed the first Pannonian poet who had achieved fame beyond the borders of his country, and moreover during his lifetime. Considering that his poetry—written in Latin—was available to the entire West, and that his friends and fellow students had built an international network in the courts and humanist centers of Europe, one may rightly claim that he was the first Pannonian to have achieved world fame.

There was a significant break after Mohács, and the correlation between the events and the silence about Janus is obvious. The country went through a demoralizing defeat; its humanists were strewn about and lacked a cultural center as well as a political focus. The world of Janus became an unattainable realm of security, his problems and topics fast sinking away into a past never to be retrieved. He belonged to the period of glory forever gone, and that alone would have been sufficient to have made his work lose its hold on its sixteenth-century readers. But in addition to such obvious considerations, he was temporarily put aside because of new interests in humanist circles, which were oriented in a more "scholarly" direction. The focus moved from the lyric to the narrative, from the description of the soul to the description of foreign lands, from the imagined to the experienced, and from the existential questions to the problems of survival. Janus simply could not be accommodated in the decades following Mohács. The first one after the lull was János Zsámboky (Sambucus), Trnava-born philologist, poet, and imperial historian in Vienna, who strove for a selection of his best output. "Selegi de multis pauca et de bonis meliora" (I selected a few things out of many and the better out of the good)—as he explained his own editorial policy.[18]

A déclassé nobleman turned burgher, the young Sambucus studied in Vienna, Leipzig, and Wittenberg (where he met Melanchthon). He continued his studies in France and became *magister philosophiae* in Paris in 1552. From there he moved to Padua (1553), where he studied medicine, among other subjects, with the famed Andreas Vesalius. He was a protégé of Oláh who helped defray the cost of his studies. An inquisitive scholar, Sambucus traveled all over Europe, visiting Italy, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, until he finally settled in Vienna in 1564, where he remained until his death. His life is representative of central European humanism of the period because his relationships

were closer with French and German humanists than with Italians. His concentration on the North is also proved by the fact that of his nearly fifty publications only one was printed in Padua, the rest in Basel and Antwerp. Therefore, it was his conviction of Janus's greatness that made him interested in publishing a Neolatin poet in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Though not an outstanding poet on an international scale himself, Sambucus had significant success with his volume of poetry, *Emblemata* (1564), which allegedly even influenced Shakespeare.[19] Latin was still Sambucus's literary vehicle. He was also active as translator, and rendered Sebestyén Tinódi's Hungarian *Cronica* of the 1553 battle of Eger into Latin. This facet of his personality is interesting because at the time that he began translating into Latin, his Hungarian contemporaries already were writing in the vernacular.

While Janus's work remained the model and the ideal for sixteenth-century Hungarian and Croatian humanists, there was a significant difference: Janus was a lyrically oriented poet and only toyed with the idea of writing a history of Hungary. His historical pieces are of little artistic value and contain all the shortcomings of the panegyrical genres.[20] The newer generation, including Sambucus, by contrast, merely played with poetry and concentrated on the more scholarly side of humanist endeavors, such as historiography, geography, and the like.[21]

* * *

A major event in the country's history preceding Mohács was the peasant uprising of 1514.[22] On 9 April 1514, mandated by Pope Leo X, Bakócz called for a crusade against the Turks. Soon it became obvious that the peasants and the lesser nobles gathered outside of the capital presented a danger to the system, and the crusade was canceled. It was, however, too late and the crowds who came to take up the cross turned into an army of insurgents led by György Dózsa, a lesser noble. In spite of initial successes, Dózsa's army was defeated. The captured leader and his immediate deputies were executed. Dózsa was set on a red-hot iron throne, crowned with a glowing iron crown, and some of his men who had been starved for several days were compelled to eat his scorched flesh. The brutality of his punishment caused a shock among western humanists, of whom several treated the event in great detail.[23]

In addition to punishing the participants, a new law was introduced that cast the majority of Hungary's people into "eternal servitude." The infamous edict was drawn up by István Werbőczi, whose code, at the same time, must be considered as a milestone in Hungarian legal

literature, and a major step toward the "democratization" of the nobility. István Werbőczi's *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inclyti regni Hungariae* codified not only the defeat of the peasantry but also the victory gained by the lesser nobles. Werbőczi established equality of the entire nobility before the law: "una et eademque nobilitas."

The source of Werbőczi's humanist background was Vienna. It is possible that, as a protégé of Mihály Szobi, Werbőczi had already participated in the drawing up of Matthias's lawbook in 1486. His first independent work is dated 1498, when he presented the king with the grievances of the nobility. In 1502 he became propertied and was appointed judge soon thereafter. He formulated the text of the Rákos Diet in which the nation demanded that in case Ladislas's son died, the country was to be permitted to elect a Hungarian king only.

The *Tripartitum* testified to Werbőczi's being well versed in the better-known works of law and history. He spoke Hungarian, German, Latin, and Greek, "fluenter ac eleganter," as Franciscus Chrysologus stated who met him in the printing shop of Syngrenius. Werbőczi, who also served as diplomat at the Porte, died as a judge, arbitrating for the sultan in Buda.

The most important literary response to the Dózsa uprising is, undoubtedly, István Taurinus's *Stauromachia* of 1519, because it determined humanist as well as later attitudes in Hungarian historiography regarding this event. Written in hexameter and comprising five cantos, the *Stauromachia* claimed to present the story of Dózsa and his men in an objective manner. Yet the title, an allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia* (*Battle of the Frogs and the Mice,* a Greek work of unknown date), shows the author's prejudice.[24] With the exception of György Szerémi, all contemporary historians and those following them till 1945 viewed the peasant war from the standpoint of the nobility.

The next event to draw response from the humanists was the battle of Mohács (29 August 1526). Several extant eyewitness reports are from humanists close to the Jagiello court, who spent the fateful days in the company of the king—who died in the battle—and the queen—who was forced to leave the country. The most significant of these is the description by Stjepan Brodarić, chancellor of Hungary, who less than six months after his appointment found himself in exile.[25]

Barely a month before the defeat Brodarić wrote to the pope that only God or fortuitous chance—willed by God—could save the country from perishing. In his last desperate letter to the queen, Brodarić explained his own views about the forthcoming confrontation with Suleiman:

> I am considered a coward and a weakling because I speak with caution, and recommend the same caution to our Royal Highness and the nobles. I wish I had no reason for panic. I am not afraid for myself, but mostly I fear for the king, because I know how endangered his position is, even on account of his own men. I cannot believe that our own people behave the way they do and expose the king to such dangers, because they are bent on destroying him. They believe, rather, that this way he will command more respect, and can achieve more result with his actions.[26]

His *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohats* was first published in Cracow in 1527. It was written in the form of a monograph, in the third person, and it had been requested by Sigismund of Poland, uncle of Louis II. More than a mere recapitulation of events, *De conflictu* is a polemic directed against Cuspinian and others who had spread incorrect information about the battle.

Although meant to provide a sustained argument, Brodarić's work is not aggressive. He writes in a simple, somber style; his self-description is modest, and he does not relate events at which he had not been present. His work is concise, well-structured. Brodarić is candid about the causes of the disaster. Even his deeply felt grief is couched in a controlled style. His aim is to convince his readership of the truth, and he indeed succeeds precisely by his sobriety and straightforwardness. The flowery meanderings, so well known from late fifteenth-century prose, are decidedly missing from Brodarić's report. He is pragmatic, even in a technical sense. The dramatic tension of the work increases with the king's address and the gathering of his meager defense. The last anxious consultations, tensions flying high, are vividly recaptured in his presentation. The total defeat, which took no more than ninety minutes, unfolds in its entire tragic magnitude. The work ends with the desolate picture of the fallen and captured, amid the destruction and executions ordered by the leadership of the withdrawing conquerors.

Brodarić is remembered for his services on behalf of the national kingdom of Zápolya and for his relentless labor for peace in order to avoid fratricidal bloodshed. Since his role was less spectacular than it was time-consuming, his name in humanist literature is less remembered than he deserved. He put much effort into the piecemeal work of daily diplomacy and had little time left for the pleasures of creativity. G. Székely pointed out that Brodarić's work lacked a central theme. Indeed, his production became fragmented, most probably owing to the turbulent times and to the hierarchy of his obligations. His narrative talent

and his gift for characterization are apparent from his description of the battle of Mohács and from his letters to friends, to literary colleagues, and above all to his negotiating partners.

Correspondence was his best literary medium. Over sixty of his colorful and informative letters have survived. Even if his correspondence was meant primarily for the addressee, apparently Brodarić chose his words carefully and always structured his facts in a logical and thoughtful manner with an eye to a broader readership. He spoke his native Croatian, excellent Italian, and a highly educated Latin. He must have known Hungarian, but there are not enough known documents to prove the level of his proficiency or the richness of his vocabulary.

He was proud of his Italian and often mixed Italian phrases in his Latin letters. He read Petrarch's poetry in the vernacular, but with his Italian friends he corresponded in Latin.

D. Kerecsényi, in his sensitive study, wrote that Brodarić had carried on the purest traditions of earlier humanism. He was, in the eyes of the younger generation and among the many feuding factions, the representative of *amitia*.[27] Of those who were to succeed him in Hungarian politics and diplomacy, few possessed his broad cultural outlook, and even fewer his tolerance and integrity. His political legacy was obliterated by the events following his death, and his cultural concepts—expressed in his historical writings—found many more epigones than true followers.

Among those who supported the house of Habsburg Oláh should be mentioned. Notwithstanding the tragedy of Mohács, Oláh's is still an old-fashioned humanist career, similar to that of Janus Pannonius.[28] In the spring of 1510 he was made a page at the court of Ladislas II, where György Szathmári was active in the chancery. The latter was an old friend and fellow student of Sigismund Thurzó, who had preceded him in the see of Várad, when Szathmári became bishop of Pécs in 1505.

Szathmári was a member of the new class, the burghers, who sought a voice in the nation's affairs in pre-Mohács Hungary. He was the son of a rich merchant and became a wealthy and powerful prelate of the church.

Szathmári had an interest in humanist learning and was instrumental in the publication of Janus's poetry. He was a supporter of the "second generation" of humanists in Hungary, among whom were Brodarić and Oláh. As a concerned patriot, in his testament he left six thousand gold pieces (of Matthias's mint) for the redeeming of towns and fortresses "pawned" to Ferdinand. Louis, however, used them for his anti-Turkish war effort.

In many ways Szathmári was a second János Vitéz, committed to the ideals of humanism; a Maecenas of the young, but also of the famous, outside the country. He was the mentor of Jakab Piso, Girolamo Balbi, János Gosztonyi—all of them well-known figures of Jagiellonian Erasmism.

Oláh moved to Pécs with Szathmári and studied theology there. By 1517 his title was listed as canon of Pécs. His future career became assured. By 1526 he was royal secretary, and also a trusted man of the queen. As the Turkish army advanced and Louis moved south with his men, Oláh first remained in the chancery. The king left on 20 August and soon moved to Pozsony (Bratislava), and thence to Vienna—under the protection of Ferdinand, Maria's brother. Oláh decided to follow Maria because, under the circumstances, life at Maria's court was the closest to that of prewar Hungary. It is true, though, that as soon as he left Hungary with the queen's party his political stance became determined. Paradoxically, in Vienna he was able to remain true to the principles of his own past and to the type of culture he had experienced and had learned to rely upon in Hungary. This does not mean that his literary tastes were stronger than his commitments to the cause of the country. But at that juncture of his life there was little to make him believe in the potentials of an active intellectual life in Hungary. He explained his choice of leaving for the West in one of his letters:

> I know that many hold it against me, and would have preferred my having stayed behind during the times of great dangers, instead of spending my life in peace, among foreign peoples. But if they could consider my life style, my nature, and my possibilities, they would cease to hold this against me. . . . I would much rather live in my own country, and believe me that I would rather do this than anything else in the world. Because I also believe that nothing gives more happiness and joy than to share the company of family and friends. But when I see that at home everything is in a turmoil, and that there is not one small nook of security, either from the enemy, or from internal thieves and robbers, I would rather spend this time here, with writing and in contemplation, than there, in the general upheaval.[29]

Oláh's dream was to live like a genuine humanist. He would have much preferred to devote himself entirely to literature and scholarship. The intrigues and machinations of the courtiers pained and alienated him.[30]

Oláh hoped to obtain a political post in exile. But since none materialized, he became increasingly disappointed in the intrigues at court. He withdrew and turned to his studies of the New Testament, St. Augustine, and Ambrose. At this time he had his first contact with Erasmus.

The correspondence with him opened new horizons for Oláh. His first letter to the scholar was formal—written in the name of Queen Maria. He thanked Erasmus for his *Vidua Christiana*, dedicated to the queen, and took the opportunity to introduce himself.

It is obvious that in his correspondence with Erasmus he had never considered an exchange of ideas as taking place between two equals. Oláh and Erasmus rarely touched upon major theological or ideological problems, except for Erasmus's reference to the political attacks to which he had been subjected. Oláh, in turn, responded to his complaints and tried to discourage his adversaries.[31] Although he had first approached Erasmus in his function as diplomat in the service of Queen Maria, after a short while their relationship took on a more private character. Their correspondence became an exchange of letters between two friends. Soon Erasmus started treating him as his *intimus*, writing to him with the admonition, "lege solus." Oláh, for his part, proudly informed his paternal friend that he was gaining further followers for him.

The majority of the letters in Oláh's *Codex epistolaris* were written during his years of exile. They are of a great variety, and though collected by the author with an eye to their publication, they are genuine and very personal. Since their recipients were heads of states, princes of the church, scholars, and artists, as well as private friends, the letters shed light on the thoughts and concerns of an important segment of contemporary society.

They are quite modern compared with Vitéz's epistles, which for a century had served as samples for Hungarian and Croatian humanists active at the court. Vitéz's letters still echo medieval scholasticism. Oláh's correspondence displays, by contrast, a thoroughly Renaissance style and spirit, direct and assertive even when the letter is addressed to royalty. Erasmus's effect is obvious on the literary style of Oláh and of Brodarić.

Although his spectacular career started with Ferdinand's 1542 offer to work in the chancery, in terms of his intellectual growth it was the years he spent at Maria's court that prepared Oláh and provided him with a scholarly milieu that led to the writing of his best works. The years 1536 and 1537 were the most productive. On 16 May 1536, his *Hungaria* was published. It was received with ardent praise. Pietro Nanni wrote that the Turks could destroy Hungary but it would live forever in Oláh's work. This claim, indeed, became to some extent true: his idealized picture of Hungary was in part responsible for the long-surviving myth of a uniquely fertile and abundantly rich land.

The next year, 1537, was marked by the appearance of his *Athila*, and the publication of his poetry by Jan Rutgers. *Athila*'s source was the

Gesta Hungarorum and, therefore, it was only proper that when in 1568 Sambucus published it in Frankfurt, he issued it together with its continuation, Antonio Bonfini's *Decades*.

Both *Athila* and *Hungaria* belong to the genre of descriptive, informative literature flourishing in the sixteenth century. In both works Oláh's aims were twofold: Hungary should learn about its own past, and so should the world. *Athila* is a highly ideological piece of political writing. Its hero is a Matthias of the past, but with victories to his name that Matthias could not have achieved, owing to changed circumstances and his untimely death. J. Szemes aptly refers to Oláh's Attila as the "condottiere" type.[32] When addressing his soldiers, Attila delivers a humanist speech, following the rules of humanist rhetoric, including *exordium*, *tractatio*, and *peroratio*. No event can take place without a speech—a device that becomes a *topos* by the time of Marlowe and Shakespeare. In terms of data, Oláh mostly relies on Bonfini; but in his work Attila is portrayed as an ideal Renaissance ruler, a true ancestor of Matthias. In his literary style he also emulates Tacitus, in addition to Livy. Miklós Istvánffy, who was Oláh's secretary and was influenced by his mentor's writing, incorporated much of it into his own *Historiarum de rebus ungaricis libri xxxiv*.

Hungaria provides an idealized picture of a cherished homeland from which the author was separated. According to this work, Matthias left behind a wonderfully wealthy country whose rich yields were shared in a brotherly manner by Hungarians, Germans, Slavs, and Romanians. Szemes points out that already in Oláh's depiction Hungary appears as a humanist paradise.[33]

Especially Oláh's description of Buda became the favorite source of collective memory in the period after Mohács. He was frequently quoted, and his statements were incorporated into the writings of many of his contemporaries and into works published centuries later. When in 1669 the famous English traveler Edward Brown visited Hungary on his way to Istanbul, he was looking for remnants of what he had read in Oláh's *Hungaria*.[34]

Hungaria and *Athila* are connected not only in terms of their message but also by their composition. In turn, both works are related to Brodarić's *Descriptio Hungariae*. While the latter meant to describe for posterity the losses suffered at Mohács, Oláh strove to recapture for the readers of the future the old glory of Hungary. While his *Carmina* is not worse than many similar collections appearing during the decade, Oláh's memory lives on thanks to his valuable work in education rather than because of his contribution to belles lettres. He became a part of European humanism to the extent that when he considered returning, his

western friends implored him not to allow the "spiritus Hungarus" to pull him back to Hungary.

He began late, yet as archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary he made an extremely important contribution to the restoration of the Roman church, and also toward the development of Hungarian education. The center of his activities became Nagyszombat (Trnava), where the archiepiscopate was moved after the Turks overran Esztergom in 1543.

As of 1562, in his position as "locum tenens regius," Oláh held the most important political position of Hungary and Croatia. He used his office not to further Hungary's liberation but to "save" the Catholic church. His *Compendium suae aetatis Chronicon,* dealing with the times from Matthias's coronation in 1464 to 1558, contains the essence of his work for the church. He wanted to weed out heresy by teaching: "Doctrina magis extingui posse" (One could extinguish it better by teaching). Soon he turned entirely to the ideology of conservative Catholicism. Tolerance, inspired by Erasmus, no longer characterized his thinking. His moving away from liberal views culminated in 1561 when Oláh invited the Jesuits to Hungary. The decisive difference between the schools of the fifteenth century and the one at Trnava was in the latter's religious instruction. Religion was taught by the "superintendent." In the lower grades the catechism and the Bible, later the presentation of Catholic dogma with the refutation of the Reformers, were on the curriculum.

In his testament Oláh left two thousand florins to the Jesuits and made provisions for the Collegium Christi. Although the Jesuits did not return to Hungary for another seventeen years, Trnava became a veritable cultural center, fulfilling the dreams and hopes of the primate. Even the Dominican nuns from Margitsziget moved there—bringing their precious codices along. Oláh's religious work was continued by István Szánthó (*Arator*), who played an important role in the activities of the Transylvanian Jesuits. A missionary and religious writer, Szánthó studied in the German College of Rome and was instrumental in its name being changed to Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum. In 1579 Pope Gregory XIII sent him to Transylvania, but even his ardent labor could not prevent the expulsion of the Jesuits from that region. From Transylvania Szánthó moved to Olomouc. His most important intellectual contribution was the writing of the Hungarian section of Ambrogio Calepino's great multilingual dictionary.[35]

As a patron Oláh was not just generous but very aware of whom to support. János Zsámboky (Sambucus), Ferenc Forgách, and Miklós Istvánffy studied at his expense. With his passing, the last echo of Hungary's fifteenth-century grandeur died out, and the church did not have another representative of Oláh's stature until the appearance of Péter Pázmány.

* * *

The representatives of both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation paid much attention to the schools and were sensitive to the importance of proper education and guidance. During the first half of the sixteenth century both Catholic and Protestant factions had a Latinist orientation and devoted most of their efforts to language teaching and theology.

The first textbook written in Buda, the *Doctrinale* of János Pap (1507), was still being printed in Venice. One of the first to write grammatical rules designed for the new study of classical literature was Janus Pannonius's teacher, Guarino of Verona, whose *Regulae grammaticae* (1418) was widely used also outside Italy. *Rudimenta grammatica* by Niccolò Perotti (1468), the Greek grammar of Manuel Chrysoloras (Guarino's teacher), and Battista Guarino's *De ordine docendi et studendi* (1459), were the most frequently used textbooks for the study of the Latin and Greek classics in Hungary. Among the classical authors, Cicero enjoyed a special reputation (from Petrarch), and Vergil became the most emulated poet in the sixteenth century. Juvenal's writings were made popular by Giovanni Tortelli, who used them to explain his *Orthographia* (written in 1449, printed in 1471).

Lorenzo Valla, in his *Elegantiarum latinae linguae libri VI,* a manuscript that was frequently copied before its 1471 publication, claimed that the power of Latin held the old empire together. "Italy is ours, Gaul, Spain, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyria and many others . . . because the Roman Empire is where the Roman language rules." Janus Pannonius, though writing in Latin only, but having been an admirer of Petrarch's poetry, was willing to make concessions—but to Italian only. It was the Reformation that had raised national consciousness, though the problem of the native vernacular had been a recurrent issue from the mid-fifteenth century onward.

Among the Italian universities in the middle of the sixteenth century it was in Padua that scientific thinking and religious tolerance were still practiced. Pietro Bembo taught there in the *lingua volgaris,* and his writings included "bella istoria," as well as madrigals. His work further contributed to making Padua a center of the vernacular.[36] Yet those Hungarians who had studied there did not become imbued with the idea of vernacular literature.

Translations into Latin from Greek had already been popular earlier —Janus translated Demosthenes, Homer, and Plutarch. Translations

from the vernacular into Latin were fewer, however. It is important to remember that even after Mohács, Latin had a significant role. Dismembered as the country was, Latin was a real linguistic and spiritual *koine,* a living link with the glorious past, but also a functioning vehicle in parts of the country under foreign rule.[37]

As was the case in western Europe, Hungarian literature had almost no prose fiction written in Latin. When prose narratives developed in these regions, they were already written in the vernacular. Also, while in some parts of Hungary Latin humanism was marked by a degree of conservatism, many Hungarian humanists who had received their education in the West adhered to more liberal ideas, which—upon their return—they transplanted to their native soil.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the Counter-Reformation gave a renewed support to Latinity. After the Council of Trent, Oláh's activities in Hungary and Juraj Drašković's in his Zagreb bishopric promoted Latinity by the founding of centers of higher education. *Eloquentia* in Latin was put into special practice by the Jesuits, in whose usage language became an ideology: once more a vehicle for the message from "the other world." In Hungary Latin remained the language of the court and of scholars, practically to the end of the eighteenth century.

A milestone in the development of Hungarian was János Sylvester's *Grammatica Hungaro-latina* (written in 1536 and published in 1539). Turóczi-Trostler stresses the fact that in the case of Hungarian the enduring application of the vernacular did not coincide with the country's Renaissance but postdated it, marking its impressive beginnings in the 1530s.[38] To this process belong the publications of the Hungarian Reformation, which represent an organic part of the linguistic evolution. While the Latin-language Renaissance had the court, the estates of the oligarchy, and the sees of the upper clergy as its backdrop, the majority of the Reformation-period literary output belonged to the market towns (*oppida*) and represented the ideology of the burgeoning middle class.

János Horváth believes that Sylvester (1504–ca. 1551) never left the Roman church, and although he moved toward Protestantism, his oeuvre actually represents a "general humanist" approach. He supported his claim by referring to a letter of Sylvester, written after his translation of the New Testament, in which he referred to Pope Paul III as "our Holy Father."[39]

Sylvester's earliest involvement with Hungarian came about when, at Hieronymus Vietor's suggestion, he augmented Christoph Hegendorf's *Rudimenta grammatices Donati* and Sebald Heyden's *Puerilium colloquium formulae* with Hungarian vocabulary and comments. Thus his *Grammatica Hungaro-latina* is a work built on considerations identified,

and problems solved, in those earlier pieces. The latter, however, includes the discussion of specifically Hungarian problems (definite article, possessive case, etc.). Also, its ordering provides us with the first Hungarian grammar. His first Latin works appeared in Cracow in 1527 (*Rosarium*), his New Testament translation in 1541; yet today he is most remembered for his *Grammatica Hungaro-latina,* because in it he codified the basis of the Hungarian language, placed it alongside the "sacred languages," and made the discovery that Hungarian is suitable for the adaptation of quantitative meter.

Sylvester wrote the first Hungarian grammar essentially by accident. He was planning to write a Latin grammar in which Hungarian had a secondary role. His work was founded on the work of Donatus, which is clearly ascertainable by his retaining the grammatical categories of his model. As has been shown, however, by several scholars, among them primarily by Turóczi-Trostler, the Donatus editions also underwent some changes at the hands of his followers.[40] Thus as has been pointed out before, Sylvester's grammar has to be viewed in the light of Donatus's and Melanchthon's influence. And since Sylvester's grammar is designed with a religious purpose in mind, his work is spiritually closer to that of the German reformer. His originality lies in the areas of embellishments, extensions, and explanations. He still remains under Latin tutelage, and so has Hungarian grammar until recently.

Turóczi-Trostler also called attention to another source of influence, the work of the "new grammarians," especially to Johannes Aventinus-Turmayr.[41] By reading the examples of Aventinus, Sylvester discovered that the rules governing Hungarian make it no less suitable for poetry and translation than the "sacred languages," that is, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.[42]

While Sylvester's work may be described as containing a number of theological ambiguities, Mátyás Dévai Biró's *Orthographia Ungarica* (1549) is imbued with the ideology of Lutheran Protestantism. An acquaintance of Luther, Dévai Biró added direct religious information to his work by completing it with the translation of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and a number of additional prayers.[43] A bonus of such glossaries is their cultural historical information, since they all record the concepts in their synchronic semantic stage.

Another step in the development of the native language is represented by Gábor Pesti's Aesop translation. Based on Valla's Latin translation and Heinrich Steinhöwel's German rendition (which also included Aesop's biography), Pesti set out to complete his task, *decoris patriae:* his is therefore one of the first works in Hungarian conceived as a patriotic program. Gábor Pesti published Aesop's fables in Vienna in

1536. In the same year he completed his translation of the New Testament, and in 1538 he published his *Nomenclatura sex linguarum, Latinae, Italicae, Gallicae, Bohemicae, Hungaricae et Germanicae*. Spurred by the ideas of Erasmus, Pesti was eager to provide new insights into foreign cultures and to raise Hungary among the nations with accomplished translators.

Valla's principles regarding style as expressed in his *De elegantia Latinae linguae* (1471) also determined the writings of those who undertook to address their topic in Hungarian. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were no less important for these authors; they used them in order to explain Hungarian. In this way they present the opposite approach to the three sacred languages from that of the earlier humanists, who used the national vernacular in order to clarify the more obscure points of Latin or Greek. In the beginning Hungarian humanism was not much less elitist than Latin humanism. Also, most of the scholars remained faithful to Erasmus in principle, only his teachings had become spiced with their Wittenberg experience. Péter Bornemissza (1535–1584), who states, "Hungaricum linguam iam a paucis annis scribi coepisse" (I began to write the Hungarian language a few years ago now) also reached out to the western European editions before he began working on his *Elektra* on the urging of his teacher Georg Tanner. His model was Aldo Manuzio's 1502 Sophocles edition. Similarly to his contemporaries, his source of inspiration was Wittenberg, where interest in the classical tragedies was fostered by Melanchthon. Turóczi-Trostler convincingly argues that Bornemissza's *Elektra* is permeated by the Melanchthon-type conciliatory Protestantism.[44]

Péter Bornemissza's *Elektra* (1558) translation was discovered only in 1923. Comparative philological research has established that he worked from the original Greek text, although his own comments to the drama were in Latin. He admits to having "embellished" it. A. Pirnát, who analyzed the structural components of the drama, maintains that in addition to Camerarius's commentary on Sophocles, Bornemissza also knew Veit Winsheim's 1549 Latin translation.[45] *Elektra* was published in Vienna and most probably also influenced by Tannerus, who lectured on Sophocles.[46] It is not merely a translation but a thoroughly contemporary work, Protestant-inspired and of uncompromising morality. As pointed out by several Hungarian scholars, among the new features of the translation is the elimination of the chorus, which is replaced by an old woman who symbolizes the pain and suffering of the people.[47] Parasitus is transformed into a sixteenth-century empty-headed courtier, a demoralized fop. The royal couple, too, embody the characteristics of contemporary court life.

Péter Bornemissza studied in Kassa (Košice) and later also in Padua, Vienna, and Wittenberg. In addition to his capital work, he published *Négy könyvecske* [*Four Booklets*], his five-volume *Postillák* [*Commentaries*], and *Ördögi kisértetek* [*Temptations of the Devil*].

While *Elektra* is a unique piece in the Hungarian literature of the period, *Postillák*, published between 1573 and 1579, has its roots in the religious pamphlet tradition. They are theological minitreatises and didactic sermons characteristic of the genre. Nonetheless, even in them a personal, intimate voice can frequently be heard, atypical for that kind of writing.[48] Bornemissza was a prototypical Renaissance reformer who also shared the vicissitudes of his humanist contemporaries. Of his secular poetry "Siralmas éneköm" ["My Heartfelt Grieving"] is a thriftily composed lament expressing his pain over being forced into exile:

> My departure causes me a heartfelt grieving,
> Pretty, blessed Magyar country, I am leaving:
> Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?
>
> Cocky Germans govern all the northern highlands,
> Turkish devils conquered all our southern tidelands.
> Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?
>
> While the brazen Germans always seek to hound me
> All those heathen Turks are eager to surround me.
> Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?
>
> Magyar magnates caused my spirit to be vanquished,
> From this Magyar country even God is banished.
> Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?
>
> God shall bless you, my dear Magyar country, ever,
> For your grandeur is already lost forever.
> Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?
>
> Péter Bornemissza, in his cheerful notion,
> Wrote this poem in Fort-Huszt with deep emotion.
> Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?[49]

Translations remained for a long while the main avenue by which the Hungarian language became more polished. In 1596 János Decsi of Baranya published his Sallust translations (*Az Caius Crispus Sallustiusnak két historiája* [*Two Stories of Caius Crispus Sallustius*]). The young scholar, who studied in Wittenberg and Strasbourg and perhaps also visited France and Italy, returned to Hungary in 1592 and settled in

Transylvania. Sigismund Báthori's patronage helped him in gaining first a teaching position, later the rector's hat at Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu-Mureş). His work was discovered in Eger, in 1813.[50]

Another special genre flourishing in the second half of the sixteenth century was the chronicles of battles and the heroism of those who had fought them. Acting in the manner of today's war correspondents, the historians of this kind provided their readers with genuine eyewitness reports, and instead of illustrating them, they told about the events in songs, accompanied by music.

The most famous representative of this genre was Sebestyén Tinódi (1505/10–1556). That Tinódi conceived of himself as a man of letters, as well as an artist, is testified to by his self-description: Sebastianus Literatus de Tinód, Lutinista. He shared the need for "objectivity" with his humanist contemporaries, and therefore his work is a fascinating amalgam: the product of a lute-playing entertainer and that of a bona fide historian.[51] His method of narration is that of a bard; his material, however, reveals a man informed about historical writings and familiar with the classics. B. Varjas assumes that the "profile" of the *Cronica* was developed in collaboration with the printer, Georg Hoffgreff.[52] Tinódi unfortunately used unending sets of quatrains made up of a a a a, b b b b, c c c c, and so on as the rhyme scheme, making his *Cronica* tiresome reading.

The *Chronica az magyaroknak dolgairól* [*Chronicle of Hungarian History*] (1575) by Gáspár Heltai (ca. 1510–1574) treats a much larger segment of Hungarian history, namely from the alleged Scythian past to the battle Mohács. As Varjas points out in the introduction to a facsimile edition, the first who were to write about Hungary's history during the Renaissance were foreigners. Completing the work of Simon Kézai, Pietro Ransano, and Bonfini, Sambucus finally presented a continuous Hungarian history by 1568. It is actually the same conception of history that appears in Heltai's chronicle, but it is dressed up in Protestant garb. Furthermore, it is no longer a mere translation. Heltai's work is a compilation with a clear editorial policy in mind. In his rendering information considered unimportant was omitted, while events conceived of as significant were given more attention. Gáspár Heltai's *Cancionale,* another compilation, includes "Historia az Bánc-Bánról," treating the rule of Andrew (1205–35) and the murder of Queen Gertrudis (1213).[53] The same regicide later formed the plot of Franz Grillparzer's *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn* and of József Katona's *Bánk bán* [*Bank, the Palatine*], the great national drama of the Hungarian stage.

In Heltai's case, history was conspicuously viewed from below, representing the ideology of the Protestant burghers. Also, his Matthias

portraits reflect the ideology of the lower classes, especially of the townspeople who had profited by his centralizing efforts. Heltai also published a volume in Latin in which he collected material about Matthias as it appeared in Bonfini.[54]

Heltai's forte was the *fabula.* In his *Száz fabula* his moral message comes across in the ingeniously drawn animal characters representing a wealth of Renaissance imagery. His Hungarian is elegant, which is all the more remarkable because as a descendant of Transylvanian Saxons, Heltai only learned Hungarian as an adult. His sermons, a more rigid vehicle for the same religious-moral message, deal with human vices.

Heltai's pamphleteering knack and his strong religious convictions find expression in *Háló* (1570), the translation of Raimundo Gonzales de Montes (Reginaldus Gonsalvinus's) work. The latter, a Spanish Protestant, vividly describes the sufferings of Protestants in the hands of the Inquisition. In this work, Heltai openly confesses his antitrinitarian convictions.[55]

Protestant ideologues also chose the drama as a theologically potent literary genre. It is noteworthy that of the twelve Renaissance dramas written in Hungarian, with the exception of one, all are in prose. Yet they closely follow the rules of the genre based, probably, on Aelius Donatus's Terence commentaries (Bornemissza, who studied with Georg Tanner, must have also been familiar with the latter's lectures on Aristotle's *Poetica*).[56]

As A. Pirnát convincingly argues, all Hungarian dramas of the period tend toward realism—or what was then conceived as such. Each drama is either a *comoedia* or a *tragoedia,* which designations appear in the titles. A popular variant is the *Disputation,* almost exclusively represented by Protestant authors. The best known are Mihály Sztárai's *Igazi papság tüköre* [*The Mirror of True Priesthood*] (Cracow, 1559), and the *Debrecen Disputation* (1572), which is attributed to György Választó. Pirnát also pointed out the Erasmian inspiration of the *Comedy About the Treason of Menyhárt Balassi,* a satyrical dialogue from the sixteenth century.[57]

The first masterpiece of the Hungarian *bella historia* preceded all the above works of missionary zeal. It is *Historia regis Volter,* by Pál Istvánffy (d. 1553), better known by its Hungarian title, *Voltér és Grizeldisz.* Written in 1539, the verse-epic treats tale number 100 of Boccaccio's *Decameron,* though Istvánffy used Petrarch's Latin translation as his source. His finely developed rhymes and technical accomplishments have not yet received adequate attention by the Hungarian students of the period.[58]

As a result of the ravages of the Turkish occupation and the

insecurity of any one place for establishing a business, there was little chance for continued printing activity in Hungary proper. Thus, most humanists of the period were patrons and authors of Italian, German, and Flemish presses. It is of interest that Hungarian humanists were published by the best-known printers of the sixteenth century.

Already the pre-Mohács humanists were using the printers of the towns in which they attended universities. Johann Syngrenius in Vienna and Aldo Manuzio in Venice were the favorite choices, the latter being especially well known and appreciated for his beautiful publications of the classics. So also was Antonio Blado, the most famous man of his trade in sixteenth-century Rome.

By the end of the 1570s a large number of Protestant presses were active in Hungary. Several of them were permanent, but some, especially those located in western and northwestern Hungary, were temporary.[59] The next permanent press after that of András Hess (1497) was in use at Sárvár (from 1536 on), actually located at Ujsziget near Sárvár, on the property of Tamás Nádasdy, who was a close friend of Brodarić. He himself studied in Graz, Bologna, and Rome. Here at Ugsziget, János Sylvester's *Grammatica Hungaro-latina* was published by Benedek Abádi, a student of Vietor in Cracow. Abádi also published Sylvester's translation of the New Testament. Soon thereafter, this press too had to fold. Of its publications only the above-mentioned two titles have survived. B. Varjas, who has researched the letter-types of the Sárvár press, postulates that while several letters were cut locally (e, ë, az, t), the matrixes were usually made abroad.[60]

The Sárvár press was active for only six years. Abádi left for Wittenberg in 1543, and Sylvester moved to Vienna, where he again wrote in Latin. In addition to its significance as a linguistic monument, his New Testament translation is also interesting for the history of printing and illustrating, because it includes one hundred woodcuts, Hebrew letters, and initials.

In his essay, "Heltai Gáspár a könyvkiadó," B. Varjas has traced Heltai's activities as printer, and his collaboration with Georg Hoffgreff in Kolozsvár (Cluj). Hoffgreff's first known publication is *Ritus explorandae veritatis*, printed in 1550. Prior to this date he had worked for János Honter, until the latter's death in 1549. Hoffgreff was briefly in partnership with Heltai—a less than happy business relationship, as may be established from the surviving correspondence. In the years 1554–58 Hoffgreff was again alone.[61] However, during the less than four years of his lone activities he published twelve titles. In 1559 Heltai regained the press, possibly owing to the death of Hoffgreff. He continued to publish a variety of works until his own death in 1574. Among his customers

was Sebestyén Tinódi, who probably chose Heltai's press because it also printed musical notes.

During this time, with the exception of the workshop of Dávid Gutsgell in Bardejov, there were only temporary printing presses in Hungary. Finally, in 1582, Miklós Telegdi established a press in his own home for the purpose of publishing Catholic literature.[62] After his death in 1586, it was taken over by the cathedral chapter of Esztergom. In 1615 the press was turned over to the Jesuits. The influence of the printed work was appreciated by the emperor. On 8 February 1578, Rudolf banned the opening of any printing press without his imperial fiat.[63]

* * *

As P. Ács has correctly claimed, both the Erasmist and the Balassi-type ideals regarding the polishing of the vernacular language were nationalistic in their goals. The Erasmists wanted to translate the Bible and the classics, while Bálint Balassi (1554–1594) set out to create a literature ready to express the feelings of "courtly love," couched in the vocabulary of the spoken language.[64]

In the sixteenth century Hungarian texts were primarily composed for theological, political, or educational purposes, and frequently for all three. Almost all Latinists also wrote poetry, simply as another proof of their education. And while Janus Pannonius was the first significant poet to be identified with Hungary, his poetry could not be identified with the cultural interests or free-time pleasures of the majority of Hungarians. His poetry was entirely elitist, in content as well as in language. Therefore, it has often been stated that the first Hungarian poet was Bálint Balassi, because his "register" was undifferentiated as of those Hungarians whose lives and tribulations he had shared. His poetry was *eo ipso* identified as the populist expression of the Hungarian Renaissance, creating the point of departure in a literary tradition that would later directly connect him with the poetry of Mihály Csokonai Vitéz and Sándor Petöfi.

A student of Péter Bornemissza, Balassi received an education designed for the young aristocrats of his time. He was not educated in order to become a vagrant poet and occasional mercenary. His turbulent life, beset with so many hardships, provided him with fluency in an unusually large number of languages. He spoke, in addition to his native Hungarian, Latin, Slovak, Croatian, Romanian, Polish, German, Italian, and Turkish.[65] He read the classics, and owing to his many legal troubles, he also studied law, primarily from the *Tripartitum* of Werbőczi.[66]

In his love lyrics, which are a dominant part of his poetry, Balassi's major influences can be found in the Petrarchan tradition, and especially

in the poetry of Marko Marulić (Marullus), Hieronymus Angerianus, and Janus Secundus. The work of these figures had been published by the Pleiade group (*Poetae tres elegantissimi*), and it has been established that Balassi indeed knew and used the volume.[67] But even if Janus Secundus composed a "Julia Cycle," as did Balassi, the Hungarian poet's work is by no means a copy. The conflict between illusion and reality, between love and the opposition of the outside world, are genuine concepts of Balassi's poetry, born out of his nation's and his private history.[68]

Modern Balassi research is still based on the pioneering prewar work of Sándor Eckhardt. His efforts were continued—among others—by T. Klaniczay, I. Bán, B. Stoll, R. Gerézdi, F. Julow, and recently, I. Horváth. Regarding the originality of the so-called Balassi stanza (a a b, c c b, d d b, etc.). J. Turóczi-Trostler stressed the importance of analyzing the entire stanza instead of its meter, rhyme, or rhythm separately. He was the first to call attention to this type of stanzaic structure occurring in the poetry of the Minnesinger, especially in the decades following Walther von der Vogelweide.[69] He also introduced examples found throughout the centuries in which the same constructions had been used. He was the first to note the possibility of its having derived from the German *Leich* sequence, also based on trichotomy. After many decades, during which Balassi's poetry was viewed as the epitome of Hungarian Renaissance versification (secretly ushering in the Baroque), I. Horváth, in his recently published monograph, returns to Balassi's medieval sources. His story, one of the best works of postwar Hungarian literary scholarship, is entirely text-oriented, and therefore is not sidetracked by the adventurous life of his subject, a shortcoming that has blemished most previous Balassi research.[70] Having established the chronology of Balassi's poetry in a previous work,[71] he here reiterates his views on the underlying artistic conception. Also, underpinning his arguments with statistical evidence, he establishes the poet's principles of composition.

This task is a tremendous one, because Balassi is the only known Hungarian poet of the period whose oeuvre remained unpublished in the sixteenth century, and in whose work there is a marked difference between the manuscripts and the items that have later appeared in print. Horváth reexamined all earlier advanced views, and in agreement with Turóczi-Trostler, found the origins of the Balassi stanza in works using the medieval *tripartitus caudatus*. They include such pieces as Jacopone da Todi's "Stabat mater dolorosa," the *Leich*, and the German Minnesang. He rejects any immediate Hungarian antecedents in favor of earlier European models, which in the sixteenth century were also revived in western poetry among the Pleiade group. Perhaps this discovery made

Horváth first reconsider the social stratum of Balassi's poetry. The Pleiade group was noted for its devotion to the native vernacular and its use for poetry of the noblest kind (and for the royal court).

Horváth, though admittedly he found no direct contact between Balassi and the Pleiade, reviewed the vocabulary and themes of Balassi's poetry in terms of "reception." He came to the conclusion that, as opposed to Tinódi's populist oral orientation, Balassi uses almost anachronistic, archaizing structures, which place him among the poets of the troubadour tradition. Thus Horváth contends that it is Balassi's biography that is typical of the Renaissance, and not his poetry. The individual character of his poetry, written during a time of major crises of European religious and social values, reflects the thoughts and feelings of a person who had been denied the security of order. He is, at the same time, a Renaissance poet, especially as displayed in his *Szép magyar comoedia* (a pastoral in the sixteenth-century tradition). Therefore, in one person, Balassi embodies the first Hungarian Renaissance poet and the first Hungarian troubadour.[72] Horváth further argues that his poetry is the *grand chant courtois,* addressed to the upper classes and not to a relatively undifferentiated popular audience. Thus, instead of being grouped together with the *latricane* songs, his poetry belongs to the works of *fin'amors*. A thorough analysis of Balassi's vocabulary indeed supports this thesis. Horváth also demonstrates that all three types of popular songs of the period (the "springtime song," the "woman's song," and the *latricane*) do appear in Balassi's oeuvre but are transformed and fitted into the system of the *fin'amors*.

Balassi's short life was filled with difficulties, ugly court cases and accusations of immorality. While his poetry was the yield of this precarious career, he himself tended to separate it from his private life and hoped that he would not be judged by rumors about his behavior but by the works he had left behind. He never became the envied court poet of a powerful monarch, as Janus Pannonius or Jan Kochanowski, but he was a poet of courtly love, the first troubadour in Hungarian letters.

Among the humanists of sixteenth-century Hungary and his native Croatia, it was that fascinating inventor, Faust Vrančić (Faustus Verantius, 1551–1617) who made the most significant contribution to the science of the period.[73] He was born in Šibenik, lived and worked in Hungary, Bohemia, and Italy, and was therefore often considered Hungarian or Italian. There is ample evidence that he had thought of himself as a Slav, who "never forgot Dalmatia," and was a proud speaker of Croatian, his mother tongue. Of his historical writings, *De Slavinis seu Sarmatis in Dalmatia* and *Regulae cancellariae regni Hungariae*

remained in manuscript. But his *Vita Antonii Verantii* was published by Márton György Kovachich, who included it in his *Scriptores minores rerum hungaricum*, volume 1.

Although he was a careful and precise historian, it was Vrančić's scientific and philological work that made him one of the most important figures of Renaissance humanism beyond Italy. His capital work, *Machinae novae*, was published in two different editions, but the year of printing was not indicated in either case and is therefore still in dispute. Some believe that it appeared in 1595 and 1605, while others maintain that the dates were 1615 and 1616.

At the time that Vrančić worked, mathematics and physics were in relative infancy, and engineering was based primarily on practical experience. The chief advantage of his technical designs lies in their simplicity of conception and clarity of explanation. The designs are not all his, but his own inventions as well as those used by him focus on the everyday needs of the public.

Of special interest is still his description of the "flying man," his best-known and most frequently reproduced design: the blueprint for a parachute. Some scholars claim that he had actually tested his quadrangular flapping device by jumping off a tower in Venice. That would make him one of the pioneers of flying *and* parachuting.

Machinae novae placed Faust Vrančić in the ranks of the most eminent engineers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose talents extended to architecture, construction, bridge building, machinery, and shipbuilding, and to the domain of measuring time.

Only a year after *Machinae novae* appeared, Vrančić published in Venice a work that was to bring him world fame, and special distinction to his fatherland: his *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum, Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmaticae et Ungaricae*, printed by Niccolò Moretti. This dictionary, written probably in the mid-1580s, was the first comprehensive Croatian, though not the first Hungarian lexicographic work of that kind. Because of its importance and excellence, it was enlarged, with the author's consent, by the Benedictine Peter Lodecker (adding Czech and Polish to it), and it was printed in 1605 in Prague.[74] The seven-language edition remained basically unchanged, but in the heading the three Slavic languages were placed next to one another.

Since all important dictionaries of the period were printed in Venice, it is not surprising that the question arose whether Vrančić had been influenced by any of those works. The obvious source of influence was considered to be Calepino, who was not only the most popular lexicographer of the time but whose later editions also included Hungarian.

Calepino's Latin–Italian dictionary (1502) was expanded in 1590 into a dictionary of eleven languages and later reedited as a seven-language work by Jacopo Facciolati in 1718.

Vrančić's own admission of spending merely a short time compiling this work, along with the reputation of Calepino's dictionaries, have made philologists scrutinize both dictionaries in order to establish common features and usage. I have checked the Calepino editions that could have been known to Vrančić, and I suggest a compromise: he probably consulted the 1585 and 1590 editions and used them as his model, but not as his source.

Having buried his wife and having left Emperor Rudolf's Prague court, Vrančić retired to a life of priesthood. As a final gesture, he was appointed by the emperor titular bishop of Csanád. Before he occupied his see, he went to Italy. There he visited the famed Biblioteca de Pesaro of the dukes of Urbino, traveled to Rome and Venice, and saw the Tuscan countryside.

He returned to Hungary, but performed his ecclesiastic duties in a fashion that led to some problems between him and the emperor. Faust, as bishop, almost caused a break between Rudolf and Rome by conferring titles on his own. However, he fought against the Hungarian Protestants and continued his opposition to the Reformation even after he resigned his office. Finally, in 1608 he left his see and in 1609 entered the Paulist order in Rome. He moved to Venice, where in 1616 he published *Logica nova* and *Ethica Cristiana*. The latter was a controversial work that, during the turbulent time of religious strife and heresy, provoked strong reactions.

In his *Logica nova* Vrančić introduced no new ideas. It is based on well-known works with which he had obviously been familiar. The ideas of Francesco Suarez, Lorenzo Valla, Juan Luis Vives, and Melanchthon are reflected in it. Also, it is clear that his years spent in Padua had affected the *Logica nova*. Jacopo Zabarella taught in Padua (1564–78), and his own *Opera logica* was published in Venice in 1578.

Faust Vrančić lived the last years of his life in the seclusion of the Paulist monastery, where he died at the age of sixty-six. His friends mourned in him *un uomo universale*, a typical Renaissance polymath.

* * *

The last fifteen years of the century brought about a number of small, regional victories for the Christians. In 1587 the siege of Sárkánysziget, in which the Turkish raiders suffered great losses (allegedly two thousand men died and fifteen hundred were captured), prompted a number of literary responses. György Salánki in his *Historia cladis turcicae ad*

Nádudvar, celebrating the 1580 victory of Ferenc Geszti over the renegade Savrar-Begh at Nádudvar, refers to the event as a second Lepanto.[75]

Similarly, the victorious battle fought by Sigismund Rákoczy at Szikszó (1588) was extolled in an epic by György Tardi.[76] This epic, in which historical events are presented interwoven with mythical happenings, adumbrates Miklós Zrinyi's major work about Sziget written eighty years later. The Szikszó victory captured the imagination of another author, Ferenc Salamon, who published his *Victoria pusilli Christianorum exercitus contra legionem Turcicam* in Prague and dedicated it to Rudolf II.[77] In 1593 the victory at Székesfehérvár was also immediately reported and hailed.

While Austria sporadically sent auxiliary troops against the Turks, after 1600 there was increased fighting between them and the Hungarians, from which, as might be expected, the Turks profited. They suffered a setback, however, when Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania backed out of their alliance with the sultanate in 1595. Also, in 1595 Esztergom was recaptured by the Christians, though the Turks retook Eger in the same campaign.

As a result of the conflicts between Rudolf and the Hungarians, Mohammed Sokolić attacked Esztergom (1605), which the Austrians lost without any Hungarian troops present. It was not liberated until 1683. By the end of 1605 Esztergom, Kanizsa, and Eger were in Turkish hands. Nevertheless, the pashas in Hungary, away from the center of their power in Istanbul and close to Vienna, began to realize the increasing weakness of the Ottoman Empire and the rapid military development of the European states.

The compromise peace at Zsitvatorok (Žitava) of 11 November 1606 was signed by militarily and economically exhausted partners. The Latin version of the treaty became known throughout Europe because it was immediately printed for large-scale distribution, though the authorized document was drawn up in Hungarian. The negotiations and the text of the treaty were published in a number of contemporary works. Some of the signatories at Zsitvatorok were also famous humanist scholars such as Miklós Istvánffy and János Rimay.[78]

To quote Klaniczay's concise formulation:

> Between 1450 and 1490 the royal Renaissance flourished, supported by the Hunyadis. From 1490 to 1526 the period is marked by the patronage of episcopal sees and of an aristocratic Latin humanism, while the period between 1526 and 1570 represent the decades of the Reformation in which the burghers of the market towns and especially Kolozsvár (Cluj) play an important role. The years between 1570 and 1600 are distinguished by the flowering of Renaissance culture in the courts of the nobility.[79]

In Matthias's court, as well as in the courts of the Jagiello kings, the visiting Italian, Dalmatian, and German humanists later spread the type of artistic and intellectual style that had been typical of Buda to the courts of Vienna and Cracow.[80] The country's desperate state and, in turn, the decline of some of the great humanist courts moved the Hungarian humanists of the Italian school further out of the mainstream. While Janus was still bound to Italy, his sixteenth-century colleagues established their intellectual contacts with the humanists of Vienna, Cracow, and most of all Wittenberg.

The sixteenth century witnessed lively theoretical discussions and heated disputes over practical criticism, such as the language and style of Dante's poetry, Aristotelian poetics and its application to poems (old and new), the quarrel of Lodovico Ariosto and Torquato Tasso, arguments about the difference between the poetic properties of the romance and the epic. These discussions prove that the humanists were eager to take a stand on literary and aesthetic issues and considered them crucial to their craft. Hungarian humanists who a century before would have been passionately participating in such discussions were, by and large, absent. The one notable exception is Sambucus but, while he wrote on the problems of imitation versus originality, he probably got his ideas secondhand, from Adrien Turnèbe of Paris. Nicaisius Ellebodius, who followed the debates even from Pozsony (Bratislava), either did not care to or did not succeed in involving his Hungarian friends in them.

Almost a hundred years of battles, raids, armed resistance, sacrifice, and humiliation took their toll in Hungary. Even the last traces of Matthias Corvinus's grand design had disappeared from the war-torn, dismembered body of that once admired kingdom. A full flowering of a western kind of Renaissance could never come about in the hectic, uncertain atmosphere of a land in which each home could turn into an outpost at a moment's notice. Scholars and artists were not only deprived of the peace and tranquility mandatory for their work, but often also of their personal freedom and livelihood. Poverty, servitude, and exile had been the fate of many. They lived by chance and suffered the hardships and vicissitudes of men without a country.

In the fifteenth century the Hungarian kings "feudalized" their humanists, and often suffered disillusionment when the new oligarchs ceased to serve the interests of a centralized power that they had originally been trained to promote. With the country's falling into the hands of the Turks and the Habsburgs, the new, sixteenth-century humanist was

frequently separated from his feudatories or, in the case of a prelate, his see. He was forced to serve away from his homeland and, often, such powers as did not represent his own best interests. The hopes and goals of the previous century were replaced by disappointment and disintegration. While scholarship and the arts flourished, the setting had changed, often literally, to Italy or Vienna. And the yield lacked the trust in a glorious future.

NOTES

1. While the earlier cultural centers were the seats of bishoprics, from the fourteenth century on Buda, though it lacked an episcopal see, became the real focus of cultural life in Hungary, owing to the presence of the royal residence. Its prominence was most obvious during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, whose splendid court was a meeting place of Europe's intellectual and artistic elite. During this period the city of Buda, with its newly built Renaissance royal palace, gained international significance. Of the historians Galeotto Marzio (who also excelled in astronomy) and Antonio Bonfini represented Italy; Regiomontanus, the famed astronomer, Germany; and Ivan Dùknović and Feliks Petančic (in the company of many lesser-known Dalmatian and Croatian artists and artisans), the southern Slavs. Scores of foreign authors dedicated their work to the Hungarian king, who was considered a generous Maecenas to the representatives of the New Learning. For a while even Marsilio Ficino considered moving to Buda. Matthias's court could also take pride in its native humanists, who had made the chancery comparable to the most respected ones in the West. The subsequent century, though marred by continual war and the loss of independence, also produced a large number of poets and scholars, who contributed to every facet of Renaissance humanism. Owing to spatial limitations only a small number of humanists active in Hungary could be included in this study. My selection was based on the significance of individual contributions and, to a lesser extent, on the intention to present the broadest possible spectrum. The reader may find the following works helpful in learning more about Hungarian achievements during this period: J. Balázs, *Sylvester János és kora* [*János Sylvester and His Time*] (Budapest, 1957); J. Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [*Art at the Court of King Matthias*], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1966); M. D. Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius: Poet and Politician* (Zagreb, 1981); S. Eckhardt, "Balassi Bálint irói szándéka" ["Bálint Balissi's Literary Aims"], *Itk* 62 (1958): 337–49; I. Horváth, *Balassi kőltészete történeti poétikai megközelitésben* [*The Poetry of Balassi in a Historical Poetical Approach*] (Budapest, 1982); R. Gerézdi, *Janus Pannoniustól Balassi Bálintig* [*From Janus Pannonius to Belint Balassi*] (Budapest, 1968); idem, *A magyar világi lira kezdetei* [*The Beginnings of Vernacular Poetry in Hungary*] (Budapest, 1962); P. Gulyás, *A kőnvvnyomtatás Magyarorszagon a XV. és XVI. században* [*Printing in Hungary in the 15th and 16th Centuries*] (Budapest, 1931); J. Horváth, *Az irodalmi műveltség megoszlása: A Magyar humanizmus* [*The Distribution of Book Learning: Hungarian Humanism*] (Budapest, 1954); idem, *A reformáció jegyében* [*In the Sign of the Reformation*] (Budapest, 1953); J. Huszti, *Janus Pannonius* (Budapest, 1931); *Janus Pannonius tanulmányok* [*Janus Pannonius Studies*], ed. T. Kardos and S. V. Kovács (Budapest, 1975); T. Kardos, "A régi magyar szinjátszás néhány kérdéséhez" ["On Some Problems of Early Hungarian Theater"], *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalom-történeti Osztály* 7 (1955): 16–64; E. Kastner, "Cultura italiana alla corte transilvana nel secolo XVI," *Corvina* 2 (1922): 40–56; T. Klaniczay, *A mult nagy korszakai* [*Great Epochs of the Past*] (Budapest, 1973); idem, *A reneszánsz és a barokk* [*Renaissance and Baroque*] (Budapest, 1961); *La Renaissance et la Reformation en Pologne et en Hongrie . . . (1450–1650)* (Budapest, 1962); I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Erasmus és magyar barátai* [*Erasmus and His Hungarian Friends*] (Budapest, 1941); J. Turóczi-Trostler, *A magyar nyelv felfedezése* [*The Discovery of Hungarian*] (Budapest, 1953); idem, *Magyar irodalom—világirodalom* [*Hungarian Literature—World Literature*], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1961). For the most important series of the period, see Bibliotheca Hungarica antiqua, the new Bibliotheca unitariorum, the journal *Reneszánsz füzetek*, and *Régi magyar kőltők tára*. A most informative catalog on fifteenth-century Hungary, *Schallaburg '82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*, published on the occasion of that exhibit, contains facsimiles and other illustrative material, as well as an excellent topical bibliography.

2. János Vitéz of Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. I. Boronkai (Budapest, 1980).
3. "Jani Pannonii Silva Panegyrica ad Guarinum Veronensem praeceptorem suum," in *Poemata quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia 1–11*, ed. Samuel Teleki, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1774), vol. 1. All further J. P. quotes refer to this edition.
4. *Epigramma* 1:126. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are mine.
5. *Epigramma* 1:174.
6. *Elegia* 1:10.
7. For more on the universities of Hungary, see A. L. Gabriel, *The Medieval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony* (Frankfurt am Main, 1969).
8. B. Iványi, *Kőnyvek, könyvtárak, könyvnyomdák Magyarországon, 1331–1600* [*Books, Libraries and Printing Presses in Hungary, 1331–1600*] (Budapest, 1937).
9. For more on this, see P. Klimes, *Bécs és a magyar humanizmus* [*Vienna and Hungarian Humanism*] (Budapest, 1934).
10. See J. R. von Aschback, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität und ihre Humanisten*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1865–88, reprinted Vienna, 1965), as well as the series Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, of which vol. 4 by F. Gall, *Die Insignien der Universität Wien* (Vienna, 1965), treats the subject; and V. Fraknói, *Hazai és külföldi iskoláztatás a XVI. században* [*Local and Foreign Education of Hungarian Students in the Sixteenth Century*] (Budapest, 1873).

11. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976).
12. For more on the subject, see J. Ábel, *Magyarországi humanisták és a Dunai Tudós Társaság* [*Hungarian Humanists and the Sodalitas Danubiana*] (Budapest, 1880); R. Gerézdi, *Váradi Péter* [*Péter Váradi*] (Budapest, 1942); Horváth, *Az irodalmi műveltség megoszlása;* T. Kardos, *A magyarországi humanizmus kora* [*The Period of Humanism in Hungary*] (Budapest, 1955).
13. Discussion and evaluation of the philosophical and ethical content of Erasmian thought falls outside the scope of this study. See Chapter 23 in this volume, "Desiderius Erasmus."
14. For a discussion and bibliography, see Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* 1:537–39 and passim. Matthias commissioned a large number of manuscripts, which—in addition to the ones he had confiscated from the rebels—made up the bulk of his famed Corvinian Library. Already Sigismund had a valuable collection of books, but Matthias's outshone it by far. Printing was also introduced to Hungary during Matthias's rule. The *Buda Chronicle (Chronica Hungarorum* or *Chronicon Budense),* printed by Andreas Hess, appeared in 1493.
15. "Naiadum Italicarum principi Divae Feroniae" was first published in 1497. It is *Elegia,* vol. 1 in the Teleki edition. Ábel also published the Italian translation in *Analecta* (1880): 152–55. For more on the poems, see Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius.*
16. Nicolaus Reusner's *Hocoepicorum sive itinerarium totius fere orbis libri VII* appeared in Basel in 1580, and in a second edition in 1592. The Marcello fragment was included in both editions (lines 643–54 in Teleki).
17. "Novum non est, apud Hungaros esse praeclara ingenia, quando Janus ille Pannonius, tantum laudis meruit in carmine, ut Italia ultro illi herbam porrigat." Quoted by Cvittinger in *Opuscula,* ed. David Cvittinger (Frankfurt an Main, 1711), 124 and also by Huszti in *Janus Pannonius,* 411.
18. Introduction to the 1559 Padua edition: *Régi magyar költők tára,* 3:468:A3.
19. *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [*Hungarian Literary Dictionary*], 3 vols. (Budapest, 1965), 3:607. A beautifully executed facsimile edition of the *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1564) was published recently in Hungary (Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, 11 [Budapest, 1982]), including a penetrating study of the work by A. Buck.
20. I do not believe that he wrote *Annales.* For more on this see Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius.*
21. Sambucus's own interest in history is further proved by his *Obsidio Zigethiensis,* recording the story of Sziget, and his publication of Pietro Ransano's (Ransanus's) *Epitome rerum ungaricarum* in 1558. His most important contribution to Hungarian, however, is his edition of Antonio Bonfini's oeuvre, which for a long time served as the standard historical work for the period. His large Bonfini edition included the first thirty books of Brenner, volumes 31–40 of Heltai, the extant manuscripts owned by Franciscus Révay and Franciscus Forgách, his own work regarding the years 1496–1526 (i.e., the Jagiellonian period), Brodarić's work on Mohács, Miklós Oláh's *Athila,* his own translation of Sebestyén Tinódi's piece on Eger, and his own history of Sziget. The entire publication appeared as *Antonii Bonfinii Rerum Hungaricarum decades quattor* (Basel, 1568 and Frankfurt, 1581). During the following centuries this work saw five Latin and two German editions. In 1572 Sambucus also published István Werbőczi's *Tripartitum,* and in the 1581 edition he enlarged it by adding to it earlier legal material pertaining to Hungary.

22. For material regarding the documentation of the uprising see *Monumenta Rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV,* ed. A. F. Nagy (Budapest, 1979).
23. The best known of them was Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera.
24. For more on Taurinus, see S. V. Kovács, "A Dózsa háboru humanista éposza" ["The Humanist Epic of the Dózsa Uprising"], *Itk* 63 (1959): 451–73.
25. The best biographies of Brodarić to date are S. Székely, "Brodarics István élete és mű ködése" ["The Life and Work of István Brodarics"], *Történelmi Tár* (1888), 1:1–34, 2:225–62; P. Sörös, *Jerosini Brodarics István* [*Stephanus Brodericus*] (Budapest, 1907); and J. Szemes, *Oláh Miklós* (Esztergom, 1936).
26. On 6 August 1526. Published by Georgius Pray, *Annales regum Hungariae* 5 vols. (Vienna, 1763–70), 1:268–71.
27. D. Kerecsényi in "Nicolas Olah," *Nouvelle revue de Hongrie* 2 (1934): 277–87, republished in his *Válogatott irásai* [*Selected Writings*] (Budapest, 1979), 75.
28. For a thoughtful evaluation of Oláh's career, see Szemes, *Oláh Miklós.* For a more populist view, see V. Bucko, *Mikulaš Oláh a jeho doba* [*Miklós Oláh and His Time*] (Bratislava, 1940).
29. *Codex epistolaris,* 216.
30. "Hoc tamen magno mihi est dolori me per aulica negocia . . . ab hoc otio litterario honesto plerumque avocari": quoted by Kerecsényi, "Nicolas Olah," 238.
31. *Codex epistolaris,* 228.
32. Szemes, *Oláh Miklós,* 16–17.
33. Ibid., 35.
34. Edward Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia . . .* (London, 1673).
35. For more on Szántho, see V. Fraknói, "Egy magyar jezsuita a XVI. században" ["A Hungarian Jesuit in the 16th Century"], *Katolikus Szemle* (Budapest, 1888). Ambrogio Calepino's Latin dictionary, *Cornucopia* (Reggio, 1502), was revised by him in 1505 and in 1509. After Calepino's death fellow humanists kept publishing revised editions, adding Neolatin terminology. By 1590 the dictionary contained eleven languages. Almost all Latin dictionaries depended on his (more on this with regard to Faust Vrančić), until Egidio Forcellini published *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* in 1771.

36. For more on this, see Klaniczay, *A mult nagy korszakai.*
37. V. Gortan with V. Vratović, "The Basic Characteristics of Croatian Literature," *Humanistica Lovaniensis* 20 (1971): 47.
38. Turóczi-Trostler, *A magyar nyelv felfedezése,* quoted by Klaniczay in *A mult nagy korszakai,* 144.
39. Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében,* 139.
40. Niccolò Perotti and Battista Guarino, to mention only two.
41. Turóczi-Trostler, *A magyar nyelv felfedezése,* 35.
42. In 1543 Sylvester became professor at Vienna University and lectured on Hebrew, Greek, and history. There he also published poetry in Latin ("De bello Turcis inferendo," etc.). It seems that at this juncture of his life he moved away from Hungarian and returned to the fold of Erasmist Latin universalism. This part of his biography has not been adequately researched. A facsimile edition of the *Grammatica Hungaro-latina* was published by Indiana University Press (Bloomington, IN, 1968) with a foreword by T. A. Sebeok (Uralic Altaic Series, 55), which includes these most frequently quoted lines of Sylvester: "est enim regulatissima, ut vocant non minus quam una ex primariis, illis, hebraea, graeca et latina."
43. This habit was general among the authors of his time. The best examples of it are the numerous works of Bartol Djurdjević (Bartolomaeus Georgius or Georgievits) who, having returned from Turkish captivity, flooded Europe with his memoirs and travelogues, each including such sample translations.
44. J. Turóczi-Trostler, "A magyar nyelv felfedezése," in *Magyar irodalom—világirodalom,* 1:65.
45. A. Pirnát, "A magyar reneszánsz dráma poétikaja" ["The Poetic Properties of Hungarian Renaissance Drama"], *Reneszánsz füzetek* [*Booklets on the Renaissance*] 1 (1969): 527–55.
46. *A magyar irodalom története* [*History of Hungarian Literature*], ed. I. Söter, 6 vols. (Budapest, 1964–66): vol. 1: *A magyar irodalom története 1600–ig* [*History of Hungarian Literature till 1600*], ed. T. Klaniczay (Budapest, 1964), 376.
47. Among others, see J. Koltay-Kastner, "Bornemissza Péter humanizmusa" ["Péter Bornemissza the Humanist"] *Itk* 57 (1953): 91–124.
48. For example, in vol. 3 he mentions the death of his wife. I. Nemeskürty convincingly argues that *Postillák* moved away from the rhetorical type of literature toward the essay genre (see "Bornemissza stilusa" ["The Style of Bornemissza"], *Itk* 59 (1955): 23–35). See also I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, "Bornemissza Péter nyelvművészete" ["The Poetic Language of Péter Bornemissza"], *Nyugat* [*Occident*] 24 (1931): 124–26.
49. Published in *Hungarian Anthology: A Collection of Poems,* trans. J. Grosz and W. A. Boggs (Toronto, 2d ed. 1966), 1.
50. More on János Decsi in the introductory essay to the facsimile edition of his work by A. Kurz, Bibliotheca Hungarica antiqua 10 (Budapest, 1979).
51. For more on his career, cf. T. Klaniczay, "Tinódi Sebestyén emlékezete," in *A reneszánsz és a barokk,* 39–53.

52. B. Varjas, introduction to the facsimile edition of Tinódi's *Cronica,* Bibliotheca Hungarica antiqua 2 (Budapest, 1959), 11.
53. Gáspár Heltai, *Cancionale, azaz historias énekes könyv* [*Cancionale, or A Collection of Poems for Singing*] (Kolossvar, 1574; facsimile, 1962). The title refers to the genre ("historias ének" = sung history).
54. Gáspár Heltai, *Historia inclyti Matthiae Hunyadis* (Cluj, 1565).
55. A new edition of *Háló* appeared in Budapest (1979), in which the editor, P. Kőszeghy, included a selection of Heltai's work.
56. Balassi's *Szép magyar comoedia* was an entirely new chapter in the history of Hungarian drama.
57. Pirnát, "A magyar reneszánsz dráma poétikája." It was T. Kardos who first published a collection of early Hungarian drama (*Régi magyar drámai emlékek,* 2 vols. to date [Budapest, 1960–]). It should also be mentioned that the authorship of the drama has been earlier attributed to the father of Bálint Balassi. R. Gerézdi reevaluated the historical evidence and came to the conclusion that it was written by Gáspár Madách, a contemporary of Balassi senior, who also lived in the region and therefore had knowledge of the events, as well as of the local geography and history.
58. It is pertinent to the tenor of the times that his son Miklós Istvánffy, author of *Historia rebus ungaricis XXXIV* (1622), decided on writing in Latin because he was eager to reach the largest possible readership.
59. Sárvár, Bártfa (Bardejov), Debrecen, Kolozsvár (Cluj), Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Szeben (Sibiu), and Brasso (Braşov) also had presses. *A Magyar irodalom története* contains a map showing printing presses active in Hungary during the sixteenth century, 1:200.
60. B. Varjas, "A Sárvár-Ujsziget nyomda betütipusai" ["The Types of the Sárvár-Ujsziget Press"], *Itk* 62 (1958): 140–51.
61. B. Varjas, "Heltai Gáspár a könyvkiadó" ["Gáspár Heltai, the Publisher"], *Reneszánsz füzetek* 24 (1973): 291–314.
62. It should be mentioned, however, that the Bardejov Protestant press published twice as many books during the same period as Telegdi's Trnava workshop.
63. *Magyarország történeti kronológiaja* [*Hungary's Historical Chronology*], ed. K. Benda, 4 vols. to date (Budapest, 1983–), 2:405.
64. For more on this subject see P. Ács, "A magyar irodalmi nyelv két elmélete: az Erazmista és a Balassi-követö" ["Two Theories on the Hungarian Literary Language: The Erasmists and the Balassi Followers"], *Reneszánsz füzetek* 53 (1983): 391–403.
65. He also translated poetry from Turkish (see G. Németh, "Balassi Bálint és a török költészet" ["Bálint Balassi and Turkish Poetry"] *Magyar Századok* [*Hungarian Centuries*] 3 [1948]: 80–100), Polish, and Croatian.
66. Balassi's tumultuous life has frequently been treated in Hungarian literary histories—often replacing the analysis of his poetry. Therefore, instead of recapitulating it, I refer the reader to R. Gerézdi, "Balassi Bálint (Rövid élet- és jellemrajz)" ["Bálint Balassi (A Brief Life and Character Study)"], in *Janus Pannoniustól Balassi Bálintig,* 485–510.

67. For more on this subject see Klaniczay, *A mult nagy korszakai,* 217.
68. For a thoughtful and thought-provoking study, see V. Julow, "A Balassi-strófa ritmikája és eredetének kérdése" ["The Rhythm and Origin of the Balassi Stanza"], *Studia litteraria* 9 (1970): 39–49. He analyzes "Katona-ének," a bimetric poem by Balassi, and contends that it is not the Hungarian type of meter. Cf. also I. Bán, "Adalékok Balassi-versértelmezésekhez" ["Contributions to the Analysis of Balassi Poems"], *Studia litteraria* 17 (1979): 14–24, referring to M. Hardt, *Die Zahl in der Divina Commedia* (Frankfurt am Main, 1973).
69. Turóczi-Trostler, "A magyar nyelv felfedezése" ["The Discovery of the Hungarian Vernacular"], in *Magyar irodalom—világirodalom,* 111.
70. Horváth, *Balassi költészete történeti.*
71. I. Horváth, "Az eszményi Balassi-kiadás koncepciója" ["The Concept of an Ideal Balassi Edition"], *Itk* 74 (1972): 209–306, and *Reneszánsz füzetek* 35 (1977): 613–31.
72. Horváth, *Balassi költészete történeti,* 219.
73. I am grateful to V. Muljević for having shared with me many of his findings regarding the life and work of Faust Vrančić. I am also using his biographical dating (1551 for the year of his birth, instead of ca. 1540, the date accepted by several scholars).
74. It was reprinted in Zagreb in 1976.
75. The battle took place on 19 July 1580. Salanki's work was published by Gáspár Heltai in 1581.
76. György Tardi, *Historia Szikszoniensis* (Bratislava, 1588).
77. For more on this work see C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türckendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts,* 4 vols. (Bucharest, 1961–78), 2:428.
78. The diary of János Rimay in which he recorded the negotiations and the signing of the documents was published by G. Bayerle in "The Compromise at Zsitvatorok," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980) [monograph].
79. Klaniczay, *A mult nagy korszakai,* 164.
80. This is especially true for the arts, primarily of illumination. But even the poetry of Jan Kochanowski contains *topoi* and poetic solutions that derive directly from the oeuvre of Janus Pannonius.

26 ❧ HUMANISM IN THE SLAVIC CULTURAL TRADITION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CZECH LANDS

Rado L. Lencek

THIS ESSAY AIMS TO GIVE AN INSIGHT INTO THE PHENOMENON of Renaissance humanism in the cultural traditions of the Slavic peoples in eastern Europe and attempts a comprehensive survey of the humanist concerns and scholarship of the so-called Slavic Renaissance cultures through the end of the sixteenth century.

Since the end of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of Slavic Renaissance scholarship, many a specialized study has focused on individual Slavic cultural traditions that participated in the Renaissance movement of the West.[1] But while these studies have assembled considerable documentation on the range and extent of the Renaissance humanistic movement among the Slavs, no general, comprehensive examination of specifically Slavic humanism has yet been produced. Many scholars have even appeared to avoid this aspect of the Slavic Renaissance by simply limiting their field of inquiry to the written production in vernacular languages, or even to its belles-lettres. One might have inferred from this focus that classical scholarship—philological, historical, theological, philosophical topics—or even stylistic and rhetorical treatises originally written in Latin were not seen as part of the cultural heritage of most Slavic cultural traditions. Furthermore, though this observation obviously goes beyond such Renaissance research, one formed the impression that this portion of the Slavic culture was not thought to hold any clues for the understanding of our own contemporary world. For this reason, the invitation to reexamine the record of the humanist Renaissance tradition among the Slavs—even if confined to the bounds of a brief essay—seemed opportune and timely. My survey will be concerned exclusively with the Latin and Greek texts of the Slavic Renaissance tradition and will not give an account of the literary production of the Slavic Renaissance in general or of individual humanists and their contributions to particular Slavic vernacular literatures.

The concepts and terminology to be used in this survey are those