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Sorozatszerkesztő:

PAPP KLÁRA

MATTHIAS AND HIS LEGACY

Matthias and his legacy

*Cultural and Political Encounters
between East and West*

Eds. ATTILA BÁRÁNY – ATTILA GYÖRKÖS

DEBRECEN, 2009

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ELŐSZÓ

2008 szeptemberében a Mátyás évforduló kínálta a lehetőséget Debrecenben egy „Mátyás király hagyománya” című kétnapos történészkonferencia megrendezésére. A tanácskozás anyagát a szerzők tudományos tanulmányokká dolgozták át, amelyeket Bárány Attila és Györkös Attila szerkesztett köteté. Ezt a gazdag kínálatot ajánljuk most az érdeklődő közönség figyelmébe.

A Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézetének nemzetközi kapcsolatai több évtizedre nyúlnak vissza. Rendszeresek az oktató-és hallgatócserék, a közös kutatási programok és a doktori fokozatszerzések. Kiemelkedő az együttműködés az Eperjesi Egyetemmel, a Rostocki Egyetemmel, a Clermont-Ferrand-i Egyetemmel, a Kolozsvári Egyetemmel, az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesülettel, a Román Tudományos Akadémia Kolozsvári Történettudományi Intézetével. Rendszeres Erasmus-kapcsolatunk van Rostockkal, Barcelonával, Eperjessel, Kolozsvárral és Pisával is.

A sikeres hazai és nemzetközi együttműködés egyik legfontosabb területe a konferencia-szervezés. 2000 és 2006 között a Történelmi Intézet 29 konferenciát szervezett, amelyből 10 nemzetközi volt. Az Ókortörténeti Tanszék évente szervez epigráfiai kerekasztalt neves hazai és külföldi résztvevőkkel. A konferenciák anyagának többsége kötetben is megjelent.

A nemzetközi konferenciák közül kiemelendők: a Zsigmond király konferencia, az „Ezer éve Európában” tanácskozás (szervező Barta János és Papp Klára), a „Regards croisés” francia–magyar konferencia Clermont-Ferrandban (magyar részről szervező Papp Imre), a Bocskai felkelés és a bécsi béke konferencia Debrecenben (szervező Papp Klára). A nemzetközi konferenciák előadásából készített tanulmányokat idegen nyelvű kiadványként adtuk ki: a Zsigmond kötet „*Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*” címen jelent meg, szerk. Tilmann Schmidt–Gunst Péter. Történelmi Figyelő Füzetek. Debrecen, 2000. A millenniumi konferencia anyagát három nyelven adtuk közre: *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*. Editor -in- chief: Klára Papp, János Bar-

ta, co-editors: Attila Bárány, Attila Györkös, Multiplex Media – Debrecen University Press, Debrecen, 2002., a Bocskai tanulmánykötet pedig a következő címen jelent meg: „*Einigkeit und Frieden sollen auf Seiten jeder Partei sein*” die *Friedensschlüsse von Wien (23. 06. 1606) und Zsitvatorok (15. 11. 1606)* IX. zum 400. Jahrestag des Bocskai-Freiheitskampfes, Herausgegeben von János Barta, Manfred Jatzlauk und Klára Papp, Gemeinsame Ausgabe von dem Institut für Geschichte der Universität Debrecen und der Selbstverwaltung des Komitats Hajdú-Bihar, Debrecen, 2007.

Intézetünk több évtizedes hagyományaira alapozva a jelen kötetel indítjuk útjára a *Speculum Historiae Debreceniense* címet viselő sorozatot. Reméljük, hogy a szakmai olvasóközönség a debreceni történészek további kutatási együttműködései eredményeként hamarosan olvashatja és haszonnal forgathatja újabb köteteket is.

Debrecen, 2009. május 16.

Dr. Papp Klára
intézetigazgató,
sorozatszerkesztő

FOREWORD TO THE SERIES

In September 2008 a two-day international conference ‘*Matthias and his legacy. Cultural and political encounters between East and West*’ was organized by the Department of History, University of Debrecen. The proceedings of the papers are herewith edited in this volume by Attila Bárány and Attila Györkös Attila, which we are now to publish in the framework of a new series of the publications of the Department of History.

The Department of History, the University of Debrecen has been involved in a great number of international contacts for several decades. We have regular mutual research projects, student and lecturer exchange programmes, cooperation in graduate school work. The coordination of curricular activity and research agenda is outstanding with the universities of Prešov/Eperjes (Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, Slovakia), Rostock (Universität Rostock, Germany), Clermont-Ferrand (Université Blaise Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand II, France), Cluj/Kolozsvár (Babeş-Bolyai Tudományegyetem/Universitatea, Romania) and the Transylvanian Museum Association, the Historical Institute of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Cluj/Kolozsvár (Institutul de Istorie George Baritiu Cluj-Napoca al Academiei Române). Our ERASMUS relations with Rostock, Barcelona, Pisa, Cluj/Kolozsvár and Prešov/Eperjes date back to several years now.

Conferences make one of the most important part of the international cooperative projects. Between 2000 and 2006 the Department organized 29 conferences, including 10 international ones. The Department of Ancient History organizes an annual roundtable discussion on Classical Epigraphy, welcoming leading scholars of the field. The papers of most of the conferences have been published in proceedings volumes.

Of the international conferences of ours the most fruitful ones include the symposium on Sigismund of Luxemburg, 1997; the congress „A Thousand Years in Europe” (organized by János Barta and Klára Papp, 2000), the Franco-Hungarian joint conference „Regards croisés” in Clermont-Ferrand (on our part

organized by Imre Papp, 2002); the one dedicated to the 400th anniversary of the Uprising led by Prince István Bocskai and the Peace Treaty of Vienna 1608 (organized by Klára Papp). The proceedings of the conferences have been published at the department: *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*. Hrsg. von Tilmann Schmidt–Péter Gunst. Történelmi Figyelő Füzetek. Debrecen, 2000.; *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*. Eds. János Barta–Klára Papp. Debrecen University Press – Multiplex Media, Debrecen, 2002.; *Regards croisés. Recherches en Lettres et en Histoire, France et Hongrie*. Textes publiés sous la responsabilité de Jean-Luc Fray et Tivadar Gori-lovics. 'Studia Romanica de Debrecen, Bibliothèque Française N° 5', Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó – Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal Clermont-Ferrand, Debrecen, 2003.; „*Einigkeit und Frieden sollen auf Seiten jeder Partei sein*” *die Friedensschlüsse von Wien (23. 06. 1606) und Zsitvatorok (15. 11. 1606)* IX. zum 400. Jahrestag des Bocskai-Freiheitskampfes, Herausgegeben von János Barta, Manfred Jatzlauk und Klára Papp, Gemeinsame Ausgabe von dem Institut für Geschichte der Universität Debrecen und der Selbstverwaltung des Komitats Hajdú-Bihar, Debrecen, 2007.

We are now to initiate launch a series of foreign-language volumes (formerly, outside the scope of the series the volumes were edited as the Publications of the Department of History, the University of Debrecen. Relying upon the decade-long traditions of our Department we are now launching the series entitled *Speculum Historiae Debreceniense*, with the hope of coming out with a number of further volumes.

Debrecen, 16 May 2009

Dr Klára Papp
Chair, Department of History
Series Editor

INTRODUCTION

The proceedings of the papers of the international conference *Matthias and his legacy. Cultural and political encounters between East and West* organized by the Department of History, University of Debrecen on 18–19 September 2008 are published in this volume.

The organizers of the Debrecen Matthias-symposium in the framework of the Renaissance Year 2008 were primarily concerned to come forward with a complex, interdisciplinary approach to the state of Matthias Corvinus and the age of the Renaissance in Hungary in art, political and social history. Furthermore, we also aimed, following the almost the century-long traditions of the Debrecen University Department of History, to have the results of Transylvanian historiography integrated in Hungarian and European scholarship. That is why we laid a stress on inviting several scholars from Romania. We did also intend to make it possible for young scholars, doctoral students to introduce themselves and their research fields to an international scholarly public (several of whom defended their PhD theses until now).

As a result, there were four countries (the Czech Republic, France, Hungary and Romania) and 12 research workshops represented. The participants gave papers in English, German, French and Italian in three sessions: 1. *Matthias and his interpretation in Central European and Western historiography*; 2. *Hungary at the age of the Hunyadis*; 3. *At the periphery of Renaissance and Humanism - Matthias and his legacy in Hungary and Transylvania*.

A major asset of the conference was that the session papers brought forward several new research trends and scholarly platforms on the grounds of which the editors finally decided to modify the original format of the proceedings and change the classification of the sessions. The articles are thus being presented in a new conceptional framework.

Consequently, we aimed to gather the works investigating the contemporaries' view of Matthias and his portrayal in European historiography in a chapter

entitled *Matthias in European historiography*. Several studies were devoted to the peculiar Hungarian and Transylvanian features of Humanistic culture and Renaissance art, which were arranged in the chapter *Frontiers of Renaissance and Humanism*. A great number of papers examined the characteristics of fifteenth-century Hungarian economy and trade as well as urban development, which would naturally belong to a separate category under the heading *Hungary at the age of the Hunyadis*. The part *Clerics and Courtiers* introduces research results which would largely help in shaping the current knowledge on the noble and ecclesiastical society as well as the ways of patronage and promotion at the age of King Matthias. Hopefully, fruitful new prospects might be opened through a number of studies on Matthias' Eastern and Western European diplomacy, which are included in the chapter *The Diplomacy of a Renaissance King*. Last but not least we dedicated a special chapter to the studies of those Romanian colleagues who represent a definite approach along a specific Transylvanian historiographic tradition (*Matthias in Transylvanian Historical Consciousness*).

The organizers would here wish to acknowledge and thank for the help of our co-operates and sponsors greatly contributing to the publication of present volume: Renaissance Project Office / Renaissance Year 2008, Bálint Balassi Institute, Foundation for the History of Transylvania, Debrecen City Self-Government Cultural Fund, University of Debrecen, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Graduate School in History, University of Debrecen, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Students' Self Government.

Debrecen, April 2009

The Editors

Part I

MATTHIAS IN EUROPEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

ISTVÁN BÁRSONY

CENTRAL EUROPEAN MONARCH OR NATIONAL KING?

One of the most general commonplaces in Hungarian history is definitely the one considering Matthias Hunyadi a national king, the greatest national monarch.¹ A careful study of fourteenth-fifteenth century Hungarian history, however, might offer perspectives allowing of a different approach to the reign of Matthias. In our evaluation, the foundations of this approach are to be found in the crises in the fourteenth century, and the responses given to them. The crisis phenomena of this period were summarized by Immanuel Wallerstein as follows: expansionist opportunities secured by the crusades stopped, food shortages and epidemics arose, at the time of the Hundred Years' War the Western European state systems shifted to the direction of war economies leading to an increase in tax burdens, a credit crisis developed bringing about the accumulation of precious metals.² The West usually devolved the burdens of resolving the crisis onto other regions, which, however, predominantly affected them in the form of economic challenges. Nevertheless, it is essential to point out that this did not concern only a single country, but an entire region consisting of several states: in this case Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Coping with the Western European precious metal crisis would have been unimaginable without exporting Hungarian gold and Bohemian silver, not to mention the occasional outbreaks of famine with wheat exported from Poland. Positive responses given to economic challenges could offer the basis for the economic development and rise of the whole region, failing to respond, however, could have very easily meant giving way to irretrievable underdevelopment. Jenő Szűcs established that the crystallizing regions of Europe corresponded to the responses given to the various challenges of crisis.³ The above-mentioned countries got into a situation, regardless of their previous historical-economic development, which could as well affect their fate in a positive

¹ About the characteristics and contradictions of the application of the term 'national' see, Jenő Szűcs, *Nemzet és történelem*. Budapest, 1984. 28., 56–62., 97.

² Immanuel Wallerstein, *A modern gazdasági rendszer kialakulása*. Budapest, 1983. 34–35; Ferenc Glatz, "Az ezeréves magyar állam," *História* (2000) 5–6.

³ Jenő Szűcs, *Vázlat Európa három történelmi régiójáról*. Budapest, 1983. 68.

way. Beside the already-mentioned economic factors, the near simultaneous appearance of new dynasties, primarily the Anjou, Luxemburg, and somewhat later the Jagiellonian houses, is also worth mentioning. Of course, one cannot avoid mentioning the Habsburgs in the given period, but most of the history of the fourteenth century in the region was not about them, but about the Bohemian-Polish-Hungarian triangle. The shifting and undertaking of economic roles as well as the new dynasties' coming to the throne just about forced that larger political units came to being transcending the framework of personal unions, generally mentioned in the historical literature. Hungary became an active, occasionally decisive, participant of these in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Domokos Kosáry characterized the relations between the countries of Central-Eastern Europe on the one hand by the Ottoman threat, which affected them to a differing extent, and on the other by the rivalry over when and under the leadership of which dynasty should a "more permanent political unit, a larger and complex multiethnic monarchy, towards the establishment of which this whole tendency pointed" be formed.⁴

According to our assumption, the beginning of this entire process probably dates back to the first term of the fourteenth century through the already-referred-to economic processes affecting the region. This larger political unit was created through a series of armed conflicts, compacts and treaties, kings' congresses⁵, and dynastic resolutions. In our evaluation, up to the 1430s and 1440s, the key figures of the era were Charles Robert, Charles IV of Luxemburg, Louis I (The Great), and Sigismund of Luxemburg.

As the result of this process, Hungary remained part of a larger political unit from the first term of the fourteenth century until 1918. By the reigning dynasties, this period can be divided into Anjou, Sigismund, Jagiellonian Age, followed by the nearly 400-year-long rule of the Habsburgs. An almost 600-year-long period in history can by no means be considered accidental or occasional even if the main content characteristics of a specific period differ from other periods.

The question to answer in the following will be whether Matthias Hunyadi can be considered a participant of the above-outlined process, corresponding to the traditional historical approach, or such an attribute will be asserted which does not necessarily fit into the picture drawn by us.

The most recent analysis of Matthias in the historical literature was carried out by Zsigmond Pál Pach, and this might relieve the present author of a com-

⁴ Domokos Kosáry, *A magyar és az európai politika történetéből*. Budapest, 2001. 19–20.

⁵ Of special significance were the kings' congresses in Visegrád (1335) and in Krakow (1364).

prehensive historical overview.⁶ I intend to limit myself to the discussion of some influential historians' views concerning the subject of national monarchy. For Vilmos Fraknói, Matthias Hunyadi is the "Model of the Righteous Monarch", in whose person "his country's historical writers saw the incarnation of the ideal of the national monarch", and who, in spite of the fact that his foreign policy aimed at conquering other countries, remained Hungarian in his spirit, sentiments, and goals.⁷ The period of the interwar years preserved this historical approach, what is more, in certain aspects it even furthered it, and expressed its point of view as a reflection of the conception of the age. The most prominent view in this respect was represented by Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű. Hóman claimed that "the historical figure of Matthias is the never-fading symbol of Hungarian glory, independence, great power, national sovereignty and self-government, and Hungarian talent originating in the soul of the national society."⁸ In the renaissance Hungary, in the person of Matthias, people found "one of the greatest geniuses of the Hungarian race", who founded a brand new, proud Hungarian state. "In Central Europe, it controlled all major trends for decades, and this state had no reason to fear the Ottomans and be constantly preoccupied with the question of chasing away the pagans," stated Gyula Szekfű. He also elaborated on the national consciousness of Matthias, and emphasized the independence of the Hungarian nation-state and national King from both the pope and the emperor. He also argued that Matthias was the European embodiment of the Hungarian race.⁹

Emphasizing the national characteristics in the career of Matthias was rather ignored in post-World War II historiography, nevertheless, Gyula Rázsó called him the last great national monarch as late as 1990.¹⁰

To illustrate to what extent thinking in term of regions, larger political units accompanied the concept of the national king in historiography, some historians' points of view can be cited. According to László Szalay, due to Hungary's situation at the legs of the Carpathians as well as between East and West has always been a delicate issue in terms of independence. It was a rather challenging task for the Hungarian Kingdom to find suitable elbow-room. He mentioned as a factor further hampering Hungary's situation the rise of the Ottoman Empire under the reign of Mohamed II, as well as the activi-

⁶ *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára*. Eds. Gyula Rázsó and László Molnár V. Budapest, 1990. 5–28. [hereinafter *Hunyadi Mátyás Emlékkönyv*]

⁷ Vilmos Fraknói, "A Hunyadiak és Jagellók kora", In: *A Magyar Nemzet története*. Ed. Sándor Szilágyi. Vol. IV. Budapest, 1986.; See Vilmos Fraknói, *Mátyás király 1440–1490*. Budapest, 1890. 65–69.

⁸ *Mátyás király emlékkönyv*. (Ed. Imre Lukinich) Budapest, no date). II., 8. [hereinafter *Mátyás király*]

⁹ Bálint Hóman–Gyula Szekfű, *Magyar történet*. Vol. II. Budapest, 1936. 480., 483.

¹⁰ *Hunyadi Mátyás Emlékkönyv*. Epilogue, 411.

ties of Frederick III, who "was weaving the yarn to enthrall Hungary", and "who was far from being a great personality", yet possessed the feature the Hungarian character often seemed to be lacking: "stubborn patience".¹¹ In his work, Mihály Horváth presented the blending of national and regional elements in foreign policy. According to him, a traditional element in Hungarian foreign policy was relying on the papacy against the emperorship, and having good relationship with it. This interest was "instinctively present in the nation, as well." However, provoked by her neighbours, and mainly the emperor, got so deeply involved in the conflicting affairs of West and East that she was unable to devote enough energy to fighting against the Ottomans, and "live up to the even more urging national interests." Under the reign of Matthias, Hungary again became an overestimated power, because her monarch was strong enough to have authority over the neighbouring monarchs.¹² Vilmos Fraknói, who presents Matthias as a national monarch, also touches upon this question. He gives an outline of the relationship between Austria, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary in which up to the middle of the fifteenth century some sort of a solution was presented by foreign monarchs' ascending the Hungarian throne. The Hungarian monarch and politicians also had to be aware that Hungary would not be capable of becoming the leading power of the region on her own, therefore, Matthias' conquering the neighbouring countries was necessitated rather by the realization of this fact than by his personal ambitions.¹³ In his Matthias biography he argued that "since the formation of the Ottoman Empire, Hungary had not been able to stand on her own between the Western and Eastern Empires to fulfil her historic mission. This situation brought about the reign of Louis and Sigismund in Hungary, followed by the Habsburgs' ascending the throne. Matthias, "the son of the Saviour of Western Christianity, and heir of his mission" had every reason to believe himself worthy of acting as the leader of Western Christendom.¹⁴

According to Gusztáv Beksics, Hungarian authority over Central-Europe was not unprecedented. The more the Ottoman threat grew, the harder the Hungarian Kingdom tried to make alliances with the neighbouring states accepting their monarchs as kings of Hungary. In the Mid-Danubian region a strong state had to exist. This necessarily placed the Hungarian nation in the forefront: Hungary was to form this Mid-Danubian power. She had been able to do so for a long and glorious period, mostly, however, not by herself. More often than not, she had to rely on one of the neighbouring powers, or ally with them. Among these were Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and previously the Baltic

¹¹ László Szalay, *Magyarország története*. Pest, 1863. 366–367.

¹² Mihály Horváth, *Magyarország történelme*. Pest, 1871. 221–223.

¹³ Vilmos Fraknói, *Bakócz Tamás*. Budapest, 1889. 30.

¹⁴ Fraknói, *Mátyás*, 151–153.

states. Due to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, starting in the mid-fifteenth century, relations with the Western states received more and more attention.¹⁵ Similarly to Vilmos Fraknói, Bálint Hóman also elaborated on the foreign policy of Hungary during the reign of Matthias, and concluded that "Matthias had been the last great representative of the Hungary' being a great power rising upon the solid foundations of St. Stephen's monarchy and culminating in the age of Angevins." Matthias, was not only the last representative, but his reign crowned the European power of the Hungarian Kingdom.¹⁶

In post-war historiography, Erik Molnár's work, published in 1949, offered a new historical understanding and approach. Since Hungary could not expect any considerable support from the West against the Ottoman threat, the only way to escape it was to enter a larger state-complex under the reign of a monarch shared with the Western countries. The fact that historical necessity brought about this state after the death of Matthias proves that this was no utopia. Undeniably, the newly-formed power structure involved an element of risk that the power of balance could be shifted. Austria, Moravia and Silesia were more developed economically than Hungary, and the fact that Matthias made Vienna the capital of his empire after having captured it in 1485 meant a real shift in the power of balance. Although Erik Molnár called the process necessary, he evaluated Matthias as a conqueror during the creation of this larger state complex.¹⁷ One of the most significant Matthias-scholars of the age, Lajos Elekes also discussed the foreign policy of Matthias. According to his views, which reflect the general approach of the era, Matthias' foreign policy changed in the 1470s, when subsequently to "several years of unjust wars fought for mistaken goals", he turned against the Habsburgs. These anti-Habsburg sentiments were more and more accompanied by anti-Pope tendencies throughout the 1480s, simultaneously with the creation of the diplomatic conditions for standing up against the Ottomans.¹⁸ György Székely also argued that Hungary's situation had become more complex and difficult since the 1460s. The Habsburgs stabbed Hungary, involved in fighting against the Ottomans in the back several times forcing her to fight in two fronts. Putting down the league of barons within the country, and forcing back anti-Habsburg actions did go hand in hand in Matthias' policy. This, however, forced him into a disadvantageous series of conquests, which were very similar in the harm done to the development of the country to those done to Poland by Casimir of Jagiello's attempt to form a Central-Eastern European Monarchy.¹⁹

¹⁵ Gusztáv Beksics, *Mátyás király birodalma és Magyarország jövőképe*. Budapest, 1905. 11–49.

¹⁶ *Mátyás király*, 5.

¹⁷ Erik Molnár, *A magyar társadalom története az Árpádkortól Mohácsig*. Budapest, 1949. 332–333.

¹⁸ Lajos Elekes, *Mátyás és kora*. Budapest, 1956. 24.

¹⁹ *Magyarország története*. Ed. Erik Molnár. Budapest, 1964. 137.

Katalin Kisfaludy claimed that Matthias' foreign policy was a result of an exigency determined by the economic conditions of the country. He was convinced that the only way to achieve his goals was through the creation of a strong and solid state, an empire. He intended to expand his revenues by territorial conquests, in the meanwhile, his main task was supplying his military. That is why, in his campaigns he primarily targeted territories with weaker defences, including some parts of Austria.²⁰

Matthias, who was convinced to be destined to be the leader of the region, thought that – with suitable support – he would be able to defeat the Monarch of Bohemia, George of Poděbrady, and with the conquest of Bohemia could become the lord of such an empire that would be able to secure a proper background not only for the successful fight against the Ottomans, but for further expansion, as well. In Gyula Rázsó's view, however, this false judgement of the situation caused decades of losing fighting, an adventure full of crises in domestic and foreign policy.²¹ A few years later, Rázsó listed the three following options in foreign policy for Matthias against the Ottomans:

- with the assistance of European, mainly of neighbouring countries,
 - following the example of János Hunyadi, carry out an offensive war
- taking on a policy, occasionally military conflicts, improving the economy,
 - military potential in the long run
- aggressive attempt to strengthen the territorial integrity of the country.

For Matthias, this third option was “desperately grasping the opportunity offered by the moment”, as it seemed the only solution for saving the country. Therefore, it was obvious that he took this path, the country, however, was doomed.²²

Pál Engel also identified thinking in terms of larger power formations in the foreign policy of Matthias. In his understanding, Sigismund's empire consisting of a number of crowns, and his figure as a monarch were scales Matthias did measure himself up to.²³

András Kubinyi also frequently elaborated on the foreign policy of Matthias. Having created a strong royal power, he was able to gain international recognition for Hungary not only as a significant power, but as a citadel of humanism, as well. Hungarian influence could be expanded to Lower Austria and the Eastern Bohemian provinces, which, however, could not be preserved,

²⁰ Katalin Kisfaludy, *Matthias rex*. Budapest, 1983. 199–200.

²¹ *Magyarország hadtörténete*. Ed. Ervin Liptai. Budapest, 1984. 118.

²² Gyula Rázsó, “Hunyadi Mátyás török politikája”, In: *Hunyadi Mátyás emlékkönyv*, 118–119.

²³ Pál Engel, *Szent István birodalma*. História Könyvtár. Budapest, 2001. 264.

and neither did Matthias prove to be able to obtain the Emperorship ceasing the Habsburgs' claim to inherit the throne.²⁴

As it can be seen in the historians' interpretations, besides the concept of national monarchy, the presentation of Matthias' Hungary as part of a region, of a larger political formation also appeared. This can be approached from two angles: from the antecedents, and from the possible efforts of his contemporaries. I have already referred to the processes starting under the reign of Charles Robert, as well as the significant personalities and monarchs of this process. It has already been pointed out that Sigismund could also serve as a measure or model for Matthias. What follows here is an attempt to place the reign of Matthias in this dual context and approach.

In order to be able to form an opinion about the foreign policy of Matthias, it is indispensable to analyze the – inherited – circumstances among which he ascended the throne. By investigating the external expectations first, it can be established in this field he had to face the task of continuing the anti-Ottoman fights of János Hunyadi. In this respect, Matthias' activities by no means lived up to the expectations. In our view, this had several reasons:

The contemporaries seem to have got under the influence of the successful defence of Belgrade in 1456, because they forgot that none of the campaigns of János Hunyadi directed against targets outside the country were successful, and two concluded with serious defeats. (Varna and Kosovo) It became obvious as early as then, that the military potential of Hungary was insufficient to keep the Ottomans away from Hungary, not even with one of the most talented generals in the history of the country around. Chasing the Ottomans out of the Balkans or Europe could be suggested, its realization, however, was less and less likely as time passed.

Subsequently to 1456, high expectation surrounded a sweeping crusade. Within a few years, however, it became obvious that there a huge gap between these expectations and the reality. Let us here focus on two elements of this only. In a letter written by Pius II to Mohamed II in 1461, the pope made an attempt to reconcile the faiths of Islam and Christianity, what is more, called the Sultan to convert to Christianity. In this case, he offered to accept him as heir to the Byzantine Empire, to crown him and form an alliance with him! This idea had no practical political value whatsoever! Two years later, the called-upon crusade also came to nothing. Pius II was ready then to lead the campaign personally. He died in Ancona, but the campaign would have failed anyway.²⁵ After this, the concept of the crusades appeared in the public

²⁴ András Kubinyi, *Mátyás király*. Budapest, 2001. 153. For other studies by him see, Pál Engel–Gyula Kristó–András Kubinyi, *Magyarország története, 1301–1526*. Budapest, 1998. 263–267; *Magyarország története*. Ed. Ignác Romsics. Budapest, 2007. 240–247; *A magyar történelem vitatott személyiségei*. Budapest, 2008. 70.

²⁵ Jenő Gergely, *A pápaság története*. Budapest, 1982. 182–183.

mind and political thinking as a good-sounding trick, a possible mobilizing factor far from being effective. Being familiar with Matthias' sense of reality, it is unimaginable that he failed to recognize this!

It is by all means worth mentioning that the reign of Mohamed II was one of the most dynamic periods in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The sultan, besides conquering Byzantium in 1453, acquired all the territories between the Danube to the Euphrates, mostly waging two-front wars. By this, he set off the process of expansion which was to be continued and fulfilled by Selim I and Suleiman in the sixteenth century. It was then that the Ottomans gained control over Serbia (1459) and Bosnia (1463). Matthias managed to somewhat moderate the losses, but was unable to counteract the improvement of Ottoman positions. The Ottoman influence grew stronger and stronger in the Romanian principalities, as well. What is more, the Ottomans were victorious in the wars against Venice as well as against Uzun Hassan's Persian Empire.²⁶

Matthias' approach to the issue of Ottoman expansion was in many respects different from that of his royal predecessors and successors. Although contemporary humanists expected him to protect Europe from Ottoman and Bohemian heretics, Matthias rather applied Christianity in order to stress his intentions. By revisiting the theory of Hun-Hungarian kindred they created an entire ideological system, indicating Matthias as Attila II. This concept could mean a theoretical support for Western orientation. Mohamed II and Matthias were basically preparing for the same: establishing their own empires. To maintain the peaceful relationship between the two of them, even kindred was created between the Hungarian king and the Ottoman Sultan!²⁷

It seems that the balance of power between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary more and more shifted towards the former, therefore, Matthias' rather reserved foreign policy towards the Ottoman Empire might be considered justified in the above-outlined context.

What follows below is a glimpse at views on the political intentions and deeds of monarchs who were contemporaries of Matthias. We should start with the least active figure: George of Poděbrady, who came up with a European peace plan in 1463. He intended to create an alliance of monarchs securing peace and ensuring anti-Ottoman co-operation.²⁸ This plan – which Matthias disagreed with – came to nothing. The Bohemian king never forced foreign expansion, and, although he had sons, dynastic policy was not in the forefront of his activities either. He believed it served the interests of Bohemia the most if he offered his throne to the Jagiellonians.²⁹

²⁶ Pál Fodor–Klára Hegyi–Mária Ivanics, *Török és tatár hódítók*. Budapest, 1993. 32–36; István Draskóczy, *A tizenötödik század története*. Budapest, 2000. 207.

²⁷ Pál Fodor, *Tanulmányok az oszmán–török történelemről*. Budapest, 2001. 193–195.

²⁸ Imre Gonda–Emil Niederhauser, *A Habsburgok. Egy európai jelenség*. Budapest, 1977. 21–22.

²⁹ Josef Macek, "Corvin Mátyás és Poděbrád György", In: *Hunyadi Mátyás Emlékkönyv*, 204.

By acquiring the Lithuanian throne, Casimir of Jagiello got hold of such a power basis upon which he – similarly to several Western European countries – tried to set up a national party against his domestic rivals. In the war against the German Knighthood between 1454 and 1466 he managed to occupy considerable portions of land. In the last quarter of the century Casimir became the “Father of Central Europe”. In the triangular conflict of the Jagiellonian, Luxemburg, and Anjou Houses finally the Jagiellonians became victorious, and they were to counterbalance the “threatening presence” of the Habsburgs.³⁰ According to Katalin Szokolai, once Casimir had managed to check his domestic opposition, his marriage with Elisabeth of Austria opened up new opportunities for him. (Six children were born out of this marriage!) Casimir made huge efforts to acquire a leading role in the Central Eastern European region, and he wanted to place his sons on the thrones of neighbouring countries. His plans to gain a leading role, however, clashed with Matthias’ similar ambitions. The power of the Jagiellonian House peaked at the end of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century: Jagiellonian monarchs sat on the throne of Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, and Hungary. This is the age the Polish look back on with great nostalgia. The basis of Casimir’s success was primarily not his conquests, but they recognized the importance of an alliance and co-existence, and they built their dynastic relations by keeping this in mind.³¹ With Vladislas Jagiello ascending the throne of Bohemia, “the chance for establishing an Eastern great power under the leadership of the Jagiellonians appeared,” wrote Emil Niederhauser.³²

Naturally, we need to discuss the Habsburgs’ policy of the age. The Habsburg policy, linked to Frederick III, – in the background with the title of Holy Roman emperor – was typically of family nature which had significant results: it is enough to mention his treaty with Matthias in 1463, and his inheritance in Burgundy he got hold of with the help of Maximilian. This latter event was emphasized by Erich Zöllner, as well who considers this period the era of the rise of the Habsburg dynasty to world importance. He interprets Matthias’ confrontation with Frederick III as the “act of the ambitious and talented Hungarian king whose successes, however, proved to be short lived only.”³³

Tensions and differing opinions within the empire excluded the representation of a unified will and intention, but, according to the majority of historians, Frederick did not even possess these. In Hungary and Bohemia they could by all means lay claim to the throne through the earlier reign of Albert and Ladislaus V, but when trying to validate these claims they came across

³⁰ Norman Davies, *Lengyelország története*. Budapest, 2006. 122–123. (Note: the author does not even mention the name of Matthias!)

³¹ Katalin Szokolai, *Lengyelország története*. Budapest, 1996. 39.

³² Gonda–Niederhauser, 21.

³³ Erich Zöllner, *Ausztria története*. Budapest, 1998. 119–120.

several obstacles. Their own, direct ability to validate claims was way did not quite live up to what their titles would have required. Apparently, this region was not of primary importance for them. They tried to carry out their goals through political means or dynastic treaties. In terms of these latter two, they were unquestionably successful, and they had what the majority of historically significant Hungarian monarchs failed to have: time. Frederick III, for instance, set a number of age records in the fifteenth century: he lived for 78 years, ruled over Inner-Austria for 58 years, was a German king for 53 years, and emperor for 41 years!³⁴ He, as well as the Polish monarch, Casimir outlived Matthias, and since they had successors, passing on their power, and its continuity, theoretically was not endangered by anything. What is more, the situation became even more simple: the four political factors in the region, which had existed a few decades before, by then shrank to two with the death of George of Poděbrady and Matthias, and it was now their turn to solve the succession on the thrones of the region. Due to the nature of the Habsburgs' and Jagiellonians' aspirations, retrospectively, it seems very straightforward that they would come to an agreement, and so they did.

Having sketched the political aims of contemporary monarchs, it can be established that thinking in terms of larger political units and formations was considered natural in the period under our scrutiny, and, although with diverse motives, background and success, all of them contributed to its formation. Consequently, the career of Matthias Hunyadi can be considered fitting in the tendencies of the age, although it did possess unique characteristics.

An undeniably significant field of Matthias' foreign policy was the representation of the traditional interests of the Hungary Kingdom. As it has already been noted, his possibilities in opposing the more and more powerful and dynamic Ottoman Empire cannot be considered but limited. He did take steps to directly reinforce the border guard system (Jajca, Szabács), but the military defeats at Zvornik (1 November 1464), ravaging of Váradi (February 1474), and the Battle of Kenyérmező (13 October 1479), despite the Hungarian victory in this latter one, all indicate the weaknesses of the border defense. The conflict with prince of Moldavia, Ștefan cel Mare in December 1467 did not bring success either. The trespassing of Ottoman troops on Hungarian soil on their way to Austrian provinces became regular and caused severe political tensions. Hungary virtually lost her very favourable defence opportunities previously secured by buffer states, so, although the Ottomans were not able to occupy Hungarian territories under the reign of Matthias, his successors inherited a very difficult situation in this respect.

It was a natural ambition of the monarchs of the era to pursue such dynastic policy, which could solve preserving and expanding the positions of power

³⁴ Hans Bankl, *A Habsburg- ház betegei*. Budapest, 1999. 23.

as well as maintaining the continuity of the royal authority. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries did not favour Hungarian kings in this respect. Aside from Charles Robert, all monarchs had to face the fact that they had had no male heirs. Albert had a son born after his death, nevertheless, he managed to ascend the throne years later as Ladislaus V, and even then for a brief period. Matthias Hunyadi basically meant the continuation of this line. For him, primarily due to his ancestry, dynastic policy served an additional purpose: he wanted to integrate into the members of the royal families in Europe in general, and in the region in particular, and become unanimously acknowledged by the dynasties in power beyond the boundaries of his country.³⁵

The Treaty of Vienna Neustadt of 1463 was a significant watershed event in his reign, which sorted out the question of who would follow him on the throne, though did so, in an indecisive way in the long run both for himself and the country. The then-twenty-year-old king was probably well aware of the prospective consequences of having no male descendant, but in the given situation, he obviously considered that the risk could be taken, and it probably could be taken indeed. He had two marriages, but both remained childless. Unfortunately, neither of them lived up to the previous political expectations. A few years following the death of Catherine of Poděbrady Matthias turned against Bohemia, which totally excluded any prospect of Bohemian-Hungarian co-operation. His marriage with Beatrice of Aragon did not prove to be more successful either, as it did not really move forward Matthias' integration into the elite of European monarchs. The dynastic relationship had several, from a Hungarian point of view, not very fortunate consequences.³⁶ Between his two marriages, Matthias made several attempts to marry a partner who could have strengthen his positions in the region. He tried with Sophie, the daughter of Casimir IV and Elizabeth of Habsburg, and Kunigunde, the daughter of Frederick III, but in vain. In all likelihood, there was a Habsburg-Jagiellonian "alliance" against Matthias, the motivations of which can be understood, and perhaps can be accepted. As Kunigunde was born only in 1465, the Habsburg Court did not even had to exert itself in rejecting Matthias' proposal. As time passed, the issue of throne succession became more and more pressing, what seemed a possible solution was sorting out the situation of János Corvinus, his son born out of wedlock. This would have necessitated modifying the Treaty of Wiener Neustadt, for which Matthias would have been willing to make sacrifices. The Habsburgs, however, were aware that the passing of time favoured them, refused any kind of modification, and they had

³⁵ Reference to the parvenu nature of Matthias ancestry is made by, Josef Macek, *Hunyadi Mátyás Emlékkönyv*, 204; András Kubinyi, *Mátyás király. Nagy képes milleniumi arcképcsarnok*. (ed. Árpád Rácz) Budapest, 1999. 54.

³⁶ Karl Nehring, "Mátyás külpolitikája," In: *Mátyás király. 1458–1490*. Ed. Gábor Barta. Budapest, 1990. 107.

to wait patiently until they managed to acquire favourable positions. After these antecedents, it was almost natural that the Habsburgs and Jagiellonians made a conciliating new treaty in 1491, deciding about the fate of the Hungarian throne, and could not surprise the contemporaries.

Matthias Hunyadi applied primarily the very same methods in order to reach his political goals, as the ones he had used in securing the power for himself, already referred to. He also took part in armed conflicts (wars in Bohemia, the campaign in Silesia, wars in Austria), he made a number of treaties, ceasefires, and compromises. He started the above-mentioned war against Bohemia, for instance, with papal support and in alliance with Frederick III. He made peace treaties and ceasefires in the Western and Eastern theatres (Treaty of Olmütz in 1478, 5-year ceasefire with the Ottomans in 1483, pro-longed for further 3 years in 1488, ceasefire with Frederick III in August 1487, renewed in 1489). He could take pride in partial successes, as well: he was elected King of Bohemia in May 1469. According to the Peace Treaty of Gmuden-Korneuburg (December 1, 1477), Frederick III held himself liable to accepting Matthias as King of Bohemia, as well as of Electoral Palatinate.³⁷ In 1487 he became Duke of Austria as a reaction to Maximilian's becoming King of Rome.

Why can they be called partial successes? Frederick III and the Jagiellonians managed to counterbalance losing military positions with the titles of King of Bohemia and King of Rome (Holy Roman Emperor) by political means, and they prevented Matthias from reaching his real goals.³⁸ Both the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires were in the phase of expansion and development, their activities, circles of interest, however, were badly divided, which did not exclude, but rather indirectly allowed of the temporary and partial successes of Matthias Hunyadi.

How can the foreign policy of Matthias be evaluated by answering the question asked in the title?

In the period under our scrutiny, from the perspective of Hungary, Charles Robert set off a major political transformation in the region, fulfilled by Sigismund of Luxemburg. The activity of Matthias Hunyadi is to be considered as a unique attempt to adapt to the actual conditions.

In the long run, the age of János Hunyadi was the last one in the history of country in which all-embracing political and military initiatives started out from Hungary, and the country was not the sustainer and sufferer of the most significant events of the period, but the originator and shaper of them.

The temporarily-acquired territories, Moravia, Lausitz, Silesia, Lower-Austria, and especially Vienna, never belonged to the traditional spheres of

³⁷ These peace treaties secured the acknowledgement of Hungary's leading role for Matthias in the Danubian region. Karl Nehring, 110.

³⁸ Ibid. 112.

interest of Hungary, and their possession – even if temporarily – far outgrew the activities of a national monarch.

As both Bohemia and Austria had monarchs, contemporaries with Matthias, practising actual power, it does not seem fortunate to call the prevailing conditions personal union.

The fact that Matthias simultaneously turned against Frederick III, the Jagiellonians, and the pope did not increase his opportunities in the region. With so many enemies, accompanied by the lack of outright military superiority, it was statutory that he was unable to fulfil his goals, which had their roots in the conditions of the age, and without a suitable heir he did not have the slightest chance for making them long lasting.³⁹ It caused him great difficulties to secure the economic basis for his highly active foreign policy, as well, and it was not by chance that he got hold of the earlier-mentioned territories, which were far more developed economically than those in Hungary.

Many elements of Matthias' domestic policy were not supported by the national nobility. With Article I in 1492, the nobility managed to get the monarch to repeal all the reforms of Matthias, and to restore all of their traditional freedoms.⁴⁰

Placing the career of Matthias Hunyadi in the context of the tendencies outlined here, and presenting him as a primarily Central European king, in our understanding, is by no means less valuable than labelling him “only” a national monarch.

³⁹ Géza Herczegh, *Magyarország külpolitikája 896–1919*. Budapest, 1987. 80.

⁴⁰ Basically the very same happened after the death of Sigismund. See: Act of 1439, Article I.

ANTONÍN KALOUS

**MATTHIAS CORVINUS (HUNYADI)
IN CZECH HISTORIOGRAPHY**

*Mit Mathias verließ der mächtigste und berühmteste Herrscher Ungarns und zugleich der härteste Bedränger des böhmischen Volkes die Welt... Der Glanz und Ruhm, welche er dem ungarischen Namen verschaffte, verdunkelte sich bald wieder; des Schlag, den er dem böhmischen Reiche versetzte, war ein tödtlicher, der nie wieder vollständig heilte. Deshalb werden immer die ungarischen und böhmischen Stimmen auseinander gehen, wenn es sich um die Beurtheilung Andenkens handeln wird.*¹ This is a focal statement on Matthias Corvinus by the most famous and most influential historian, the founder of modern Czech historiography František Palacký (1798–1876). His work, *Dějiny národu českého* [History of the Czech nation] became the classical work for the Czech history; the national ideology of his book became the standard for thinking of Czech history for the second half of the nineteenth and big part of the twentieth centuries. Even though some parts of his work were reconsidered sooner (the oldest parts of Czech history written according to the forged ‘manuscripts’; the Hussite period), the Poděbrady period stayed in the mind of the general public codified in his words for a long time. Before I go on with the treatment of the pre- and post-Palacký historiography, a section from a Hungarian standard work on Matthias from the late-nineteenth century must be presented. Vilmos Fraknói (1843–1924) wrote when closing the biography of Matthias: *Zwar ist alles, was er mit seinen siegreichen Waffen errungen, plötzlich nach seinem Tode verloren worden; das glänzende Gebäude, was sein Genie aufgebaut, unter seinem unbedeutenden Nachfolger zusammengestürzt; – aber den Glanz seines Namens und den Ruhm seiner Thaten hat er seiner Nation als unvergänglichen Schatz.*² The same wording of the two German translations with exactly opposite standpoints is quite telling.

Matthias Hunyadi has never been a very popular personality in Czech historiography: the reasons are many but this statement has also its limitations. The evaluations and elucidation of trends in the historiography from the earliest pe-

¹ Franz Palacký, *Geschichte von Böhmen*. Vol. V/1 Prague: Friedrich Tempsky, 1865. 326.

² Wilhelm Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus, König von Ungarn. 1458–1490* Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1891. 316.

riod up to the present time will form the content of this small article. What problems then can one come across in Czech history writing? Where is the start of the nationalist historiography and the national myth? Is the diction and language of the sources different? Is the understanding of the king's position in Czech history identical for all historians and for all ages? These and many more are the questions that one may ask.

Let us briefly summarise the relation of Matthias to the Czech lands. During his long reign he was constantly coming to contacts with the them. The first occasion was in 1457, when he was imprisoned by King Ladislav and transported to Prague as his captive. After the king's death it seemed natural and even necessary to start a close collaboration with the Governor of Bohemia, George of Poděbrady. Both of them became kings of their countries very soon. Even though the cooperation was confirmed with the treaties of 'eternal friendship' signed on the Moravian-Hungarian border in Strážnice (1458), it lasted for, perhaps, half a year. The Central-European political scene had more than just two cardinal players and the significant role of Emperor Frederick III soon proved to be decisive. Especially George was changing sides very freely. In 1461 the royal marriage that was previously agreed on came into being as George's daughter Catherine married Matthias. Finally, a peaceful cooperation might have been expected but the wedlock lasted merely until early 1464 when the young queen died. Then again and definitely the close relations were broken and the interactions changed slowly from political cooperation through negotiations towards war. It started in 1468 and lasted till the end of George's days only to be continued under George's follower Wladislav II until the armistice of late 1474 and final peace treaty of 1478/1479. In the meantime, however, Matthias was elected king of Bohemia by the Catholic estates mostly of Bohemia and Moravia. This was a crucial event for the later understanding of the role of Matthias in the Czech national history. The following years were, at least in Bohemia and Moravia, relatively uneventful; the essential problem, however, was the political splitting of the Czech lands. In spite of the Olomouc treaty of 1479 (which stated that Moravia, Silesia and Lusatias should be pawned to the Hungarian Crown unless paid out) the death of Matthias brought a new unity of the lands under the Jagiellonian kings.

The standpoints of the sources and contemporary historiography of Bohemia and Moravia are naturally not the same: due to the political and religious conflicts of the time. So the fact is that the diction of Palacký is not new in the nineteenth century. The Bohemian Utraquist sources of the period were already very hostile to King Matthias. There is no big court chronicle of this period, but the continuation of the Hussite urban historiography was very widespread and reflecting the Utraquist ideology well. The compilation of *Staré letopisy české* [Old Czech Annals] for example relate the 1469 Olomouc election of Matthias as: "The Hungarian king had a congress in Olomouc made; in this convention there were all lords from Moravia and Bohemia, his partisans and also from Hungary.

And then, they elected him king, among others Zdeněk [of Šternberk] with all other partisans... But it would be arduous for this king to come to Prague or Karlštejn; and gaining the crown of Bohemia to name himself King of Bohemia lawfully and not mendaciously.”³ A description from the other side by Peter Eschenloer, a Wrocław scribe, is again substantially different, celebrating the new king and praising him for organising a great feast in Olomouc.⁴ The religious affiliation makes a nice and clear-cut division, but it was not always so. The Catholics sometimes also doubted or even disbelieved the king, which may be seen in some further comments of Peter Eschenloer when Wrocław was deprived of some of its privileges under the rule of the strong king.

There are other Czech writers, whose relation to the king was ambivalent. They criticised the king from various standpoints, but also praised him. For example Jan Dubravius (1486–1553) in his *Historiae regni Bohemiae* did not have many qualitative statements, but in his *Theribolia*, a discussion between the Lion (King) and other animals who give advices for a good government, written for Louis II, King Matthias is on the one hand criticised for vain glory in changing his name to Corvinus (from his father’s name Hunyadi), on the other, Dubravius admires him for the kind attitude to all the people including simple soldiers as well as for the glory of his feasts.⁵ Similarly Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic (1461–1510), the great humanist in the court of Wladislas II, often mentioned the late king. In some of his epigrams he compares Wladislas and Matthias and the most important characteristics of Matthias is a cruel reign in Hungary. In one poem called “Bohemia to sister Hungary” (*Boemia ad Hungariam sororem*) Bohemia wishes Hungary that no future king want to torment the country, no further Matthias come. In his writing Matthias is also praised for his wealth. In his tract *De avaritia* Hasištejnský strongly criticised Matthias for organising attempts to assassinate Wladislas. In some of his letters with historical content he mentions the wars with George and then Wladislas and portrays Matthias as a monarch who was suppressing the lords and elevating the poor and he even states that Matthias wanted himself to be seen as the “threat of the world.”⁶

³ František Palacký, Ed., *Starší letopisové čeští od roku 1378 do 1527* [Old Czech Annals 1378–1527] In: *Dílo Františka Palackého* [The oeuvre of František Palacký] Ed. Jaroslav Charvát Praha: L. Mazáč, 1941. Vol. II. 172.; a slightly longer text In: František Šimek, ed., *Staré letopisy české z vřatlavského rukopisu* [Old Czech Annals from the Wrocław manuscript] Prague: Historický spolek and Společnost Husova musea, 1937. 140.

⁴ Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Vol. I–II. Ed. Gunhild Roth. Münster, New York, Munich and Berlin: Waxmann, 2003. Vol. II. 758–9.

⁵ Jan Dubravius, *Theribolia / Rada zvířat*, Ed. Miroslav Horna and Eduard Petrů. Prague: Academia, 1983. 110, 130–132, 178; Idem, *Historiae regni Bohemiae* Prostějov, 1552.

⁶ Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic, *Carmina selecta*. Ed. Jan Martínek. Prague: Aula, 1996. 68–70, 108–110, 122; Bohuslav Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz, *Epistulae*. Ed. Jan Martínek et Dana Martínková Leipzig: Teubner, 1969. 10–11, 15–16, 44, 52 (*terror orbis videri voluit*); Bohuslav Hassensteinii baro de Lobkowicz, *Scripta moralia*, Ed. Bohumil Ryba. Leipzig: Teubner, 1937. 18.

Later Bohemian historians did not consider Matthias as their sovereign, as for example Bartoloměj Paprocký z Glogol (1540–1614) shows. Even though he was Polish by origin, he wrote a number of historical works in Bohemia; in his lists of Kings of Bohemia, like in those of others, Matthias is always missing.⁷

Modern historiography of the Czech lands started in the mid-nineteenth century with František Palacký. He was a strong opponent of Matthias and his work contains a number of sound statements clearly opposing the Hungarian king: Palacký did not spare him not only attacks on his anti-Bohemian policy resulting in less activity against the Ottomans and subjugation of his own land,⁸ but also moral repudiation and criticism.⁹ What were the reasons for such a shrewd rejection of the King of Hungary and Bohemia? The reasons that led Palacký to such definitive statements are quite clear today. It is the very nature of the nineteenth-century nationalist historiography, for which it was necessary to resort to such declarations. The war of Matthias against the Bohemian national hero, George of Poděbrady is a crucial point, and of course, all other topics which are connected – war against the Utraquists, who carried on the Hussite tradition, in which Matthias was representing the deadliest enemy of the Czech nation, the Roman Catholic Church (the Hussite period was viewed by Palacký as the climax of the national history) and also the splitting of the country and thus endangering the

⁷ Bartoloměj Paprocký z Glogol a Paprocké Vůle, *Diadochos*, Vol. 1 Prague, 1602. (rpt. Brno: Garn, 2005.)

⁸ Palacký, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, IV/2. Prague, 1860. 669.; “Niemand wird aber in Zweifel ziehen können, daß wenn der vorzüglichste Schirmvogt der Christenheit von damals, König Mathias von Ungarn, seine Kräfte nicht in Eben so erfolglosem als unrühmlichem Kampfe mit den utraquistischen Böhmen vergeudet und erschöpft hätte, er in der Zurückstauung der Türkenfluth auf der Thracischen Halbinsel, wo sie noch neu und nicht festgewurzelt war, ungleich größere Verdienste und höheren Ruhm hätte gewinnen können. Es ist nicht eitel Vermuthung, wenn wir behaupten, daß Ungarn den Mißgriff und die Schuld seines gepriesensten Königs hinterdrein durch ein beinahe zweihundertjähriges blutiges Leiden abzubüßen hatte”.

⁹ For example, the above mentioned quotation goes on as follows: “Daß er ungewöhnliche Geistesgaben, auch viele Vorzüge und Tugenden eines großen Herrschers besaß und in dieser Beziehung vielen in der Geschichte berühmt gewordenen Fürsten gleich kam, darüber wird es wohl keinen Streit geben: desto mehr aber über seinen moralischen Charakter und Werth. Wir halten dafür, daß der hohe Werth eines Menschen weniger in Physischen und Verstandesanlagen und entsprechender Tüchtigkeit, als vielmehr in seiner sittlichen Bestimmung und Auf-führung, im gerechten und edlen Handeln beruhe, und daß wenn Jemand auch die ganze Welt von oberst zu unterst gekehrt hätte, er doch nicht als großer Mann gelten könne, wofern er keinen sittlichen Werth besäße. Mathias war allerdings zu scharfsichtig, als daß er die Bedeutung der Sittlichkeit und Tugend im gewöhnlichen Leben verkannt hätte, und deshalb zeigte er sich auch gern gerecht, großmüthig, edel und freundlich, wenn dies seinem persönlichen Vortheil und seinen Wünschen nicht entgegen war; die Freigebigkeit, besonders gegen Gelehrte und Künstler, war bei ihm ein vernünftiges und löbliches Bestreben, seinen Ruhm bei Zeitgenossen und Nachkommen zu sichern: sein Egoismus war aber roh und unbändig, er anerkannte kein Gesetz über sich, wollte nichts von Selbstverläugnung, nichts von Gerechtigkeit gegen Feinde, nichts von Dankbarkeit gegen Wohlthäter wissen; die Welt sah wenig Heuchler, die ihm gleich gekommen wären...” Palacký, *Geschichte*, Vol. V/1. 326–327.

land's unity. Thus, it is a case of utter conflict with the national myth as created by Palacký in the nineteenth century.

Josef Válka (born 1929) elucidated the standpoints of Palacký very clearly. There were two complex constructs running through all his work; first of all, it was the philosophy of history with the main reason in the background which was the nation itself. Válka says: "While the historical-philosophical scheme was in the Czech historiography antiquated long ago, the moral characterology still persists until present day, but then without the solid religious-philosophical basis of the moralist Palacký."¹⁰ And the question of moral character of historical personalities is the other crucial construct of Palacký. His strong concern can be seen in the vivid description of the character of George of Poděbrady for whom Matthias served as a direct opposite: "King George never stopped, during his life, to take Matthias as almost his foster son on the Hungarian throne. He saw in him just a young man of exuberant spirits and full of jokes, as he met him and took a fancy to him in Prague in his family. However often insulted and deceived by him, he ascribed it rather to his somewhat childish exuberance or liveliness than to bad will. George again and again let himself appeased by his hypocrisy and flattery and showed towards him similar fragility as magnanimous Otakar II towards Philip of Kärnten, his treacherous cousin."¹¹ The relation of George and Matthias, which formed the axis of Palacký's narrative, was gradually reconsidered by modern Czech historiography and finally analysed by Josef Macek (1922–1991), who radically rejected the moralistic statements of the founder of Czech historiography.¹² Nevertheless, these moralistic statements are still a part of the popular history writing and even part of the textbooks. The strongest problems in the relation of George and Matthias is not the fact that George was the first who broke the treaty of Strážnice in 1458, but the fact that Matthias started war against his former father-in-law and also that he did not keep his promises after being tactically defeated near Vilémov, where he got into the hands of George who released him (according to some historians the biggest mistake of George) after Matthias promised to work for appeasement between George and the pope. In popular history the two kings are still understood as contrasting personalities,

¹⁰ Josef Válka, "Matyáš Korvín a Česká koruna" [Matthias Corvinus and the Crown of Bohemia] *Časopis Matice moravské* 110 (1991) 315.

¹¹ Palacký, *Geschichte*, Vol. IV/2. 507.

¹² Josef Macek, "Král Jiří a král Matyáš. Od přátelství k nepřátelství (1458–1469)" [King George and King Matthias: From friendship to enmity (1458–1469)] *Časopis Matice moravské* 110 (1991) 297–311, which is a shortened version of Idem, "Corvin Mátyás és Poděbrad György" [King Matthias and George of Poděbrady. In: *Hunyadi Mátyás: Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* [Matthias Hunyadi: Memorial Volume to the 500th anniversary of the death of King Matthias] Eds. Gyula Rázsó–László V. Molnár. Budapest, 1990. 201–244.

even though they were both using all the possibilities given to them by their positions as late medieval kings.¹³

But back to Palacký. In his work he was strictly taking over the diction of the sources, so his conclusions may seem right. What he lacks, however, is the deeper analysis of the sources. Nevertheless, his work is still very useful, precisely for the fact that he collected a large number of various pieces of evidence, since a general court chronicle (the type of Bonfini) lacks for this period.¹⁴ Palacký's history of the nation had, of course, a big success and the ideology behind it became the national myth. He, thus, had many followers, the most significant of whom is Rudolf Urbánek (1877–1962), who dedicated his whole scholarly life to the research of the period and personality of George of Poděbrady,¹⁵ or Ernest Denis (1849–1921), a French historian, whose work became extremely famous in Czech translations (often with additions) by Jindřich Vančura (1856–1936) and was in line with Palacký's ideology.¹⁶ In their statements they were similarly deprecatory as Palacký. Their judgements spread in the popular history writing of the pre-WWI and inter-war period (e.g. Jaroslav Kosina, 1862–1928)¹⁷ and especially in the historical novels of Alois Jirásek (1851–1930) and historical paintings of Mikoláš Aleš (1852–1913), Věnceslav Černý (1865–1936), or book illustrator Stanislav Hudeček.

With the creation of the new Czechoslovak republic the national myths would come to conflict, since there was the Bohemian tradition of Matthias as a national foe and the popular Slovak tradition of Matthias as a good king. There was a personality, however, who helped to overcome the conflict: Jan Jiskra of Brandýs. He was the military captain, who led some remnants of the Hussite troops to northern Hungary and fought against John Hunyadi and his son later on. His affinity to the Habsburgs was not stressed, but his fight against Matthias was in line with the later struggles of George. This tendency continued also in the post-WWII years and in the Marxist historiography, which also stressed the close contacts between Slovakia and Moravia in this time (language, property of magnates on both sides of the border etc.). Jan Jiskra surely became one of the national he-

¹³ E.g. Petr Hora-Hořejš, *Toulky českou minulostí* [The strolls through the Czech past]. Vol. II. Prague: Baronet, 1995. 398–420.; Stanislava Jarolímková, *Co v učebnicích nebývá, aneb Čeští panovníci, jak je Možná neznáte* [What usually misses in the textbooks, or Czech rulers as you maybe do not know them], Vol. I. Prague: Motto, 2006. 253.

¹⁴ Evaluated thus by Válka, "Matyáš Korvín," 314.

¹⁵ Especially Rudolf Urbánek, *Husitský král* [The Hussite King] Prague: Vesmír, 1926.; and Idem, *České dějiny* [Czech history], Part 3. Vol. III–IV. Prague: Jan Laichter, 1930; Prague: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1962.

¹⁶ For the period of Matthias, Arnošt Denis, *Konec samostatnosti české* [The end of Czech independence], Vol. I. Prague: Šolc a Šimáček, 1932.

¹⁷ E.g. Jaroslav Kosina, *Velikáni našich dějin* [The great men of our history] Prague: Vilímek, s.d.; Idem, *Ilustrované dějiny světové* [The illustrated world history], Vol. II. *Středověk* [The Middle Ages] Prague: Vilímek, 1928.

roes, not comparable to George, but still as good as other Hussite leaders, and received a considerable attention from Czech as well as Slovak historians.¹⁸

With the post-WWII period the Marxist historiography became the only tool for the interpretation of the national past. The nation equalled the lower strata of the society and thus the Hussite “revolutionary movement” was seen as the class-struggle. It was different from the national historiography in the tradition of the nineteenth century, but the Hussites were still central to Czech history. In some works one could read about the “imperialist war of Hungarian king Matthias” and that Matthias was held responsible for the Germanisation of northern Moravia and Silesia.¹⁹ The Marxist historiography also stressed the myth of the centralisation of the land and struggle against the magnates during being the king of the people (still remembered in the Slovak folklore songs and stories).²⁰ Marxism was strongly present in historiography mostly in the 1950s; with the 1960s historians started to re-think various national myths. George of Poděbrady received a considerable amount of attention and consequently the role of Matthias was re-evaluated.

George of Poděbrady was the main subject for Rudolf Urbánek, who still published in the early 1960s. A few years after his last book three biographies of George appeared; those of an American scholar Frederick G. Heymann, a Czech exile in the USA Otakar Odložilík (1899–1973) and Josef Macek.²¹ They all followed Urbánek (and had various reasons for it), but also stressed other sources and did not try to create another positivist treatment. (Urbánek managed to get to year 1464 with his four thousand-page volumes.) Especially Josef Macek gave Matthias a more favourable treatment in relation to King George. He was gradually leaving the position of the strong Marxist and supporter of the national cause of George: thus, in 1990 he contributed to the festive volume of Matthias with radically changed interpretations. Matthias was newly remembered as a Czech king also with the small article by František Šmahel (born 1934), whose attention

¹⁸ E.g. Rudolf Urbánek, “Prvních sto let utrakvismu” [First hundred years of Utraquism], In: *Československá vlastivěda*, Vol. IV. *Dějiny* [History] Prague: „Sfínx“ Bohumil Janda, 1932. 163–340; Idem, *České dějiny*. Part 3. Vol. IV. 490–499.; Péter Ratkoš in *Přehled československých dějin* [Overview of Czechoslovak history], Vol. 1, *Do roku 1848* [Until 1848] Prague: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1958. 232–262.

¹⁹ Adolf Turek and Lumír Jisl, “Ostravsko za česko-uherské války ve světle písemných pramenů i archeologických nálezů” [Ostrava region during Czech-Hungarian war In: The light of written sources and archaeological finds], *Časopis Slezského muzea v Opavě. Serie B – vědy historické* 3 (1953) 1–24.

²⁰ For Slovak tradition with a strong Marxist background Ján Komorovský, *Kráľ Matej Korvín v ľudovej prozaickej slovesnosti* [King Matthias Corvinus in popular prose tradition] Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1957. For historical narrative mostly Josef Macek and Péter Ratkoš, mentioned earlier.

²¹ Frederick G. Heymann, *George of Bohemia: King of Heretics* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.; Otakar Odložilík, *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs, 1440–1471*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965.; Josef Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad* [George of Poděbrady] Prague: Svobodné slovo, 1967.

was brought to the king thanks to his research in Central-European Humanism.²² After the 1960s there was no substantial research on King George in official Czechoslovak historiography; the situation changed slightly after 1990.

Before we get to the last twenty years of Czech historiography, one complex problem must be mentioned. It is the conflicting ideology of Bohemia and Moravia (the other Czech lands will be left aside). Moravian historiography was not that hostile to Matthias and accepted him as king. Tomáš Pešina z Čechorodu in his *Mars moravicus* is relatively neutral, as well as František Moravec and Adolf Pilař in their Moravian history. Both were using Antonio Bonfini as their main source for their descriptions of the king. These pre-Palacký authors definitely did not stress the national conflicts.²³ And there was even a tradition, for example represented in Uherský Brod, which claimed that the name of Matthias Corvinus should be “carved in golden letters” (written by Václav Letocha, 1669–1738).²⁴ Vincenc Brandl (1834–1901) was active from the 1860s and used the national argumentation of Palacký and thus changed the interpretation of Moravian history, which had been a little bit more favourable to Matthias.²⁵ It was only Josef Válka during the 1970s and 1980s who stressed the period of Matthias in Moravia and really brought back the understanding of the sources. He wrote “we cannot get rid of the idea that under Matthias the Moravians felt very good and ideally got along with him.”²⁶

The post-1989 period in Czech historiography brought a renewed interest in the Middle Ages, but the names of those working on Matthias are still not very numerous. The scholarly historiography finally and definitely left the moralistic and emotional judgements. The cardinal work of Josef Macek on the Jagiellonian period in the Czech lands, which was written in the 1970s and 1980s, could only be published after the turnover. The first volume contains probably the most detailed treatment of the personality of Matthias Corvinus in the Czech historical

²² František Šmahel, “Matyáš Korvín” [Matthias Corvinus] *Dějiny a současnost* 7 (1965) 5: 14–19.; later elaborated in Idem, “Matthias Corvinus: Der böhmische König (1469–1490)”, In: *Der Herrscher in der Doppelpflicht: Europäischen Fürsten und ihre beiden Throne*. Ed. Heinz Duchhardt. Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1997. 29–49; on Humanism, Idem, *Humanismus v době poděbradské* [Humanism in The Poděbrady era] Prague: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1963.

²³ Thomas Joannes Pessina de Czechorod, *Mars Moravicus*. Prague: Joannes Arnolt de Dobrosławina, 1677.; Franciscus Moravec and Adolfus Pilař, *Moraviae Historia Politica et Ecclesiastica cum notis et animadversionibus criticis*. Vol. II. Brno: Joannes Silvester Siedler, 1786.

²⁴ Václav Fr. Letocha, *Památky města Brodu Uherského*. [The memories of Uherský Brod] Ed. Bohumil Sobotík. Uherský Brod: Musejní společnost, 1942. 22.

²⁵ E.g. his popular *Kniha pro každého Moravana* [A book for every Moravian] Brno: Fr. Šrom, 1863. (rpt. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna and Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 2008)

²⁶ Josef Válka, *Středověká Morava* [Medieval Moravia] (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 1991.; his earlier studies were published in Idem, *Husitství na Moravě. Náboženská snášlivost. Jan Amos Komenský* [Hussitism in Moravia; Religious tolerance; Jan Amos Komenský] Brno: Matice moravská, 2005.

literature, stressing the Czech literary as well as other sources.²⁷ Building on their previous work it was mostly Josef Macek, Josef Válka, František Šmahel, Ivo Hlobil (an art historian) and Petr Čornej, who were bringing Matthias to the centre of attention, but still without any major contribution dedicated to the king himself.²⁸ Apart from these authors, the specialised works of the second half of the twentieth century were usually concentrating on minor or specific problems of the reign of Matthias, as for example the relation of Matthias to České Budějovice,²⁹ war in northern Moravia and Silesia,³⁰ Matthias was considered among the other Kings of Bohemia for his entries to Moravian³¹ as well as Silesian (mainly Wrocław) cities;³² an analysis of the reign of George of Poděbrady with some comparisons to Matthias was published in the early 1990s by Jaroslav

²⁷ Josef Macek, *Jagiellonský věk v českých zemích* [Jagiellonian Age in the Czech lands], Vol. I. *Hospodářská základna a královská moc* [The economic basis and the royal power] Prague: Academia, 1992. 263–291. Five of the intended seven volumes were published: Idem, *Jagiellonský věk*, 4 Vols. Prague: Academia, 1992–1999); Idem, *Věra a zbožnost jagiellonského věku* [Belief and piety of the Jagiellonian age] Prague: Argo, 2001.

²⁸ Their works mentioned previously, plus Ivo Hlobil and Eduard Petřů, *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, 2d rev. Ed. (Olomouc: Votobia, 1999); the most significant and most recent contribution on Matthias in the Czech lands lately Petr Čornej and Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [The history of the lands of the Crown of Bohemia], Vol. 6, 1437–1526 Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2007.

²⁹ Karel Pletzer, “České Budějovice za Matyáše Korvína (1468–1490)” [České Budějovice under Matthias Corvinus, 1468–1490] In: *Minulost a současnost Českých Budějovic: Studie a materiály I.* [The past and present of České Budějovice: Studies and materials, Vol. 1] České Budějovice, 1969. 17–56; Jiří Miličák, “Mincovna Matyáše Korvína v Českých Budějovicích a otázka identifikace její produkce” [The mint of Matthias Corvinus in České Budějovice and the problem of identification of its production] In: *Pavel Radoměřský: Sborník numismatických studií k 75. výročí narození.* [Pavel Radoměřský: A collection of numismatic studies on occasion of his 75th birthday], Ed. Luboš Polanský. Prague: Numismatická společnost československá v Praze, 2002. 62–80.

³⁰ Turek and Jisl, “Ostravsko.”

³¹ Tomáš Borovský and Robert Antonín, “Venit Rex! Panovnícké vjezdy do středověkého Brna” [Venit Rex! Sovereign entries to medieval Brno], *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 18 (2005) 57–93; Robert Antonín, Tomáš Borovský, and Demeter Malat'ák, “Královský itinerář a královské slavnosti středověké Moravy” [The royal itinerary and the celebrations of medieval Moravia], *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity C* 54 (2007) 99–120.

³² Vojtěch Černý, “Zklamané naděje. Pobyt Matyáše Korvína ve Vratislavi r. 1469” [Dashed Hopes: Matthias Corvinus' 1469 visit to Wrocław], In: *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi* [Europe and Bohemia at the end of the Middle Ages: A collection of articles dedicated to František Šmahel], Ed. Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup. Prague: CMS, Filosofia, 2004. 187–194.; Mlada Holá, “‘Fuit honorifice susceptus.’ Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi v pozdním středověku” [The homage journeys of Czech rulers to Wrocław in the later Middle Ages], In: *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu.* [Crown lands in the history of the Czech state], Vol. 3., Ed. Lenka Bobková and Jana Konvičná Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2007. 273–299.; Martin Čapský, “Král obklopen kacíři. Slavnosti na počest Ladislava Pohrobka ve Svidnici a ve Vratislavi” [The king surrounded by heretics: Feasts to honour Ladislav Posthumous in Świdnica and Wrocław], In: *Rituály, ceremonie a festivity ve střední Evropě 14. a 15. století* [Rituals, ceremonies and festivities in Central Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], Eds. František Šmahel and Martin Nodl. Prague: CMS.

Boubín;³³ and some smaller studies were also published.³⁴ I myself dedicated my PhD dissertation and some studies to the diplomats and external diplomatic relations of Matthias and his reign in Moravia as well as the functioning of his court; currently the king's biography is being finalised.

It is clear that the reign of Matthias has so far not produced any considerable research that would match the Hungarian interest of the king. First of all the problem may be seen in conflict with the national myth, but there are several other reasons that can be identified. The Hussite period with its extension to the reign of George of Poděbrady was always central for Czech medieval history. Then, the coming of the Habsburgs was also of interest, since the national myth once included the story of the three-hundred-year subjugation under the Austrians. Thus the period in between became forgotten and not interesting. The Jagiellonian period it received much less attention than what preceded and what followed. To some extent it is a situation similar to that of Hungary and the Jagiellonians. The need for better understanding and research of this period was expressed before,³⁵ but Macek's monumental work was published only posthumously.³⁶

Another reason might be the language problem: the most important secondary literature about Matthias is, naturally, written in Hungarian of which Czech historians usually have only a slight knowledge and that is the reason for not studying Matthias more deeply. This is, however, a problem of Central-European historiography, which is written in too many languages, which limit the possibilities of communication. Thus, only international cooperation (and good language education, one might say) may bring a better understanding of the later Middle Ages, when all the countries became very closely connected through political as well as cultural and religious bonds. There still remains vast space for further research in the field, in the reign of Matthias Corvinus (and the Jagiellonians) as well as in source publication. The task, then, might be to re-think the often obsolete, but still persistent national myths and find a common, non-conflicting understanding of the past, even though it always has to be limited with a tint of respective national traditions.

³³ Česká "národní" monarchie: K domácím zdrojům a evropskému kontextu království Jiřího z Poděbrad. [Czech "national" monarchy: The home sources and European context of the kingdom of George of Poděbrady] Prague: Historický ústav, 1992.

³⁴ Rudolf Tecl, "Zdravotní potíže 'českého krále' Matyáše Korvína v jihočeském listě z roku 1478," [Health problems of the 'King of Bohemia' – Matthias Corvinus in a south-Bohemian letter from 1478], *Jihočeský sborník historický* 62 (1993) 207–208 (notice the quotation marks for the king of Bohemia!); Zdeněk Nechanický, *Matyáš Korvín a jeho mincovnictví v zemích Koruny české* [Matthias Corvinus and his minting in the Czech lands] Hradec Králové: Česká numizmatická společnost pobočka v Hradci Králové, 1996.

³⁵ E.g. Jaroslav Marek, "Městská síť na Moravě v 15. a 16. století" [The town network in Moravia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], *Časopis Matice moravské* 90 (1971) 281.

³⁶ Otherwise Palacký's (quoted earlier) and Tomek's works remain basic for the event history; Wáclav Wladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*. [History of Prague] Vol. VI–X. Prague: Museum Království českého, 1885–1894.

GÁBOR BRADÁCS

**DURCHLEWCHTIG UND GROSSMÄCHTIG
KÖNIG MATTHIAS VON UNGARN – MATTHIAS CORVINUS
IN DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG
DES SPÄTEN 15. JAHRHUNDERTS***

In diesem Vortrag möchte ich die Darstellung der Lebensgeschichte des König Matthias Corvinus' von Ungarn in der österreichischen Geschichtsschreibung des 15. Jahrhunderts präsentieren. Die Anzahl erzählender Quellen aus den österreichischen Erbländern im Zeitalter König Matthias' ist relativ gering; wir verfügen über zahlreiche Briefe, Urkunden, normative Texte, wie z. B. Gesetze, Stadtbücher (besonders die Stadtbücher von Krems und Stain) und Berichte ausländischer Boten und Legaten. Ich erwählte aus dieser Epoche vier Verfasser: *Thomas Ebendorfer*, *Johannes Tichtel*, *Jakob Unrest* und die anonymen *Verfasser der Melker Annalen (Annales Mellicenses)*. Vier verschiedene Segmente der österreichischen Gesellschaft lassen sich von dieser Autoren repräsentieren.

* Das Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen:

- AÖG: *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen* (1848–1865); *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* (seit 1865).
- DA: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
- FRA: *Fontes rerum Austriacarum. Österreichische Geschichtsquellen. I. Scriptorum; II. Diplomataria et acta.*
- JbflknÖ NF: *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde Niederösterreichs. Neue Folge*
- LMA: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Hrsg. von Robert-Henri Bautier et al. Bd. 1–9. München–Zürich, 1980–1999.
- MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae historica. SS: Scriptorum in folio; SS rer Germ NS: Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, nova series.*
- MIÖG: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* (1880–1958); *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (seit 1958).
- MKE I–II: *Mátyás király emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves évfordulójára* (Festschrift für Matthias Corvinus aus Anlass seines 500jährigen Geburtsjubiläum). Hrsg. von Imre Lukinich. Budapest, 1940.
- MKL: *Mátyás király levelei. Külügyi osztály 1458–1490. Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae exterae* (Die Briefe des Königs Matthias Corvinus. Auswärtige Klasse). Hrsg. von Vilmos Fraknói. Bd. I–II. Budapest 1893–1895.
- RI Regg. F.III.: *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493). Nach Archiven und Bibliotheken geordnet.*
- VL: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Hrsg. von Kurt Ruh–Burghart Wachinger. Bd. 12. Berlin–New York, 1978–2006².

Die Verfasser der *Continuatio Mellicenses* (die Fortsetzung der älteren Reihe der *Annales Mellicenses*¹) waren die Mönche eines der reichsten und ältesten Klöster Österreichs, des Benediktinerstifts Melk (Niederösterreich). Obwohl die Blütezeit der österreichischen Annalistik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts schon vorbei war, wurde die lange Tradition der Annalenschreibung im Kloster Melk fortgesetzt. Die Melker Jahrbücher gehören zu den ältesten Leistungen der Annalenliteratur Österreichs.² Die Erzählung der *Annales Mellicenses* beginnt mit der Geburt Christi und endet mit dem Jahre 1564, der Annalenteil³ ist allerdings sehr lückenhaft. 1123 wurden die ersten Nachrichten in die *Annales Mellicenses* eingetragen, als Abt *Erchanfried* den Stift im Sinne der monastischen Reformen regierte.⁴ Von nicht weniger als 115 Annalisten wurde das ganze Werk verfasst. Wie Alphons Lhotsky bemerkte: „*Bis ins XIV. Jahrhundert waren die Eintragungen quantitativ recht durchschnittlich, dann aber nahmen sie an Umfang und an Lebhaftigkeit der Ausdrucksweise zu, auch an Vielseitigkeit der Interessen*“.⁵ Wir können diese Vielseitigkeit auch bei der Schilderung der Lebensgeschichte und der politischen Tätigkeit des Matthias Corvinus sehen. Zur Geschichte des König Matthias' tragen die *Annales Mellicenses* mit Informationen zwischen 1453 und 1490 bei.⁶

Thomas Ebendorfer ist der älteste Autor dieser Gruppe.⁷ Er wurde 1388 in Haselbach bei Korneuburg (Niederösterreich) geboren und entstammte aus einer vermögenden Bauernfamilie. 1408 ließ er sich an der Wiener Universität inskribieren und von diesem Zeitpunkt an war seine Lebensbahn mit dem Wiener Ru-

¹ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX. 501–535 (ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, Hannover, 1851); Lhotsky, Alphons, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs* (MIÖG Ergänzungsband 19). Graz–Köln, 1963. 176–178.; Uiblein, Paul, „Die Quellen des Spätmittelalters“. In: Erich Zöllner (Hrsg.), *Die Quellen der Geschichte Österreichs* (Schriften des Institutes für Österreichkunde 40). Wien, 1982. 96.

² Zu ihrem Charakter siehe: Redlich, Oswald, „Die österreichische Annalistik bis zum Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts“, MIÖG 3 (1882) 499–502.; Schmale, Franz-Josef, „Die österreichischen Annalistik im 12. Jahrhundert“, DA 31 (1975) 148–153.

³ Klebel, Ernst, „Die Fassungen und Handschriften der österreichischen Annalistik“, JbflkNÖ NF. 21 (1928) 46.

⁴ Redlich, 1882, 499.

⁵ Lhotsky, 1963. 177.

⁶ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX. 519–526

⁷ Die ausführlichste Darstellung von Ebendorfers Leben ist Lhotsky, Alphons, *Thomas Ebendorfer. Ein österreichischer Geschichtsschreiber, Theologe und Diplomat des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Schriften der MGH, 15). Stuttgart, 1957; Siehe noch: Lhotsky 1963. 375–392; Jaroschka, Walter, „Thomas Ebendorfer als Theoretiker des Konziliarismus“ MIÖG 71 (1963) 87–98.; Uiblein, 1982, 105–106.; Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach (1388–1464), Gelehrter, Diplomat, Pfarrer von Perchtoldsdorf. Ausstellung anlässlich der 600. Wiederkehr des Geburtstages von Thomas Ebendorfer. Perchtoldsdorf, 1988.; Uiblein, Paul, „Ebendorfer, Thomas“, VL 2 (1980) 253–266.; Zimmermann, Harald, „Ebendorfer, Thomas“, LMA 3 (1986) Sp. 1511.; Ders., „Thomas Ebendorfer, ein Universalhistoriker der konziliaren Epoche“, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 40 (1998) 389–414.

dolphinum verbunden. 1421 erhielt er die Priesterweihe und sechs Jahre später die Domherrenwürde der Wiener Stephanskirche; seit 1435 war er Pfarrer im Falkenstein, dann im Perchtoldsdorf. Als ein Mitglied des hohen Klerus wurde Ebendorfer zum Professor für Theologie an die Universität Wien bestellt, diente als Ratgeber bei Hofe des Erzherzog *Albrechts V.* von Österreich (später deutsch-römischer Kaiser bzw. König von Ungarn und Böhmen), des König *Ladislaus Posthumus'* und des Kaiser *Friedrichs III.* Zwischen 1432 und 1435 vertrat er seine Universität auf dem Konzil von Basel, wo er sich als ein begabter und verpflichteter Theoretiker und Vertreter des Konziliarismus erwies.⁸ Ebendorfer nahm mehrmals als Abgesandter der Wiener Universität an den Reichstagen des Kaisers teil. Am 12. Januar 1464 starb Ebendorfer zurückgezogen in Wien. Obwohl er keine wichtige politische Dienststelle bekleidete, kannte Ebendorfer die „Weltpolitik“ seiner Zeit sehr genau und studierte sie eingehend, denn seine Perspektive ist die eines ausgezeichneten Kenners der Politik jener Zeit. Trotz seines humanistischen Stils setzte Thomas Ebendorfer die Traditionen der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung fort. Neben seiner gewaltigen Predigtenliteratur, mit der er zu den größten der ganzen Weltliteratur gehört, ist auch die Geschichtsschreibung Ebendorfers nicht vernachlässigbar. Ich untersuche zwei Chroniken seines Lebenswerkes: die *Chronica regum Romanorum*⁹; die Chronik der römischen (bzw. deutsch-römischen) Kaiser, die zwischen 1449 und 1451 angefertigt wurde, fällt in die Gattungen der mittelalterlichen Welt- bzw. Reichschroniken. Die *Chronica regum Romanorum* ist bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts eine reine Kompilation, später wurde sie in einer ausführlichen Annalenform geschrieben. Die *Chronica Austriae*¹⁰ war als eine Fortsetzung, als das siebente Buch der Kaiserchronik gedacht. Die ersten drei Bücher dürften vor 1451 geschrieben worden sein, das ganze Werk wurde bis 1463 fortgesetzt. Das bedeutet, dass die Werke Ebendorfers nur bezüglich der ersten Regierungsjahre des König Matthias' über einen Quellenwert verfügen.

Der Wiener Arzt *Dr. Johannes Tichtel*¹¹ stammte aus Grein (Oberösterreich), seit 1463 lebte er aber in Wien und war dort zum Mitglied des Wiener Bürger-

⁸ Jaroschka, Walter, „Thomas Ebendorfer als Theoretiker des Konziliarismus“, *MIÖG* 71 (1963) 87–98.; Lhotsky, 1957, 17–22.

⁹ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*. Hrsg. von Harald Zimmermann (MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. 18/1–2). München, 2003; Lhotsky, 1957, 99–101.

¹⁰ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*. Hrsg. von Alphons Lhotsky (MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. 13). Berlin–Zürich, 1967; Lhotsky, 1957, 101–105.

¹¹ Lhotsky, 1963. 426–427.; Stelzer, Winfried, „Tichtel, Johann“, *VL* 9 (1995) 920–922.; Horawitz, Adalbert, „Johann Tichtel, ein Wiener Arzt des 15. Jahrhunderts“, *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien* 10 (1869) 25–34.; Grossmann, Karl, „Die Frühzeit des Humanismus in Wien bis zu Celtis' Berufung 1497“, *JbflkNÖ* 22 (1929) 150–325. (hier 306–307.); Schmidt, Justus, „Wien unter Fremdherrschaft. Die Aufzeichnungen des Greiner Arztes Johann Tichtel“, *Oberösterreichische Heimatsblätter* 1 (1947) 220–234; Uiblein, 1982, 109–110.

tums geworden. Zwischen 1471 und 1746 studierte er Medizin, ab 1482 war er an derselben Fakultät Professor, später Dekan und Superintendent der Gesamtuniversität. Tichtel wurde zum humanistischen Kreis von *Konrad Celtis*, zur *Sodalitas litteraria Danubiana* gerechnet. Seine persönliche Aufzeichnungen in Latein ließen sich auf den Vorsteckblättern der gedruckten Edition des *Canons* von *Avicenna*¹² und der *De animalibus*¹³ des *Aristoteles* nachweisen: er benutzte diese Bücher als Lehrbücher an der medizinischen Fakultät des Rudolphinums. Der größere Teil dieses Tagebuches ist eine Reihe alltäglicher und Familienereignisse, pekuniäre Ausgaben bzw. Einkommen zu eigenem Gebrauch zwischen 1477 und 1494; doch verschweigt Tichtel weder die politischen und militärischen Geschehnisse seiner Zeit, noch seine eigene Anmerkungen und Meinungen zu diesen Vorgängen. Er vertritt in seinem Tagebuch die Meinung des Wiener Bürgertums, welches während der Belagerung Wiens schwere Verluste erlitten hat. Der Stil Johannes Tichtels ist einfach, ungeschmückt, oftmals registerähnlich. Dennoch muss man sagen, dass man diese Ausdrucksweise als die Stärke seines Werkes bezeichnen könnte. Man liest in diesem Tagebuch über den Untergang einer stolzen und lebhaften Stadt, Tichtel berichtet uns über Hungernot, Pestepidemie, Angriffe und Leiden der Wiener Bevölkerung in einem zwar trockenen, aber dramatischen Ton.

Der Landpfarrer aus Kärnten Jakob Unrest¹⁴ vertrat die Weltanschauung der Landesbevölkerung und der niederen Geistlichkeit. Seine Historiographie gehört zu den Höchstleistungen der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung Kärntens. Unrest stammte vermutlich aus Bayern, wirkte er aber für 34 Jahre als Pfarrer in St. Martin am Techelsberg (zur Propstei von Maria Saal gehörig) bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1500. Jakob Unrest verfasste drei Chroniken über die Geschichte

¹² *Tagebuch des Wiener Arztes Johannes Tichtel aus den Jahren 1477–1495*. Hrsg. von Theodor Georg Ritter v. Karajan. Wien 1855 FRA SS I 1–66.

¹³ Mazal, Otto, „Notizen des Dr. Johannes Tichtl zur Geschichte der Auseinandersetzung Friedrichs III. mit Matthias Corvinus (1477–1485)“, *MIÖG* 69 (1961) 97–99.

¹⁴ Lhotsky, 1963. 405–408.; eine anspruchsvolle Zusammenfassung von Unrests Leben und Historiographie: Neumann, Wilhelm, „Jakob Unrest. Leben, Werk und Wirkung“. In: Hans Patze (Hrsg.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 31). Sigmaringen, 1987. 681–694. Eine erweiterte Version dieses Aufsatzes befindet sich in: *Neue Bausteine zur Geschichte Kärntens* (Das Kärntner Landesarchiv 20). Klagenfurt, 1995, 62–77. Siehe noch Stelzer, Winfried, „Unrest, Jakob“, *VL* 10 (1999) 85–88; Jaksch, August, „Zur Lebensgeschichte Jakob Unrests“, *MIÖG* 4 (1883) 463–465.; Obersteiner, Jakob, „Zur Biographie von Jakob Unrest“, *Carinthia I* 143 (1953) 948–951.; Zaisberger, Friderike, *Das Kapitel von Maria Saal in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Klagenfurt, 1972, 181–205.; Stelzer, Winfried, „Jakob Unrest und Ladislaus Sunthaym“, *Carinthia I* 163 (1973) 181–198.; Uiblein, 1982, 108–109.; Moeglin, Jean-Marie, „Jakob Unrests Kärntner Chronik als Ausdruck regionaler Identität in Kärnten am Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts“. In: Peter Moraw (Hrsg.), „Regionale Identität und soziale Gruppen im deutschen Mittelalter“, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*. Beiheft 14 (1992) 165–191.; Fräss-Ehrfeld, Claudia, *Geschichte Kärntens. Bd. 1. Das Mittelalter*. Klagenfurt, 2005. 594–595.

Kärntens, Ungarns und Österreichs.¹⁵ Nach dem Werk des sächsischen Meistersängers *Heinrich von Mügeln* (um 1360) wurde die *Ungarische Chronik* Unrests als das zweite deutschsprachige Prosawerk über die Geschichte Ungarns angefertigt.¹⁶ In diesem Aufsatz erforsche ich aus dem Unrest'schen Œuvre sein Hauptwerk, die deutschsprachige Chronik Österreichs. Diese Chronik darf als die Fortsetzung der *Chronica patriae*, besser bekannt als die *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, gesehen werden sein. Unrest begann seine Chronik vor 1480, und die älteste Fassung endet mit dem Todesjahr Kaiser Friedrichs III. 1493, wurde aber später bis 1499 fortgeführt. Unrest war zu den Ereignissen der österreichischen Erbländer sehr gut bewandert, verfügt aber bei den außenpolitischen Geschehnissen oftmals über falsche Informationen und beherrschte die fremden Namen nicht kundig. Trotz kann man seine Chronik für die wichtigste erzählende Quelle zur Geschichte der habsburgisch-hunyadischen Kriege des 15. Jahrhunderts betrachten.

Dieses historiographisches Material ließ sich um sechs Themen arrangieren:

- a) Die Abstammung, die Familie und das Vorleben Königs Matthias' bis zu seiner Königswahl (1458)
- b) Der Streit um die böhmische Krone
- c) Das Verhältnis zwischen König Matthias und Kaiser Friedrich III.
- d) Der Kampf in Österreich, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Belagerung Wiens
- e) Matthias Corvinus als Bekämpfer der Türken und Ketzer
- f) Das Privatleben und der Tod des König Matthias Corvinus'.

Die *Annales Mellicenses* berichten kurz und knapp über die Regentschaft von *János Hunyadi*, als er 1446 während des Erbzwists nach dem Tode König Albrechts I. und dem Kampf um die Vormundschaft des König Ladislaus Posthumus' elf Dörfer und Marktflecken in Brand stecken ließ.¹⁷ In dieser Expedition in

¹⁵ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*. Hrsg. von Karl Grossmann (MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 11). Weimar, 1957; *Kärntnerische Chronik*, In: *Collectio monumentorum veterum et recentium*. Tom. I. Ed. Simon Friedrich Hahn. Braunschweig, 1724. 479–536; zur Österreichischen Chronik siehe: Krones, Franz, „Die Österreichische Chronik von Jakob Unrest mit Bezug auf die einzig bisher bekannte Handschrift der kgl. Bibliothek zu Hannover“, AÖG 48 (1872) 421–530.; und Schneider, Luise, *Untersuchungen über die österreichische Chronik Jakob Unrests*. Phil. Diss. Wien, 1939. (ungedruckt); *Ungarische Chronik*, In: Krones, Franz Xaver, „Jakob Unrest's Bruchstück einer deutschen Chronik von Ungarn“, MIÖG 1 (1880) 337–372 (auf der Grundlage einer unvollständigen Handschrift aus Hannover) und Armbruster, Adolf, „Jakob Unrest's Ungarische Chronik“, *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* 13 (1974) 473–508. (unvollständig)

¹⁶ *Chronicon Heinrici de Mügeln germanice conscriptum* (Ed. Eugenius Travník), In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Edendo operi praefuit Emericus Szentpétery. Tomus II. Budapest, 1938. 105–223.

¹⁷ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 519.

Österreich und der Steiermark strebte Hunyadi danach, den jungen König Ladislaus Posthumus aus der Patenschaft seines Oheims zweiten Grades, des römischen König Friedrichs IV. (als deutsch-römischer Kaiser Friedrich III.) zu entlassen.¹⁸ Die Annalen, die Kaiserchronik und die Österreich-Chroniken von Ebendorfer und Unrest handeln auch von der Belagerung Belgrads (Nándorfehérvár), der Ermordung des Grafen *Ulrich von Cilli* durch *Ladislaus Hunyadi* und der Hinrichtung des älteren Sohnes Hunyadis (1457).¹⁹ Die *Annales Mellicenses* haben Kenntnis von der Verschleppung des jungen Matthias' nach Prag und hegen den Verdacht, dass Ladislaus Posthumus 1457 vergiftet worden wäre.²⁰ Entgegen der ungarischen nationalen Tradition tritt Ladislaus Hunyadi in der österreichischen Geschichtsschreibung als eine negative, obskure Figur auf: in der Kaiserchronik Ebendorfers wird der ältere Sohn Hunyadis als „der Verursacher der Unruhe“ (*sedicionum auctor*) genannt, der den Grafen von Cilli in die Falle locken ließ, und dafür seine „verdiente Strafe“ (*pena digna*) erhielt.²¹ Die Geldsucht des älteren Sohnes Hunyadis als Ursache des Cilli-Attentates wird auch in der Ebendorferschen Kaiserchronik erwähnt.²² Jakob Unrest begnügt sich nicht mit einer Kritik an Ladislaus Hunyadi, er verdammt auch die Ungarn, weil „nach irrer alten alten gewonhait“ Ulrich von Cilli in den Hinterhalt gelockt und ermordet wurde.²³

Zu dem Jahre 1457 machen die Melker Annalen Mitteilung über die Königswahl von Matthias, obzwar sich die Königserhebung ein Jahr später ereignete.²⁴ Thomas Ebendorfer bemerkte in der *Chronica regum Romanorum*, dass Matthias Corvinus durch das Volk und mit der Hilfe seines Onkels *Mihály Szilágyi* und trotz der Bedrohung durch die Gegnerschaft der Hunyadis zum König ausgerufen

¹⁸ Hoensch, Jörg K., *Matthias Corvinus. Diplomat, Feldherr, Mäzen*. Graz–Wien–Köln, 1998. 36.; Niederstätter, Alois, *Das Jahrhundert der Mitte. An der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Österreichische Geschichte 1400–1522). Wien, 1996. 349.; Haller, Brigitte, „Kaiser Friedrich III. und die Stephanskronen“, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 26 (1973) 101., 109.

¹⁹ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 519–520.; Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XIII 438.; Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XVIII/2. 849–851.; Hoensch, 1998, 42–48.; Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 7–10.; Fraknoi, Vilmos, *Hunyadi Mátyás király* [König Matthias Corvinus]. Budapest, 1890. 33–43.; Babinger, Franz, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*. München, 1953. 144–152.; Barta, Gábor, *Nándorfehérvár, 1456*. Budapest, 1985; Kulcsár, Péter, *Kapisztrán János* [Giovanni Capistran]. Budapest, 1987; Niederstätter, 1996, 201.

²⁰ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 520.: A. 1457. *Ladislaus rex metu Ungarorum pergit Wyennam, ducens secum Mathiam fratrem interfecti. Hinc rex Ladislaus pergit Moraviam, ubi intoxicatus moritur, et Mathias predictus Ungarie rex creatur.*; Hoensch, 1998, 48–49.

²¹ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XVIII/2. 851.

²² Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XVIII/2. 850.: *Ladislaus...iuventutis sue calore et thesaurorum relictorum sibi fiducia deceptus...*

²³ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 10.

²⁴ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX ebenda: *...et Mathias predictus Ungarie rex creatur.*

wurde.²⁵ An der Stelle über die Königserhebung von Matthias drückt Ebendorfer in seiner *Österreichischen Chronik* seine scharfe Kritik und Antipathie über den ungarischen König explizit aus. Ein guter Beweis dafür ist der Ausdruck, dass Matthias „sich als König bezeichnet“ (*Mathie, qui regem se titulatur*).²⁶

Der Bericht der *Annales Mellicenses* über den Kampf von Matthias um Böhmen und gegen die Hussiten in den Jahren 1468–1471 ist viel ausführlicher.²⁷ Man erfährt die konservative Haltung der Melker Annalisten gegenüber den „ketzerischen“ Böhmen.²⁸ Bei Unrest ist diese hussitisch- bzw. böhmenfeindliche Auffassung noch stärker und expliziter geworden.²⁹ Seinem Verdacht nach liebten der „ketzer“ Georg Podjebrad (*Gursich von Holewarsy, Jursickh von Hollowasi*), der König von Böhmen, sein Weib und seine „verfluchte“ Tochter, *Sidonie* den jungen Ladislaus Posthumus vergiften.³⁰ Der unversöhnliche Hass Unrests gegen die Podjebraden kam auch in der Beschreibung der Festnahme *Viktorins*, des Sohnes von Georg Podjebrad 1469 sehr klar zum Ausdruck.³¹ Unrest bietet einen kurzen und ziemlich zuverlässigen Überblick zur Geschichte der polnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen im Zusammenhang mit dem Krieg um Böhmen. Der Abschluss des Waffenstillstandes zwischen Matthias und König *Kasimir IV.* von Polen wird von dem Geschichtsschreiber aus St. Martin am Techelsberg ausführlich behandelt: laut dieses Vertrages wurden die Grenzfehden zum Abschluss gebracht und der status quo ante beiderseits anerkannt.³²

Mit der böhmischen Frage hängt die Darstellung der Relation zwischen dem ungarischen König und dem deutschen Kaiser eng zusammen. Thomas Ebendor-

²⁵ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XIII 448.: *Interea dum hec scriberem, Mathias captus olim de Hunayd nominatur in regem Hungarie per populares et eos, qui Michaeli* (Mihály Szilágyi – BG), *de quo supra, adherebant, qui et in magna pompa de Praga adductus est Budam.*; Fraknói, 1890, 60–69.; Hoensch, 1998, 52–54.

²⁶ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XIII 460.

²⁷ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 521–522.; Fraknói, 1890, 179–190.; Galla, Ferenc, „Mátyás király és a Szentszék (König Matthias Corvinus und der Heilige Stuhl)“, MKE I 153–158.; Gyalókay, Jenő, „Mátyás király, a hadszervező és hadvezér [König Matthias, der Heeresorganisator und Kriegsführer]“, MKE I 272–276.; Bánlaky, József, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme. XI/2. A Hunyadiak kora. Hunyadi Mátyás 1458–1490* [Die Militärgeschichte der ungarischen Nation. Das Zeitalter der Hunyadi. Matthias Corvinus 1458–1490]. Budapest, 1937. 102–129.; Hoensch, 1998, 97–117.

²⁸ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 521.: A. 1467. *Bulla acerrima contra eosdem* (d. h. den Böhmen – G. B.) *fulminatur, anathematizando cunctos Bohemos et eorum fautores; A. 1468. Conversus quidam Bohemus erroris articulos confingens, eosque approbans, stans nudis plantis in prunis, aviculas minus volitantes ad se venire cogit, et alia faciendo insueta*

²⁹ Krones, 1872, 460–461.

³⁰ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 14.

³¹ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 21–22.; Bánlaky, 1937, 121.; Gyalókay, 1940, 275.; Hoensch, 1998, 111.

³² Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 22.; Hoensch, 1998, 136.; Nehring, Karl, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*. München, 1975. 69–70.

fers Kaiserchronik ist über die anti-corvinianischen Konspiration zwischen Kaiser Friedrich III. und die Gruppe ungarischer Magnaten und Prälaten sehr gut informiert: die ungarische Königswürde wurde von diesen ungarischen Würdenträgern (sie werden bei Ebendorfer aufgezählt) Friedrich angeboten und der Kaiser nahm sie an (4. März 1459).³³ Ebendorfer betrachtet diese Annahme der Königswürde als legitim, und schreibt über zwei gleichrangige Könige Ungarns.³⁴ Die Annalistenwerkstatt des Melker Stiftes berichtet über die Geschichte der Beziehung zwischen dem ungarischen König und dem deutsch-römischen Kaiser nur oberflächlich; obwohl sie über die Streitigkeit am Anfang der sechziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhundert und den Friedensschluss von Wiener Neustadt (19. Juli 1463) wissen, vermerken sie zu diesem Ereignis einen ungenauen Zeitpunkt (1466).³⁵ Thomas Ebendorfer war gerade ein halbes Jahr verstorben, ehe der genannte Friede zu Wiener Neustadt unter Dach und Fach gebracht wurde. Jakob Unrest erstatte über diesen Konflikt keinen Bericht. Die Geschichte der hunyadisch-habsburgischen Relationen beginnt bei ihm mit dem Hilfgesuch des Kaiser Friedrichs III. und die Hilfeleistung des Corvinen gegenüber Viktorin Podjebrad 1468–1469.³⁶ In demselben Jahr intervenierte Mat-

³³ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XVIII/2. 860–861.: *...serenissimus dominus imperator per magnatos Vngarie inductus regnum Vngarie assumpsit et usque se regem Vngarie, Dalmacie, Croacie titulavit, quorum, prout apprehendi, hec nomina...*; Bánlaky, 1937, 27–28.; Haller, 1973, 124.

³⁴ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XVIII/2. 865.: *duo pariter reges*

³⁵ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 521.: A. 1466. *Coronam quondam regi Ladislao celitus factam, Ungarie rex redemit ab imperatore Friderico precio magno.*; RI Regg. F.III. H. 3. (*Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken des Regierungsbezirks Kassel, vornehmlich aus dem Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg/Lahn*. Hrsg. von Paul-Joachim Heinig. Wien, 1983) Nr. 85.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 4. (*Die Urkunden und Briefe aus dem Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main*. Hrsg. von Paul-Joachim Heinig. Wien, 1986) Nr. 364.; Nehring, 1975, Anhang Nr. 1., 202–206.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 11. (*Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken des Freistaates Sachsen*. Hrsg. von Elfie-Marita Eibl. Wien, 1998) Nr. 344.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 18. (*Die Urkunden und Briefe des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs in Wien, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, Familienurkunden und Abschriftensammlungen [1458–1463]*. Hrsg. von Sonja Dünnebeil–Paul Herold–Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch. Wien, 2004) Nr. 326; die Ratifizierung dieses Friedensvertrages geschah an demselben Tage, befindet sich unter: RI Regg. F.III. H. 3. Nr. 86.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 4. 365.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 11. Nr. 345.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 18. Nr. 327.; Nehring, 1975, Anhang Nr. 3., 209–211.; Haller, 1973, 146–147.; Niederstätter, 1996, 352.

³⁶ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 18.; RI Regg. F.III. H. 15. (*Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den Beständen „Reichsstadt“ und „Hochstift“ Regensburg des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs in München sowie aus den Regensburger Archiven und Bibliotheken*. Hrsg. von Franz Fuchs–Karl-Friedrich Krieger. Wien, 2002) Nr. 225. (12. Juli 1468); RI Regg. F.III. H. 21. (*Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den schlesischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Republik Polen. Mit Nachträgen zum Heft Sachsen*. Hrsg. von Eberhard Holtz. Wien, 2006) Nr. 106–107. (23. April 1468); Bachmann, Adolf, *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte im Zeitalter Friedrich III. und Max I. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichischen Staatengeschichte. Band II*. Leipzig, 1894. 138–153.; Nehring, 1975, 30.

thias in die Fehde zwischen Friedrich III. und dem Steierer *Andreas Baumkircher* (oder *Baumkirchner*) auf der Seite des Kaisers: laut den Melker Annalen 1471.³⁷ Während der siebziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts gingen die Beziehungen zwischen dem ungarischen König und dem deutsch-römischen Kaiser zugrunde. Die Annalen geben über die Ursachen des Konfliktes zwischen den Herrschern keinen Bescheid. Nach der *Österreichischen Chronik* Unrests begann der Krieg wegen dem Verrat des Erzbischofs von Gran *Johann Beckensloer* (Beckenschlager), der die Schätze des ungarischen Königs ins Reich verschleppte.³⁸ Ein anderer Anlass dafür ist die Konspiration österreichischer Magnaten gegen Kaiser Friedrich und ihr Bündnis mit Matthias (die Melker Jahrbücher zeichnen diesen Verrat auf einen späteren Zeitpunkt 1483).³⁹ Die wichtigste Ursache sollte aber nach Unrest die böhmische Frage gewesen sein: er kennt und teilt in seiner Chronik jenen Brief mit, der die ungarische Kriegserklärung an den Kaiser enthält (12. Juni 1477).⁴⁰

Der habsburgisch-hunyadische Krieg (in mehreren Phasen zwischen 1477 und 1487) wird von den Annalisten der Melker Jahrbücher und den anderen Geschichtsschreibern als Hauptthema am ausführlichsten behandelt.⁴¹ Die *Annales Mellicenses* verständigen uns über die Kriegsergebnisse in Niederösterreich, besonders die Angriffe auf Wien und Wiener Neustadt. Trotz ihrer kirchlich-monasterischer Zugehörigkeit entbehrte der anonyme Annalist den patriotischen, quasi nationalistischen und anti-hunyadischen Ton nicht. Als Matthias die nieder-

³⁷ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 522.: A. 1471. *Baro quidam dictus Pamkircher, contra regem Ungarie diu pugnans, cui deinde confederatus, cum eodem contra Turcos processit; denuo contra imperatorem et Austriam belligerans, imperialis maiestatis cesarem Fridericum capere nititur; sed comprehensus, cum quodam strenuo milite decapitatur*; zur Baumkirchner-Fehde siehe: Kropf, Rudolf-Meyer, Wolfgang (Hrsg.), *Andreas Baumkirchner und seine Zeit*. Symbion im Rahmen der „Schlaininger Gespräche“ vom 24. – 26. September 1982 auf Burg Schlaining (Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 67). Eisenstadt, 1983; Niederstätter, 1996, 255–257; Bánlaky, 1937, 115.

³⁸ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI 77., 102–103.; Krones, 1872, 462.

³⁹ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 524.: *Episcopus Strigoniensis thesaurum incomparabilem regi Mathie clam surripiens, ad imperatorem Fridericum confugit, qui mox eundem archiepiscopum fecit Salczpurgensem*; Mayer, Franz Martin, „Über die Abdankung des Erzbischofs Bernhard von Salzburg und den Ausbruch des dritten Krieges zwischen Kaiser Friedrich und König Matthias von Ungarn (1477–1481)“, AÖG 55 (1877) 169–246.; Fraknoi, 1890, 277.; Zaisberger, Friderike, *Bernhard von Rohr und Johann Beckenschlager, Erzbischof von Gran, zwei salzburger Kirchenfürsten aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Phil. Diss.) Wien, 1964; Niederstätter, 1996, 185–187.; Nehring, 1975, 112–121.

⁴⁰ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI 79–81.; Chmel, Joseph-Rübsamen, Dieter-Heinig, Paul-Joachim: *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Friderici III Romanorum Imperatoris (Regis IV)*. Wien, 1840/1992, Nr. 7129; MKL I Nr. 251; Galla, 1940, 160.

⁴¹ Bánlaky, 1937, 193–198., 225–254.; Gyalókay, 1940, 284–294.; die ausführliche Darstellung der politischen und militärischen Handlungen siehe bei Nehring, 1975, 107–168.

österreichische Stadt und das kirchliche Zentrum Sankt Pölten (*Sanctus Ypolitus*) erobert hatte, machte dieser Schritt den ungarischen König zum „Feind des Vaterlandes“; Nach dem Tode des Corvinen wurden die Ungarn „aus dem Vaterland“ vertrieben (*recuperata vero per Maximilianum patria pulsati sunt*).⁴² Die Information der Melker Jahrbücher ist bezüglich der Übergabe der Stadt St. Pölten ungenau: das Domkapitel von Passau übergab die Stadt dem ungarischen König am 1. Oktober 1481, trotz der inkorrekten Jahresangabe 1483.⁴³ Jakob Unrest ist in den Geschehnissen des gesamtösterreichischen Krieges gut bewandert, seine Angaben ohne bedeutende Fehler. Obwohl der Landespfarrer aus Kärnten an dem Kampf um Wien nicht teilnahm, und deswegen als Augenzeuge nicht ins Betracht kommen kann, repräsentiert sein tragischer Ton um den Verlust der Kaiserstadt die Meinung der Landesbevölkerung. Bei Unrest ist der Wegfall Wiens der Zerstörung Jerusalems ähnlich.⁴⁴ Das Tagebuch von Dr. Johannes Tichtel gehört wegen seiner genauen alltäglichen Daten und der Mitteilung des Gefühls der Wiener Stadtbürger zu den wichtigsten Quellen zur Geschichte der Belagerung Wiens.⁴⁵ Die Melker Benediktiner vermischen die Vorgänge der einzelnen Kriege um die österreichischen Erbländer, häufig mit großen Lücken. Dagegen beschreibt Unrest diese Geschehnisse gut strukturiert und von einander getrennt, mit dem Bezug der Erzählung der zahlreichen Türkeneinfälle. Die *Annales Mellicenses* berichten über die einzelnen Darsteller dieser Begebnisse nicht gern, abgesehen von einer Nachricht zum Jahr 1487: laut dieser Aufzeichnung schickten die Bewohner von Wiener Neustadt dem Kaiser eine Gruppe von Legaten, um Hilfe zu erbitten, aber „der Kaiser tat nichts“ (*sed non est factum*).⁴⁶ Diese eindeutige Ohnmacht wurde sowohl von Unrest als auch von Tichtel verpönt. Der kaiserfreundliche Pfarrer aus Kärnten wurde immer wieder enttäuscht, als er von der Inkompetenz seines Kaisers erfuhr.⁴⁷ Die Empörung des Graner Arztes

⁴² *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX ebenda, a. 1483.: *Qui concite illic posito capitaneo, inimicie patrie facte plurime; recuperata vero per Maximilianum patria pulsati sunt.*

⁴³ *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Benedictinerstiftes Göttweig III. Theil. 1468–1500* (FRA II 55. Hrsg. von Adalbert Fuchs). Wien, 1902, 198–199. (Nr. 1976), 200. (Nr. 1977); Fraknói, 1890, 279.; MKL II Nr. 107.

⁴⁴ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI 155., c. 148: *Wyenn, in dir ist grosste machtigkait und hoher muet verpracht worden von edlen und unedel frawen und manen. Wie ist es nun ergangen! Da sind nun war worden die funff vocales A, E, I, O, V, die etlich von lanng ausgelegt haben: „Allererst ist Osterreich verloren“, wiewol sy in dem anfanckh nicht in der maynung furgenomen sindt worden.*; die Beschreibung des Kampfes um Wien bei Unrest ebenda 155–157.

⁴⁵ Zur Quellengeschichte der Belagerung Wiens siehe noch: Oppl, Ferdinand, *Kaiser Friedrich III. und die Wiener 1483–1485. Briefe und Ereignisse während der Belagerung Wiens durch König Matthias Corvinus von Ungarn*. Wien, 1993

⁴⁶ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 524.: *Cives scribunt, nunciant, insinuant imperatori Friderico circa Coloniam esistenti, ut suis urbique subveniat; sed non est factum.*; Nehring, 1975, 167.

⁴⁷ Krones, 1872, 466.

ist noch stärker: am 19. Juni 1487 verzeichnete er das bestrafenswerte Nichtstun des Kaiser Friedrichs III. in seinem Tagebuch.⁴⁸ Die Veränderung der Haltung gegenüber Matthias ist auch bei Tichtel bemerkenswert: in den Notizen für das Jahr 1484 bezeichnet er den ungarischen König und sein Heeresvolk als „barbarisch“, ein Jahr später beschreibt der Doktor den mächtigen und starken König Matthias, als er in die Kaiserstadt einzog (1. Juni 1485).⁴⁹ Am 22. September 1486 wünscht er dem König ein glückliches Leben in dem Ewigen Land, als er von Matthias 16 Gulden erhielt (*Quos dedit Ungarie rex Mathias, qui feliciter uiuat in eterna patria*).⁵⁰ In dieser rapiden Veränderung seiner anti-hunyadischen Position sollten auch jene 1000 Denare eine große Rolle spielen, die der König aus Anlass seines Namenstages der Wiener Universität als milde Gabe verteilte, und Dr. Tichtel selbst erhielt davon 40 Denare (25. Februar 1488).⁵¹ Der Einzug des ungarischen Königs Matthias Corvinus wurde auch von Jakob Unrest als ein glorreiches und freudiges Ereignis dargestellt, und nicht als der Erfolg des Erzfeindes seines Vaterlandes.⁵²

Johannes Tichtel fügte kurze, doch wertvolle Aufzeichnungen zur Geschichte der Militärhandlungen Matthias Corvinus' in Niederösterreich zwischen die Zeile seines eigenen Exemplars des aristotelischen *De animalibus* ein.⁵³ Er machte ei-

⁴⁸ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 41.: *Interea noua ciuitas pactata est cum rege Mathia, eam obsidente. 'Si dominus Imperator uel sui, non uenerit in auxilium, infra Visitationem Marie usque ad sequentem diem post assumptionis Marie, tunc uelit se dare in manus regis Mathie'. O pudendam Imperatoris desidiā!*

⁴⁹ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 27.: (1. Dezember 1484) *Et in profesto barbare rex intrauit predictam ciuitatem* (Wiener Neustadt – G. B.). *Die uero barbare uidimus exercitum regis uenientem in bardeam nostre ciuitatis per Danubium congelatum, hora nona de mane, et ante primam eiusdem diei postmeridiam pudendam dedicionem in duobus fortaliciis citra Danubium, unum ad pontem medium, alterum pey dem Nevn pruch, hoc est alueum factum per Viennenses et completum die marci 1483 fecerunt* (4. Dezember); FRA SS I 28.: (6. Dezember 1484) *Tercia die post barbare reuersi sunt, qui fugam dederant ex fortalicio Simaning*; FRA SS I 37.: (24. Oktober 1485) *Item 24. octobris, in hac cisioiani dictione Ve, Rex et dominus noster Mathias uidentis gracia uenit ad reliquias sancti Stephani Vienne.*; zur Eroberung Wiens siehe: Hoensch, 1998, 191–192.; Nehring, 1975, ebenda.; Fraknói, 1890, 283–286.; Bánlaky, 1937, 241.; die ausführlichste, zwar starke pro-habsburgische Meinung vertretende und relative veraltete Darstellung von Schober, Karl, „Die Eroberung Niederösterreichs durch Matthias Corvinus in den Jahren 1482–1490“, *Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreichs. Neue Folge* 13 (1879) 175–192.

⁵⁰ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 39.

⁵¹ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 44.: *Item infra octauas Mathie apostoli Mathias rex Ungarie dedit pro stipendiatis lectoribus uniuersitatis Viennensis mille libras d. Ex quibus ego Iohannes Tichtel habui et recepi quadraginta libras d.*

⁵² Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI 157., c 149.: *Und do der kunig die statt also einnam, do rait er ein mit grosser glori und frewden und darnach an dem achten tag [nach] Gotsleichnam hieß er ain stuel in der statt auffmachen, darauf saß er gekronet und die kunigin sein gemahel, auch gekronet.*; Kroner, 1872, 465.

⁵³ Über die Geschichte des niederösterreichischen Feldzuges Königs Matthias siehe bei: Rázsó, Gyula, *Die Feldzüge des Königs Matthias Corvinus in Niederösterreich 1477–1490*. Wien, 1997.

nen Unterschied zwischen den Ereignissen „über“ und „unter Wien“ (*supra* bzw. *infra Viennam*): 1482 berichtet Tichtel über die militärischen Ereignisse im Bezirk von Merkenstein und Hainburg. Mit der Belagerung des Letzteren begann der Krieg um Niederösterreich.⁵⁴ In diesen Jahren teilt uns Dr. Tichtel in einigen kurzen Notizen über die Expedition des böhmischen Condottieren des Matthias Corvinus, *Tobias von Boskovitz und Černahora* im Bezirk Wiens mit.⁵⁵

Auch bei der Beurteilung der Türkenkriege⁵⁶ erfahren wir diesen überraschenden Meinungswechsel Dr. Tichtels gegenüber Matthias Corvinus. Er drückt seine Hoffnungen zum Sieg des Königs aus, als Matthias sich gegen die Türken vorbereitete (24. Juli 1488: *Magna mihi tamen est s[pes], omnia cedere in magnam Mathie regis gloriam et victoriam*).⁵⁷ Die *Annales Mellicenses* (mit einer ungenauen Jahreszahl) und Unrest schildern die Aktionen der Siebenbürger und des Woiwoden von Moldau *Stefan* gegen die Türkei (1475).⁵⁸ Jakob Unrest preiste in dem Nekrolog des ungarischen Königs seine türkenfeindliche Tätigkeit hoch, er widmete der Geschichte der Belagerung von Szabács (*Tschabatz*) ein langes Kapitel.⁵⁹ Der Kärntner Landpfarrer, dessen Heimat durch den türkischen Einfällen mehrmals zerstört wurde und das Landvolk schwere Verluste erlitten hatte, bietet einen brillanten Überblick zur Geschichte dieser Raubzüge.⁶⁰ Thomas Ebendorfer legt das Schicksal von Mihály Szilágyi (*Zaladi Michael*) dar: in seiner *Österreichischen Chronik* vermischt er die Gefangennahme Szilágyis 1459 auf Befehl König Matthias' und den Sieg der Türken in Siebenbürgen 1460 und ver-

⁵⁴ Johann Tichtel's Notizen, In: Mazal, 1961, 99.: *Anno Domini 1482 Pangracij fugatus vel recessit exercitus noster a castro Merchenstain prope termas ex quibus multi de imperio. – Anno Domini 1482 fugatus vel recessit exercitus noster a civitate Huniburgo ex quibus barones nostre et de imperio ultra sex milia.*; Schober, 1879, 29.; MKL II Nr. 127–130.

⁵⁵ Johann Tichtel's Notizen, In: Mazal, 1961 ebenda; Nehring, 1975, 163.; Schober, 1879, 47., 54–55.

⁵⁶ Zur Geschichte der Türkenkriege unter Matthias Corvinus siehe Gyalókay, 1940, 251–272.; Rázsó, Gyula, „Hunyadi Mátyás török politikája“ [Die Türkenpolitik von Matthias Corvinus], In: Rázsó, Gyula–V. Molnár, László (Hrsg.), *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* [Matthias Corvinus. Festschrift aus dem Anlass des 500jährigen Jubiläums seines Todes] Budapest, 1990. 149–200.

⁵⁷ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 46.; in den letzten Jahren der Regierung Königs Matthias waren die Türkenkriege schon vorbei (Rázsó, 1990, 186.)

⁵⁸ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 522.: A. 1474. (!) *Hoc anno Turci maximis copiis effusi in Moldaviam, per Stefanum Moldaviensem waywodam, cum assistencia Septemcastrensium et Siculorum, prosternuntur ultra centum milia, in loco ubi rex Ludowicus Ungarie cum suis per Turcos quondam prostratus est, in angustis et palustribus locis.*; MKL I Nr. 220., 224.; Elekes, Lajos, *Nagy István moldvai vajda politikája és Mátyás király* [Die Politik des Woiwoden von Moldau Ștefan cel Mare und König Matthias] Budapest, 1937. 45–47.; Bánlaky, 1937, 171–172.; Gyalókay, 1940, 260–264.; Rázsó, 1990, 184.

⁵⁹ Csánki, Dezső, „Szabács megvétele (1476. február 15.) [Die Eroberung von Szabács. 15. Februar 1476]“, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 1 (1888) 355–388.; MKL I Nr. 245.; Bánlaky, 1937, 176–182.; Gyalókay, 1940, 264–267.; Rázsó, 1990, 184–185.

⁶⁰ Bánlaky, 1937, 137–139.

lautbart, dass der Oheim des Königs in türkische Gefangenschaft geriet⁶¹. In der *Chronica regum Romanorum* berichtet Ebendorfer über die Verschleppung und Hinrichtung von Mihály Szilágyi (1461), mit der Anmerkung, dass er sein Unglück wegen in der Teilnahme an der Ermordung des Ulrich von Cilli verdiente.⁶²

Unsere Quellen sind vom Privatleben und der Geschichte des Todes von Matthias gut unterrichtet. Jakob Unrest, Johann Tichtel und die Melker Jahrbücher überschauen die Hochzeit zwischen Matthias und *Beatrice* 1476.⁶³ Unrest kennt auch die Namen jener ungarischen königlichen Legaten, die an König *Ferdinand* von Neapel gesandt wurden. Am 23. November 1485 erstattet Dr. Tichtel einen Bericht über den Tod des Kardinals Johannes von Aragon, der Bruder der Königin *Beatrice*, Erzbischof von Tarceto und Statthalter von Tarento (gestorben am 17. Oktober 1485).⁶⁴ Sowohl in den *Annales Mellicenses*⁶⁵ als auch im Tagebuch von Tichtel⁶⁶ wird über den Tod und die Beerdigung des Königs mit genauen Zeitangaben berichtet. Über den Tod von Matthias Corvinus verfasste Jakob Unrest ein ganzes Kapitel in seiner Chronik.⁶⁷ Diesen Teil der Chronik kann man mit Recht als einen lobreichen Nekrolog und eine korrekte Zusammenfassung der politischen Tätigkeit des ungarischen Königs auffassen. Wie Franz Krones bemerkte: „*Der Tod des Ungarnköniges...veranlasst unsern Chronisten zu einer längeren Auslassung, deren wohlwollender, apologetischer Grundton um so bemerkenswerther ist, je kräftiger sonst das österreichische Bewusstsein Unrest's gegen alle Landesfeinde hervortritt...Ein versöhnlicher, wolthuender Christensinn athmet aus den Zeilen.*“⁶⁸ Unrest konstatierte auch, dass Matthias über böse

⁶¹ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XIII 497–498.

⁶² Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XVIII/2. 885.; Bánlaky, 1937, 40–41.

⁶³ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 522.: A. 1476. *Regi Ungarie filia Neapolitani desponsatur*; Fraknói, 1890, 245–251.; Jenő, Horváth, „Mátyás király nyugati diplomáciája“ [Die westliche Diplomatie des Königs Matthias Corvinus], MKE I. 86.; Teke, Zsuzsa, „Az itáliai államok és Mátyás [Die italienischen Staaten und Matthias]“, In: Rázsó–V. Molnár, 1990. 258.

⁶⁴ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 37.: *Eo die fama de morte fratris regine, cardinalis cuiusdam.*

⁶⁵ *Continuatio Mellicenses*, In: MGH SS IX 525.: A. 1490. *Eodem anno rex Mathias Hungariae miserabiliter Wienne extinctus est; et quorsum eius corpus pervenerit, ignoratur*

⁶⁶ *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 51–52.: 4. (!) April 1490. *Item dominica palmarum, post meridiem (hor)a quinta, Vngarie rex mathias letaliter infirmatus est, et mortuus ex ea egritudine miserabiliter, sine testamento, sine sacramentis. Rumores...no...mortis multiples. 7. April 1490. In vigilia cene domini, in nocte, in danubio ducitur, ut dicunt, corpus ad vngariam, et in festiuitatibus (pasc)e.*

⁶⁷ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XI 186–187., c. 182.: *Als man zalt nach Cristi gepurd tausentvierhundert und im newntzigsten jar an dem eritag nach dem Palmtag ist gestorben der durchlewchtig und grosmachtig kunig Mathias von Vngern.*

⁶⁸ Krones, 1872, 467.

Knechte verfügte, die viel anders getan hatten, was nicht dem Wille des ungarischen Königs entsprochen hätte.⁶⁹

Zuletzt kann man feststellen, dass die oben behandelten Verfasser eine ziemlich stabile Haltung gegenüber Matthias Corvinus hatten. Thomas Ebendorfer anerkannte seine königliche Herrschaft nicht, Matthias wurde von ihm einfach als „erwählter König“ betrachtet, ohne Legitimität und Krone.⁷⁰ Jakob Unrest vertritt dagegen eine andere Meinung: seiner Meinung nach war Matthias ein kräftiger, gewaltiger und rechter König. Obwohl der ungarische König mit seinen Kriegen in Österreich *vil ubels gethan* hat, tat er als ein Erbfeind der Türken und der „ketzerischen“ böhmischen Hussiten viel für das Christentum.⁷¹ Die reichen Bürger Wiens waren für die Hungersnot der belagerten Kaiserstadt verantwortlich und der ohnmächtige Kaiser Friedrich III. verriet sein Volk.⁷² Johann Tichtels Meinungsänderung gegenüber Matthias Corvinus ist eine merkwürdige Ausnahme: sein Tagebuch folgt dem Verlauf der militärischen und politischen Ereignisse, wofür sich auch der Ton der Tichtel'schen Memoiren eignete. In dieser erzählenden Quelle mangelt es an jeglichem historiographischen Ehrgeiz und ihr aufrichtiger Ton macht sie zu einer der wertvollsten Geschichtsquellen ihrer Zeit.

⁶⁹ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI 187.: *Es ist vil ubels von den seinen beschehen, dabey sein geschefft noch willen nicht gewesen ist.*

⁷⁰ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, In: MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. XIII 451.: *Mathie electi Ungarie...*

⁷¹ Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI ebenda.

⁷² Jakob Unrest, *Österreichische Chronik*, In: MGH SS rer Germ. N. S. XI 156., c. 149; *Johann Tichtel's Tagebuch*, In: FRA SS I 29.; Nehring, 1975, 167.; Schober, 1879, 62–63.

GYÖRGY SZABADOS

ATTILA AND MÁTYÁS – PARALLELS AND CONTEMPLATIONS*
 – STATE-IDEA VERSUS DEEP MORALITY – HAUNTING AND
 LURKING FRATRICIDES

One of the most characteristic features of medieval Hungarian historiography is the proud declaration of Attila as an ancestor of the Árpád dynasty. This positive opinion confronts the compulsory commonplace view of the Western-European Christian memory. Although we have texts from the beginning of the thirteenth century and the whole tradition is known only from the middle of the fourteenth century, but Hungarian historiography started in the second half of the eleventh century, and the *Ancient Gesta* had already contained the Attila-tradition of the Árpáds.¹ (I have to mention that the dynastic Attila-genealogy is independent from the general Hunnic tradition of the Hungarian people.) King Attila's actuality had not gone astray with the extinction of the Árpáds (1301), on the contrary Attila remained a symbolic person in Hungarian history, with his military power. Attila's respect reached its height in the *Hungarian Chronicle* written by János Thuróczy (1488). In his *Dedicatio* his intention looks clearly:

„Enimvero et magni regis Atile gestarum gloria rerum stili pravitate comprehensa digno laudum preconio non minus quasi subticere videbatur. Nec crimine de hoc Hungarorum vetustas arguenda est, quod suarum recordia rerum altum oblivionis in pelagus defluere permisit. Hoc genus hominum ipsarum etate rerum armorum potius strepitu quam literarum scientia sese exercitabat. Nam et hoc nostro evo pars nationis eiusdem quedam Transilvanis regni posita in horis characteres quosdam ligno sculpsit, et talis sculpture usu literarum adinstar vivit. Externarum nationum invidiam exactis per ipsum Atilam regem victoriis condignum preconii subtraxisse stilum et eidem regi Atile gloriam imperialis nominis dempsisse puto, neque per ipsum gesta-

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¹ There are several views on the origin of the *Ancient Gesta* (or *Chronicle*). It was dated to the period between the reigns of King András I (1046–1060) and Kálmán (1095–1116). Some of the most important studies see Domanovszky, Sándor, *Kézai Simon mester krónikája*. Budapest, 1906.; Hóman, Bálint, *A Szent László-kori Gesta Ungarorum és XII–XIII. századi leszármazói*. Budapest, 1925. 95–96.; Gerics, József, *Legkorábbi gestaszerkesztéseink keletkezésrendjének problémái*. Budapest, 1961. 46–84.; Kristó, Gyula, *A magyar történeti irodalom a kezdetektől 1241-ig*. Budapest 1994. 114., 123–130.

rum rerum in decus quidpiam preterquam illatas per ipsum eis miseriae planctuosi carminis adinstar scripsisse inveniuntur... Nemo mundanam miseria absque aliena adeptus est gloriam. Ninus Assyriorum rex, regna quod in aliena violentas iniecit manus, universarum originem historiarum peperit, et, nisi quondam Agamemnon Grecorum imperator Troianum Ilion evertisset, Magnus quoque Alexander tristibus armis orbem vastasset, illorum nomina pariter cum corporibus cecidissent."²

The chronicler who summarized the Hungarian medieval tradition gave the great monarch of the Huns a new living actuality: he regarded him the historical ancestor of his king, Mátyás [Matthias]. The thousand year long parallel between Attila and Mátyás – the glorious beginning and the glorious present – explained Attila's leading role and the reasons why the important persons who had lived in between were all overshadowed. The Augsburgian text-version of Thuróczy's chronicle tells us the victories which Mátyás gained with these words:

„Prefulgida rege de hoc per orbem fama volat, et ensis illius vicinis regionibus terrori est. Nec aliquando Machumetes ille Manus, cuius framea perpercit nulli, vires regis huius campestrali certamine tentare ausus fuit. Cum et desub castro Jaiicza, ut premissum est, deque Moldavia eiusdem ante gladium fugerit vehementer, expersque sui voti suam redierit in terram, victoriosum quidem hunc hominem ut secundum Atilam reddidere fata."³

The conception is clear. Mátyás' glorious reign has brought the Hungarians Attila's victorious time again. All the textual variations of the *Hungarian Chronicle* contain these hexameters:

„Sorte nova rediit Hunorum clarissima, quondam tempore, que fuerat Atilae, victoria, regis."⁴

Attila's actuality in that time is quite remarkable because King Mátyás did not regard himself Attila's descendant, otherwise – according to the written tradition – he found in him only one of his political predecessors. To see the ideological circumstances more clearly we have to take a look at the personal prehistory of King Mátyás. His father was János Hunyadi, governor of Hungary, a great and victorious warrior of the Christianity. His origin has different traditions. According to Thuróczy's chronicle János Hunyadi's descent was pure and noble, his

² Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*. I. Textus. Ediderunt Elisabeth Galántai et Julius Kristó. Budapest, 1985. 15–16. [hereinafter Thuróczy, Chron. Hung.]

³ Mályusz, Elemér, *A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai*. Budapest, 1967. 54. [hereinafter Mályusz 1967.]

⁴ Thuróczy, Chron. Hung. I. 292.

clan came from the Transalpine region [Wallachia] (it means the south-eastern neighbourhood of the Carpathian Basin, that is, the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom) during the reign of King Zsigmond [Sigismund].⁵ Antonio Bonfini – whose work will be discussed later – led his back family to the ancient Roman Corvinus clan by a typical Romanizing method of the Humanistic historiography.⁶ The legendary tale that follows is at least more likely than Bonfini's „official” genealogy. Bonfini tells us a story – nevertheless, he did not believe it – that János Hunyadi was an illegitimate son of King Zsigmond. Gáspár Heltai, the Transylvanian chronicler asserts that this theory is true.⁷ Recent historical scholarship – based on not only narrative sources but also documentary evidence – has put it forward that János Hunyadi's father was Vajk, a nobleman at the court of King Zsigmond.⁸ In these controversial opinions there is only one firm point: Mátyás did not come from an ancient royal dynasty as a legitimate descendant. Especially not from Attila. In the domestic tradition there had been a great choice for Mátyás: Attila's memory was not a necessary part of the historical heritage with all its disadvantageous aspects, on the contrary, it was an alternative to emphasize the advantageous elements, since Attila's historical memory did not present then a homogeneous picture.

Nevertheless, the personality of the legendary great monarch of the Huns was spoiled by eternal bloodstains. He killed his brother Bleda (or in Hungarian form, Buda) by his own hands. Medieval Hungarian narrative sources did not keep quiet about the fratricide, instead, they gave a reason for it. Buda broke the agreement and crossed the border between the two brother's realms.⁹ Although his death was terrible, it was righteous. Thuróczy could take the rational reason easily from his chronicle-writer ancestors:

*„Buda frater suus terminos sui rectoratus sibi per Atilam deputatos transgressisse et illius in absentia regnum sibi usurpare voluisse erga illum accusatus est. Et his rebus id, quod rex Atila suo in recessu Sicambriam urbem Atile preceperat vocari, Buda vero illam vocabulo sui nominis Budawara denominaverat, apud Atilam magna comprobatione erat. Quare ipse rex Atila eundem fratrem suum dolo circumventum captivavit, et propriis suis manibus occidit, cadaverque illius in Danubium demergi fecit.”*¹⁰

⁵ Ibid. 237.

⁶ *Antonius de Bonfinis Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Ediderunt I. Fögel et B. Iványi et L. Juhász. Tomus III. Decas III. Lipsiae, 1936. 95., 218–224. [hereinafter Bonfini, RUD.]

⁷ Heltai, Gáspár, *Krónika az Magyaroknak dolgairól*. Kolozsvár, 1575. 81r–v.

⁸ Kubinyi, András, *Mátyás király*. Budapest, 2001. 8–9. (Kubinyi does not believe the tradition of the illegitimate royal origin, but he does not regard it as an absolute impossible story.)

⁹ *Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum*. Szentpétery, Emericus, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* I. 156. *Chronici Hunagrcii Compositio Saeculi XIV*. Ibid. 268.

¹⁰ Thuróczy, *Chron. Hung.* I. 48.

This kind of reason was the seed from which the theory in the public was to grow up in Bonfini's great work and rise to a major role. Returning to Thuróczy, we can summarize his historical parallel, as King Attila's superhuman greatness, even in a better version, can be recognized in the personality of King Mátyás.¹¹

During the reign of Mátyás the medieval tradition coincided with new renaissance knowledge represented by two Italian-origin historians, Petrus Ransanus and Antonio Bonfini. They wrote Hungarian history from the point of view of a foreigner but their works were based on Thuróczy's chronicle. The two humanists brought a new attitude in our historiography. Although neither of them used the Attila–Mátyás parallel, without their thoughts we are not able to understand Miklós Zrínyi's *Contemplations*. It is interesting that on the one hand, Ransanus, following the Western-European pattern gave a negative portrayal about Attila, on the other hand, Bonfini, according to the Hungarian historical memory considered him as a positive hero. Ransanus, as bishop of Lucera was closely connected in his heart and mind to the negative Attila-tradition of the medieval church. From this point of view it seems clear that he emphasized King Attila's warlike and ambitious character in a tragic contrast with Buda's peaceful and moderate mind as follows:

„Bledam fratrem dolo occidit, quam ob causam id scelus admiserit, varie traditur. Perhient nonnulli causam eo fuisse, quod magna erat utriusque fratrum morum diversitas, miti erat ingenio Bleda, Attila feroci, pacem amabat Bleda, bellum Attila, humanus ille erat, hic truculentus et sanguinarius, ille beneficus, hic congerendarum opum cupidissimus, abstinebat ille alieno, hic nec domesticorum parcebat opibus... Bleda Attilae fratri longinquorem diuturnioremque militiam saepe dissuadebat. Id ille permoleste ferens clam imperat nonnullis e suis, quos ad hoc iudicavit aptissimos, ut quom primum nanciscerentur oportunitatem, Bledam incautum interficerent...”¹²

On the contrary, Bonfini's historical judgement did not simply follow the Hungarian tradition. Moreover, he absolved Attila from the sin of fratricide arguing with the theory of “state-ratio” and cited the antique example of Romulus and Remus. As he was a genuine humanist historian, he wrote a long apologetic speech:

„Quam misera sit condicio et sors ipsa regnantium, exemplo meo discite, proceres, qui ut iustitiam et equitatem ac mandatorum observantiam edocerem atque simul ostenderem, quo studio edicta et imperata prestari de-

¹¹ Mályusz 1967. 155–156.

¹² Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma Rerum Hungaricarum*. Curam gerebat Petrus Kulcsár. Budapest, 1977. 86–87. [hereinafter Ransanus, ERH.]

beant, fraterno, heu, sanguine me id experiri prius oportuit. Fratrem unicum, quem mihi consortem imperii feceram, ut interficerem, me necessitas adegit Romuli, ut aiunt, necessitate adductum, qui legum mandatorumque contemptum fraterno quam alieno supplicio ulcisci maluit. Non enim ignorabat vir ille divinus, qui e pastoribus ovium reges gentium facturus erat, nullum bene imperium et regi et amplificari posse, nisi omnes legibus ac regi parere didicissent. Quod, si leges et edicta pro irritis habeantur, is et ire perditum. Iustitia nanque sola non modo respublicas et imperia, sed societatem omnem munit et servat... Qui gubernationi salutique publice natus est et in tanto fastigio divino numine collocatus, nulla privati affetus ratione a publica utilitate et equitate diverti debet. Immo, quanto coniunctior est, qui errarit, tanto severius in eum animadvertendum est... Quid fecit infelix? Immemor edicti, immemor mei, qui fraterna charitate in imperii societatem neminem corrivalem admittentis adsciveram mecumque pariter regnare iusseram, pre ambitione immodica, ut nomen ac dignitatem meam sensim attenuaret, ut demum unicus imperaret, regiam sedem contempto mandato a se Budam nominavit, lese maiestatis crimen de eo tam benemerite pro nihilo duxit... Fratre quam regno, quam republica, quam dignitate carere malui. Quo si neque sanguini meo neque unico fratri reipublice gratia me pepercisse videtis, quid in alios qui scelerate quid comiserint me facturum putatis? Pugnavi in pectore meo aliquantisper um publica privata charitas, publice tandem rationi privatus cessit affectus, quod omnibus his, qui presunt, faciendum esse censeo, si optime sibi et reipublice consultum iri velint. Tu autem, frater infelix, mecum usque regnasses, si pari mecum amore et publica charitate certasses. Non te in regni consortium frater admiseram, ut te mox vita privarem, quando tecum, qui unicus idemque carissimus mihi fueras, dignitatem et utranque fortunam inde carerem, sed ut gubernandi labores cum honoribus pariter et triumphis tecum impertirer, ut mutuo quandoque alter alteri congratularemur. Plus tibi quam mihi timere solebam, ego labores, ego pericula obibam, ego in prelia descendebam, ut tuam mee vite anteferrem. Non fratris, sed unici loco filii te habebam. Si fortuna dedisset, ut immaturo fato interciperer, te regni heredem, te mei nominis defensorem et ultorem cedis forte sperabam. O spes hominum fallaces, o miseram mortalium conditionem et eorum presertim, qui in aliquo fastigio siti sunt, quibus quanto fortuna maior, tanto editior miseriarum et periculorum cumulus accedit. Maluissem, si per utilitatem nostre reipublice licuisset, hostili manu occumbere, qfraterno sanguine fedasse manus. Malim tamen preponentis iustitie numen fraterna victima pro regni salute expiare, quam commissa in rempublicem piacula preterire. Proinde edicta, leges et mandata servare exemplo mei sanguinis discite, que sint ab his regi expendenda supplicia, qui

*eius imperia militiamque detrectarint aut patria iura leserint aut humanitatis officia violarint...*¹³

In this imaginary historical speech the fraternal emotion was defeated by public interest. According to this logic, both Buda and Attila became victims of the state-ratio: one of them had to kill the other who was to be killed.

Nevertheless, the murder of Buda meant a serious, invincible contradiction which was haunting the Hungarian historical memory. It appeared in its deepest tragic form in the works of Count Miklós Zrínyi. By his lifetime the reign of King Mátyás had become a part of the glorious past, thus, the meaning of the Attila–Mátyás parallel had been changed. The political circumstances had also changed radically. The Hungarian Kingdom collapsed and its territory was torn into three parts. Several other political and religious antagonisms made the situation even more serious. To learn a lesson from the heritage in order to earn a better future – we can absolutely understand the feeling of the contemplating statesman. There are two sources about Zrínyi's historical images: some short epigrams written after the *Obsidio Sigetiana* (printed in 1651) and the *Contemplations about the life of King Mátyás* (written in the winter of 1655 and 1656).

The epigrams written after the *Obsidio Sigetiana* absolved Attila in the name of the common weal as Bonfini did. Moreover, they raised him onto the highest place in the Hungarian historical pantheon. The second Attila-epigram showed the great monarch as a primordial starting point of Hungarian statehood:

*„I am the first King of all the Hungarians,
I have brought them out far from the extreme lands!
Therefore I am the ideal of Hungarians,
For their fame and reign be grown with sword in their hands!”*¹⁴

Here is the almost perfect national and epic hero. Only the fratricide was left as a disturbing fact. For Miklós Zrínyi was as a great poet as an important commander of the armies, from this mortal sin he gave an imaginary absolution in the name of the victim himself:

*„How wrong can sit together in one royal throne
Dignity and mind, which went unruly and wrong,*

¹³ Bonfini, RUD. I. 73–75.

¹⁴ „Én vagyok Magyarok legelső Királya, | Utolssó világ részről én ki-hozója! | Én lehetek tehát Magyarok példája, | Hirét s birodalmát hogy nyujtsa szablyája!” *Adriai Tenegernek Syrenaia*, gróf Zrínyi Miklós. Anno 1651.

*Me and Remus became the best example for
All the ones who can not stay in their brother's throne.*¹⁵

In these short poems Zrínyi undoubtedly created the absolute ideal. But this opinion could not last long. The statesman-writer Zrínyi ruined his virtual Attila-statue few years later by a fatal contradiction with what he had just built himself in his poesy. At the end of his *Contemplations* he emphasized Attila's main role in Hungarian prehistory. The following words are not – yet – in contradiction with the poems:

*„Alexander the Great became a monarch of the world in few years, Emperor Julius ruled the Romans for a while, who have conquered the world, during few years Attila led his victorious army from one end of the world to another, defeated many nations, and founded a Kingdom in Pannonia for himself and his nation. Although Alexander did more than Attila, Attila's efforts were more useful, because Alexander's victories and conquests passed away soon after his death, Attila built a Kingdom that would last long and eternally, if we keep on going as the good old Hungarians had started.”*¹⁶

He went further than the medieval chronicles because none of them declared Attila as the absolute initiative force of Hungarian statehood. On the contrary, by mentioning Mátyás' disadvantageous features, Zrínyi changed his mind about the absolution of Attila as we can see in his poems:

*„Ungratefulness is a really dirty flavour, darkening many beauties on the royal mantle. Fate made your way much easier King as it prevented you from Attila's shameful sin who killed his brother Buda, protected you from the sacrilegious deed of Romulus who slayed Remus: strangers' cruelty took away your brother László.”*¹⁷

¹⁵ „Mely rosszul alhatnak egy királyi székben | Méltóság és egy ész, az mely engedetlen, | Rólam és Remusról példát vehet minden | Vesztő, mert nem fértem az bátyám székiben.” Ibid.

¹⁶ „Sándor kevés esztendő alatt világi monarchává lett, Julius császár kicsiny ideig világbíró rómaiakat maga alá hajtá, Attila kevés esztendeig világ egyik végéről a másikig győzedelmessen jára, sok nemzetet elronta, magának s nemzetének Pannoniában királyságot építte, aki mai napig is vagyon. És noha Sándor ennél több dolgokat vive véghez, ... de Attilának fáradsága hasznosabb vala, mert amannak az ő győzedelmei, országlásai holta után mind füstben menének, ez maradandó és örökös királyságot csinála magyarnak, ha mi is úgy continuálnánk, mint a régi jó magyarok kezdték.” Mátyás király életéről való elmélkedések. *Zrínyi Miklós Próza Munkái*. Sajtó alá rendezte és a jegyzeteket írta Kulcsár, Péter. (*Zrínyi Miklós Összes Művei*. Eds. Kovács, Sándor Iván–Kulcsár, Péter). Budapest, 2004. 196–197.

¹⁷ „Bizony nagy mocsok a háládatlanság, a királyi paláston sok szépséget sötétít be. Neked penig, király, az Fátum nagy könnyebbséget szerzett, és el akarta veled kerülni az Attila gyalázatos vétkét, ki az öccsét, Budát megölte; az Romulus istentelenségét, ki Remust agyonverte; más kegyetlensége elvette előled bátyádat, a Lászlót.” Ibid. 175.

In this part of the *Contemplations* Zrínyi considered Attila's deed purely from a moral point of view and however he honoured him as a great statesman he did not absolve him of the fratricide. This judgement was so strong that he seemed to find in King Mátyás a lurking brother-killer who was protected from this sin only by fate. His extremely moral thoughts defeated the absolution which based on the public interest. We should not forget that the negative memory of Attila made a strong influence on Zrínyi by a short chronicle too. It was written by Gergely Petthő, who followed Ransanus in the motive of the fratricide.¹⁸ Zrínyi was the editor.¹⁹ Anyway, Zrínyi bid farewell to the reason for the existence of the Attila–Mátyás parallel. Further on, Hungarian historiography has now turned again into the opposite direction of this parallel.

¹⁸ Petthő, Gergely, *Rövid magyar krónika*. Bécs, 1660. A4v. Conf. Ransanus, ERH. 1977. 86–87.

¹⁹ Szász, Béla, "Pethő Gergely krónikájának kiadója", *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1912) 219–223.

Part II

FRONTIERS OF RENAISSANCE AND HUMANISM

IVÁN BERTÉNYI

LES VARIANTES DES ARMOIRIES DU ROI MATHIAS

Il y a déjà trois quarts de siècle que l'étude substantielle de Lajos Kumorovitz est parue sur les sceaux du roi Mathias.¹ Ce représentant de grand format des sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire – conformément au titre de son étude – a exploré les sceaux de notre illustre monarque mais, vu que depuis l'établissement de l'usage des armoiries en Hongrie nos rois font figurer leurs armoiries sur leurs sceaux, l'étude de Kumorovitz – grâce aux actes scellés – est bien datée et, s'agissant des propres actes du roi, permet également d'explorer les armoiries reconnues à l'évidence par leur propriétaire. Pour leur valeur de source, les armoiries représentées sur les monnaies sont proches de celles visibles sur les sceaux à quelques ajouts près imputables aux monnayeurs. Étant donné que les pièces de monnaie utilisées aux échanges quotidiens étaient connues par tout le monde leur valeur de propagande a dépassé celle des sceaux. Notons que des études numismatiques de qualité ont également été publiées sur les monnaies du roi Mathias.² Face aux représentations de sceaux et d'armoiries incolores la littérature des enluminures présentant des armoiries ayant pour fonction de marquer le possesseur ou de servir d'ornement nous livre des armoiries de couleur. Les spécialistes de cette discipline ont surtout abordé l'époque du règne du roi Mathias par la bibliothéconomie mais, en passant, ils ont exploré les armoiries ayant soit la fonction de marquer le possesseur soit celle d'ornement. Par contre – leur centre d'intérêt étant ailleurs – ils n'étudient pas ou peu les

¹ Kumorovitz, L. Bernát, «Mátyás király pecsétjei» [Les sceaux du roi Mathias], *Turul*, XLVI (1932) 5–19 (ci-après: Kumorovitz, 1932).

² Huszár, Lajos, «Mátyás pénzei» [Les monnaies de Mathias], In: Lukinich, Imre (ed.), *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulóján*. (Pour le 500e anniversaire de sa naissance.) Budapest, I. 549–574. Toujours Lajos Huszár énumère en forme de catalogue les monnaies de Mathias dont celles portant des armoiries. In: *Müntzkatalog, Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*. Battemberg, 1979. 108–114. (ci-après: Huszár, 1979); Pohl, Artúr, *Hunyadi Mátyás birodalmának ezüstpénzei 1458–1490* [Les monnaies d'argent de l'empire de Mathias]. Budapest, 1972 et I-dem, *Münzreichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300–1540*. Budapest–Graz, 1982 (passages y relatifs); Soós, Ferenc, *A magyar fémpénzek feliratai és címerei* [Les inscriptions et les armes des monnaies de métal hongroises]. Budapest, 1998.

armoiries du point de vue héraldique.³ Ceci dit, parmi les auteurs d'ouvrages sur les manuscrits enluminés du Moyen Age nous devons des observations d'ordre héraldique pertinentes et valables pour l'ensemble du Moyen Age à Csaba Csapodi qui a prouvé l'existence d'une bibliothèque à part de la reine Beatrix à travers l'analyse des figures d'armoiries représentées sur les sceaux de la reine.⁴ La littérature d'histoire des arts⁵ (activée surtout à l'occasion des «anniversaires Mathias») a présenté un bon nombre de dessins avec armoiries et des armoiries conservées sur monuments divers (et, au cas échéant, des éléments de sceaux et monuments précieux pour l'histoire des monnaies).

Étudiant l'histoire des mentalités du 15^e siècle, Elemér Mályusz fait des observations intéressantes quand il analyse différemment que Kumorovitz un des blasons figurant dans l'édition de 1488 de la Chronique Thuróczy.⁶

Tout récemment c'est Jenő Váralljai Csocsány qui a consacré tout un chapitre aux armes de Mathias dans l'appendice de son étude sur le Graduel du roi Mathias faisant de nombreuses remarques inspirant réflexions même si certaines, de l'avis de l'auteur de ces lignes sont fort discutables.⁷

Nous allons y revenir.

La plupart des armoiries de Mathias sont des armoiries complexes, c'est-à-dire qu'elles représentent plusieurs armoiries simples sur le même écu ou disposées en couronne. Examinons-les une à une.

³ Tout de même Fögel, Ferenc, «A Corvin-codexekben előforduló címerek» [Les armoiries apparaissant dans les manuscrits Corvina], In: Fraknoi, Vilmos–Fögel, Ferenc–Gulyás, Pál–Hoffmann, Edit, *Bibliotheca Corvina. Mátyás király budai könyvtára*. Budapest, 1927. Observations pertinentes de la plume d'Edit Hoffmann visant à identifier les personnes des enlumineurs: *Régi magyar bibliofilek* [Les anciens bibliophiles hongrois]. Budapest, 1929 (Les autres travaux de Hoffmann dans le volume des ouvres du couple Csapodi dans l'édition de 1978. 319–320). Csaba Csapodi et Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi ont publié les armoiries de Mathias en nombreuses éditions, souvent avec des armoiries différentes sur les pages de couverture: *Bibliotheca Corviniana*. Budapest, 1967, 1978, 1981, 1990, et en 1978 en allemand aussi. Fait des remarques héraldiques pertinentes Mikó, Árpád, «Mátyás király könyvtára az uralkodó reprezentációjában» [La bibliothèque du roi Mathias dans la représentation du monarque], In: Monok, István (ed.), *A holló jegyében. Fejezetek a Corvinák történetéből*. Budapest, 2004. 35–38. V. aussi le texte de di Pietro Lombardi, Paola, «Mátyás emblémái» [Les emblèmes de Mathias], paru dans ce même ouvrage, 157–176.

⁴ Csapodi, Csaba, *Beatrix királyné könyvtára* [La bibliothèque de la reine Beatrix]. Budapest, 1964 (Magyar Tud. Ak. Könyvtárának Közleményei 41.) 3–26.

⁵ Balogh, Jolán, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Les arts dans la cour du roi Mathias]. I–II. Budapest, 1966.; *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, 1415–1541*. Catalogue d'exposition, 24 février – 26 juillet. Wien, 1982 (ci-après: Schallaburg'82).

⁶ Mályusz, Elemér, «A magyar állam a középkor végén. A magyar renaissance» [L'État hongrois à la fin du Moyen Age. La renaissance hongroise], In: Domanovszky, Sándor (ed.), *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*. Budapest, (sans date), 57, 61 et 649 (ci-après: Mályusz, A magyar állam).

⁷ Cf. Váralljai Csocsány, Jenő, *A magyar monarchia és az európai reneszánsz* [La monarchie hongroise et la renaissance européenne]. Pomáz, 2005. 79–85 (ci-après: Váralljai Csocsány, 2005).

1. Le fascé de gueules et d'argent des armoiries du pays (fascé de huit pièces en général, mais pas toujours. Parfois les fascés commencent avec de l'argent.)
2. Double croix alésée sur champ de gueules (quelquefois la croix est placée sur l'élément de milieu du mont à trois arcs)
3. Trois têtes de lion couronnées alésées sur champ d'azur (Dalmatie)
4. Lion rampant d'argent à queue fourchée sur champ de gueules (Bohême)
5. Fasce d'argent sur champ de gueules (Autriche)
6. Aigle essorant échiquetée de sable et de gueules à tête couronnée sur champ d'azur (Moravie)
7. Aigle de sable essorant sur champ d'or, en général regardant à droite (Silésie).
8. Deux couronnes d'or alésées (des fois une ou trois) sur champ d'azur (selon József Holub cette composition est portée à partir de la fin du règne de Mathias, selon Kumorovitz, Csaba Csapodi et Klára Gárdonyi elle représente la Galicie tandis que de l'avis de Ferenc Dőry, Elemér Mályusz, Zsuzsanna Bánki et Jenő Váralljai Csocsány ce sont les armoiries de la Bosnie). Il se peut que c'est simplement un enseigne du pouvoir sans se référer à un pays quelconque.
9. Lion rampant de gueules à une queue soulevant une couronne d'or de sa patte droite («le lion de Beszterce», enrichissement d'armoiries reçu par János Hunyadi avec le comté de Beszterce).
10. Corbeau de sable tenant une bague d'or dans son bec et perché sur une branche d'argent sur champ d'azur (les anciennes armoiries de la famille Hunyadi) (*fig. 1*).

Outre ces éléments, quelquefois apparaît le boeuf d'or de la Lusace, le lion rampant Luxembourgeois sur un champ fascé et la croix d'argent sur champ de gueules (les armoiries de la ville de Vienne⁸). Jusqu'ici la littérature, outre l'identification des armoiries, s'est bien gardée de faire des analyses héraldiques. Probablement les chercheurs ont été freinés par le fait que les armoiries de Mathias se sont maintenues à la postériorité en nombreuses variantes ainsi leur interprétation a posé bon nombre de problèmes théoriques. Toutefois il semblerait que suivant les grandes tendances de la littérature – justement en y associant l'examen des armoiries de Mathias – il était possible de dépasser⁸ la conception rigide élaborée par les blasonneurs des 17^e–19^e siècles⁹ de sorte que nous pouvons entreprendre avec plus d'assurance d'avancer quelques remarques au sujet des

⁸ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1978. 80. fig. 1. Figures présentées avec indication de couleurs héraldiques Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1990. 83–84.

⁹ Bertényi, Iván, «Címerváltozatok a középkori Magyarországon» [Variantes d'armoiries dans la Hongrie du Moyen Age], *Levéltári Közlemények* LIX (1988) 3–77 (ci-après: Bertényi, 1988).

armoiries de Mathias. Afin de bien cerner notre sujet disons d'emblée qu'ici il n'est pas dans notre propos d'analyser les armes de la reine Beatrix bien que, par le biais des armoiries de mariage, elles contiennent également les armoiries de ses maris. Et, pour éviter tout malentendu, précisons que, bien entendu, sont hors de notre champs d'examen les armoiries accordées par Mathias à des personnes ou à des villes car, quoique données par lui, ce ne sont pas ses propres blasons mais deviennent la propriété des bénéficiaires.

Comme nous avons déjà signalé il est peu probable que des figures contraires au souhait des bénéficiaires aient pu être mis sur les sceaux ou sur les coins. Étant donné que dans la pratique la gravure des sceaux est plus élaborée et qu'ils sont soigneusement conservés en bon état rien que pour la garantie juridique assurée par leur empreinte sur les actes, lors de l'identification des différents variantes nous pouvons nous appuyer sur les figures des sceaux comme sur des sources de premier ordre. Néanmoins, sans les représentations de couleur des armoiries peintes dans la Bibliotheca Corvinia nous ne saurions identifier les couleurs des différents variantes d'armoiries.

Conformément à l'usage de l'époque sur les blasons de roi Mathias aussi nous voyons alterner les armoiries considérées comme ses emblèmes personnels et celles des pays et provinces considérés comme les siens. En reconnaissance des hauts faits militaires de János Hunyadi, héros remportant des victoires sur les Turcs et qui est précédemment gouverneur militaire, le blason originel de la famille Hunyadi, le corbeau tenant une bague d'or dans son bec, est enrichi d'un lion de gueules rampant en champ d'argent tenant de la patte gauche une couronne d'or. D'après le titre de compte de Beszterce reçu en même temps par le bénéficiaire on a l'habitude d'appeler ce meuble lion de Beszterce. Conformément aux exigences de courtoisie héraldique qui veut que les figures animalières ne tournent pas le dos au nom du roi donateur dont le nom figure dans le texte les figures de corbeau dans le 1e et le 4e quartier ainsi que le lion rampant dans les deuxième et troisième quartiers se tournent à gauche.¹⁰ (fig. 2) On peut déjà observer, dans la période de 1453–1456, dans l'usage de sceau de János Hunyadi acquéreur des nouvelles armoiries que le nouvel écu écartelé n'élimine pas

l'emblème ancestral avec le corbeau. En plus, chaque fois que le nouveau blason apparaît, à la différence de la variante peu avant accordée, toutes les deux figures animalières regardent à droite (en avant).¹¹

¹⁰ Bertényi, Iván, *Magyar címertan* [Héraldique hongroise]. Budapest, 2003. 50, fig. 58.; Bertényi, Iván, «János Hunyadi's vaben, 1453», In: Tonnesen, Allan et al. (ed.), *Heraldik i Norden* (Heraldisk Tidsskrift, Bind 5, 2. Halvbind). Kobenhavn, 1984. 513–514. Le blasonneur ne reconnaît pas pourquoi le corbeau et le lion se tournent à gauche et blâme le peintre des lettres d'armoiries en expliquant les armes de 1453 présentées In: Schallaburg '82. 182, n° 72.

¹¹ Bertényi, 1988. 56–57.; Bertényi, Iván, «Das Wappen von János Hunyadi aus dem Jahre 1453», *Archivum Heraldicum* 49 (1985) 9–12.

Au milieu du 15^e siècle les armoiries de la Hongrie et des pays voisins, au moins pour leurs principales caractéristiques, sont grosso modo consolidées.¹² Nous présenterons les problèmes y relatifs lors de l'analyse des sources concrètes.

L'écu du sceau secret utilisé par le roi du moment de l'ascension au trône jusqu'à son couronnement est un écu écartelé avec écu en coeur. Le 1^{er} quartier de l'écu de base à pointe ronde est fascé de huit pièces (les fascés de la maison des Árpád, les armoiries de Hongrie), le deuxième est chargé de la double croix sur un monticule à trois arcs (les autres armoiries de la maison des Árpád, symbolisant à cette époque également le pays), dans le troisième apparaissent trois têtes de lion couronnées (tête de léopard, les armoiries de la Dalmatie), le quatrième est chargé d'un lion rampant (dans sa patte on ne voit pas la couronne sous l'écu en coeur, de sorte que c'est probablement le lion «de Beszterce» de la famille Hunyadi). Dans l'écu en coeur apparaît le corbeau du blason familial (*fig. 3*). Le point du chef est chargé d'une couronne ouverte. Cela est digne d'intérêt – avec d'autres couronnes placées également sur la bordure supérieure de l'écu – car elles continuent la série des armoiries précédentes du pays à couronne (de 1386 et de 1401) au moment de la création desquelles nos rois étaient empêchés d'exercer leurs prérogatives en raison de leur captivité et ainsi il était possible de prouver que la couronne peut être séparée de la personne du roi régnant du moment.¹³ A la vérité, entre 1458 et 1464 Mathias n'est pas empêché dans l'exercice de ses prérogatives royales et utilise également les armoiries du pays¹⁴ mais il n'est pas encore couronné, et ce qui plus est, la Sainte Couronne, indispensable pour le sacre, est dans la main de son grand rival, Frédéric III empereur germanique. Ce qui veut dire que la couronne ouverte de la bordure pouvait apparaître aux yeux des contemporains plus comme le symbole de la Hongrie que l'attribut de la dignité royale même si on ne peut exclure que par son usage Mathias lui-même voulait souligner la légitimité de son règne. On peut voir ces armoiries sous forme colorée, en des variantes quelque peu différentes, par occasion avec bordure arquée et sur écu à pointe saillante¹⁵ ou alors la

¹² Bertényi, Iván, «A magyar államcímer fogalmának kialakulása» [La formation du concept des armoiries de Hongrie], In: Ivánfi (Jancsik), Ede: *A Magyar Birodalom vagy Magyarország s részeinek címerei*. Pest, 1869. [Réimpr. Budapest, 1989.] 129–136. Ici: 132–133. (ci-après: Bertényi, 1989)

¹³ La figure et la description du sceau: Kumorovitz, 1932. 7, fig. 1. Description plus récente: Balogh 1966. II. 300, fig. 432. C'est ce qu'on voit sur la tapisserie de trône de Mathias aussi. Voir: Schallaburg '82. 76674. Sur monnaie le lion est tenu pour meuble d'armoiries tchèques. Pour la séparation de la couronne de la personne du monarque régnant voir: Bertényi, 1989. 131.; Huszár, 1979. 112. n° 716.; Soós, 1998. 94.

¹⁴ La circonscription du sceau présentée en lettres gothiques minuscules également: *Sigillum* mathie* dei* gratia* regis* hungarie* dalmatie* croitie*

¹⁵ Le premier champ de gueules et d'argent fascé de sixième, sous la croix d'argent du 2^e champ pas de monticule

couronne occupant toute la bordure supérieure de l'écu, à la Bibliothèque Nationale Széchényi dans un manuscrit enluminé contenant l'ouvrage astronomique de Regiomontanus, (*fig. 4*)¹⁶, dans un missel au Vatican (*fig. 5*)¹⁷ et dans quelques autres endroits ainsi dans les manuscrits enluminés Calderinus¹⁸ et Agathias¹⁹. C'est également des manuscrits enluminés que nous connaissons les émaux de ces armoiries. Le premier quartier de l'écu cintré du Missel est fascé de gueules et d'argent de 8 pièces, au deuxième une croix double s'élève sur l'arc du milieu d'un monticule à trois arcs, le troisième est chargé de trois têtes de lion couronnées alésées sur champ d'azur, au quatrième sur champ d'argent un lion rampant de gueules tient une couronne d'or. Certains spécialistes des miniatures voulaient voir dans le lion de Beszterce le lion d'argent tchèque sur champ de gueules sans couronne dans sa patte. Le champ fascé commençait également d'argent. Le miniaturiste du manuscrit Agathias ne faisait pas figurer le mont à trois arcs tandis que l'artiste du manuscrit Calderinus représente le corbeau de l'écu en coeur non pas sur champ «réglementairement» d'azur mais sur champ d'argent. Le manuscrit Ficinius de Wolfenbüttel²⁰ non seulement commence le premier quartier d'argent mais aussi réduit le nombre des pièces à 6. De surcroît, inversant l'usage des émaux, il crée une variante où est représentée une croix double de gueules sur champ d'argent. (*fig. 6*)²¹ Au frontispice 2 du même manuscrit on voit, sous la croix double de gueules, un mont à trois arcs. (*fig. 7*)²²

Selon les recherches de Kumorovitz le premier sceau secret royal présenté plus haut a été utilisé par Mathias jusqu'à 1463. Son sceau, plus simple, utilisé pour rendre justice, ne portant pas d'écu en coeur et utilisé à partir de son avènement jusqu'à sa mort, a eu la vie plus longue. Le corbeau figurant sur l'écu en coeur du sceau secret a été transféré par le graveur au 4e quartier de l'écu écartelé tandis que le lion de Beszterce est omis. Ainsi seule la figure de corbeau se réfère à la famille Hunyadi. Il représente également une couronne, à cinq fleurons, tout comme une circonscription dont le texte est identique à celui du

¹⁶ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1978. VI. (29)

¹⁷ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. LXXXV. (123)

¹⁸ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XVIII. (62). Là, dans le quatrième quartier de l'écu de base licorne d'argent en champ de gueules

¹⁹ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XLV. (90) la double croix est alésée, elle n'est pas posée sur monticule

²⁰ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967 CXXXI (170)

²¹ Ib. F. 1v.

²² Ib. F. 2r. Pour cette variation voir: Bertényi, Iván, «La double croix de gueules sur champ d'argent, symbole du pouvoir royal et du christianisme dans quelques armoiries du roi Mathias I^{er}», In: Menendez Pidal de Navascués, F. (ed.), *Les armes en Europe al comenzar la edad moderna y proyeccion al nuevo mundo*. Actas des VII. Coloquio Internacional de Heraldica Cáceres 30 sept. – 4. oct. de 1991. Madrid, 1993. 57–59.

premier sceau secret royal. (*fig. 8*)²³ Nous ignorons la raison pour laquelle les enlumineurs avaient des réticences à l'égard des armes de ce sceau. C'est encore un des blasons de la Chronique Thuróczy qui lui ressemble le plus. Ce dernier ne représente pas non plus d'écu en coeur et pareillement aux quatre quartiers du sceau représente quatre quartiers différents sur l'écu écartelé mais il charge le premier quartier d'une croix double de gueules (!) sur champ d'argent, le deuxième quartier est fascé, le troisième, au lieu des têtes de léopard dalmatiennes, représente un lion rampant d'argent regardant à gauche tandis que le quatrième est chargé d'un corbeau tourné également à gauche. (*fig. 9*)²⁴

L'originalité de la bulle d'or datée pour la période suivant le couronnement c'est qu'elle omet totalement les figures relatives à la famille Hunyadi et même les têtes de léopard dalmatiennes. Sur sa face (au pied de la figure assise sur le trône) il apparaît – sans les troismonts – l'écu cintré avec la croix double tandis que le revers de la bulle est fascé sept fois. (*fig. 10*)²⁵. Au-dessus des armes avec la double croix la couronne ne figure pas: la raison en est probablement que la figure de rois – munie également d'autres emblèmes royaux, à savoir du sceptre et de la pomme du pays – a sur la tête. Toutefois, au-dessus de l'écu fascé du revers, on voit une couronne ouverte à cinq fleurons avec des bandes arquées à peu près parallèlement à la bordure de l'écu.

Le sceau plus petit, utilisé entre 1468 et 1470, combine le champ fascé avec le corbeau familial placé sur un écu en coeur, à côté de l'écu des sigles «M» et «R» (= Mathias rex). (*fig. 11*)²⁶. Les enlumineurs ne l'ont pas goûté sous cette forme mais tous les deux éléments, le fascé et le corbeau, placé chacun sur un écu à part, ou ensemble aussi en d'autres combinaisons d'armes, sont souvent repris. Utilisé dans la deuxième partie du règne du roi le sceau ovale porte des armes encore plus simplifiées: sous la couronne ouverte à cinq fleurons écu fascé de huit pièces. (*fig. 12*)²⁷

Il est curieux que les blasonneurs, préférant les compositions plus ornées, plus complexes, ont de l'aversion de placer les variantes plus haut présentées dans les places d'honneur. Ainsi ces variantes apparaissent en général en compagnie

²³ Kumorovitz, 1932. 7, fig. 2. Edition plus récente avec photos de meilleure qualité: Balogh, 1966. II. 301, fig. 435.

²⁴ Thuróczy, János, *A magyarok krónikája* [La chronique des Hongrois]. Ed. et trad. János Horváth, Budapest, 1978. (ci-après: Thuróczy, 1978), et v. l'étude de Soltész, István, «A Thuróczy-krónika és kiadásai» [La chronique Thuróczy et ses éditions], dans cette même édition, 423–439.

²⁵ Kumorovitz, 1932. 8, fig. 4–5. Circonscription de la face: DOMINUS DEUS ADIUTOR MEUS, sur le revers: MATHIE D.G. REGIS HUNAGARIE ETC. Son édition moderne: Érszegi, Géza (ed.), *Sigilla Regum – Reges Sigillorum. Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétgyűjteményéből* [Portraits de roi dans la collection sigillographique des Arch. Nat. de Hongrie]. La description des armes est faite par Miklós Sölch. Photos de K. Szelényi. Budapest, 2001. 72–73, n° 36–37

²⁶ Kumorovitz, 1932. 12, fig. 11. Figure plus claire: Balogh, 1966. 304, fig. 439.

²⁷ Kumorovitz, 1932. 9, fig. 7. Figure de meilleure qualité: Balogh, 1966. 304, fig. 439.

d'armoiries de province – peintes également séparément – comme éléments d'ornement en bordures de page et non pas en fonction de marqueur de possesseur. On peut voir une telle solution par ex. sur le revers du folio 2 du manuscrit à peintures Domitius Calderinus où, à côté des armoiries identiques au sceau secret n°1 sauf que le lion n'est pas de gueules mais d'argent, dans les ornements de bordure de page on retrouve l'écu à deux couronnes (se référant soit à la Galicie et la Bosnie, soit au pouvoir) ainsi que les armoiries avec les fascés de gueules et d'argent de huit pièces et les armes (de Silésie) représentant l'aigle de sable sur champ d'or (*fig. 13*).²⁸ L'ornement du revers du folio 2 d'une Bible, conservée à Florence, est pareil. Ici, la place des grandes armoiries de possesseur reste vide tandis que sur les bordures on retrouve séparément la variante à trois couronnes (Galicie? Bosnie ? enseigne du pouvoir?) celle portant la croix double d'argent sur monticule à trois arcs sur champ de gueules, les armes à trois têtes de léopard d'or couronnées alésées sur champ d'azur ainsi que les armoiries de Hongrie avec les fascés. (*fig. 14*)²⁹ Sur le frontispice du folio 279 du Bréviaire conservé au Vatican aux côtés des armoiries de possesseur on voit, d'une part, la double croix d'argent sur champ de gueules, d'autre part les fascés autrichiennes sur champ de gueules. (*fig. 15*)³⁰ Mais sur des écus à fonction d'ornement à part figurent les fascés et la croix double (en compagnie des armoiries de Vienne et de l'Autriche) sur le frontispice du folio 2 du manuscrit Porphyrio Pomponius conservé à Milan. (*fig. 16*)³¹ Le revers du folio 1 du manuscrit enluminé Synesius Platonicus gardé à Wolfenbüttel où l'on voit en haut l'écu fascé d'argent et de gueules de dix pièces à couronne, en bas de la page, sur champ d'azur couvert de couronne ouverte, figure le corbeau de sable des armes familiales tenant de son bec une bague d'or avec, au fond, le croissant de lune d'or et de sable. (*fig. 17*)³²

C'est un usage rare de voir figurer uniquement le corbeau, le meuble le plus ancien des armes des Hunyadi. S'agissant d'écus fascés quelquefois nous rencontrons des variantes où le nombre des coupés est non pas sept mais huit ou même neuf ou quelquefois seulement six ou alors les fascés commencent non pas de gueules mais d'argent. Les connaisseurs des armoiries de Hongrie n'y voient rien de particulier car il est bien connu que les variantes fascées de huit ou de

²⁸ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XVIII. (62)

²⁹ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XIV. (58)

³⁰ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. LXXVI. (120). Écu fascé et à double croix utilisé de manière autonome sur monnaie, voir: Huszár, 1979. 110–111 et 699; Soós, 1998. 92. Dans le quatrième quartier de l'écu des armes de possesseur placées en place d'honneur un lion rampant d'argent sur champ de gueules. Bien que le lion ait une queue il peut être la variation du lion tchèque. Le corbeau de l'écu en coeur n'est pas placé non plus en champ d'azur mais d'argent. Cette variation se rencontrant ailleurs aussi est classée par Klára Gárdonyi parmi les oeuvres de Attavante dei Attavanti peintre travaillant après 1485. In: Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. 23. et tableau LXXVI. (120).

³¹ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. LXXVI. (72)

³² Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. CXXIV. (173)

neuf pièces et commençant soit avec de gueules soit d'argent perdurent encore pendant cinq cents ans: c'est seulement le décret 3755/1895 qui tranche définitivement en faveur des armoiries fascées de gueules et d'argent de 8 pièces. Les armoiries de possesseur représentées sur le revers du folio I du manuscrit Livius gardé à la Nationalbibliothek de Vienne combinent même les deux sortes de champ à savoir celui fascé de gueules et d'argent de huit pièces et l'autre fascé d'argent et de gueules de huit pièces. Le champ fascé de deux sortes figure dans le premier et quatrième quartiers alors que les quartiers deuxième et troisième sont chargés du lion rampant de Bohême à queue fourchée sur champ de gueules. (*fig. 18*)³³ L'originalité de cet écu écartelé c'est qu'on ne le retrouve plus dans cette forme sur d'autres sceaux, nous connaissons seulement une variante équivalant sur le plan héraldique. Un plus petit sceau secret hongro-bohémien connu de 1472–73 et utilisé suite à l'avènement au trône de Bohême en 1469 comportant un grand écu parti cintré représente dans le deuxième quartier le lion de Bohême alésé à côté du premier quartier fascé de huit pièces. (*fig. 19*)³⁴ Les figures d'autres sceaux encadrent cet écu parti des armoiries d'autres provinces de Mathias. Sur le sceau royal tchèque utilisé entre 1469 et 1484 autour de l'écu principal à fascées et à lion présenté plus haut et placé sous une couronne fermée, donc susceptible d'être la représentation contemporaine de la Sainte Couronne, on voit, sur des écus séparés, la croix double hongroise placée au milieu d'un monticule à trois arcs, la couronne, le corbeau de la famille Hunyadi, le boeuf d'or de la Lusace acquis moyennant le titre de roi de Bohême ainsi que l'aigle morave et l'aigle silésienne. (*fig. 20/1*)³⁵ Pratiquement, la composition du sceau secret tchèque datant de 1486 présente le même agencement³⁶ mais il représente une couronne ouverte au-dessus de l'écu principal et c'est elle qui est entourée en cercle de la croix double hongroise, du lion de Luxembourg, du corbeau des Hunyadi, du boeuf de la Lusace et de l'aigle morave et de l'aigle de Silésie, tous sur écus cintrés. (*fig. 20/2*) Là, nous pouvons donc constater que la couronne est remplacée par le lion luxembourgeois. D'ailleurs, ces représentations en couronne ne sont pas prisées par les miniaturistes et les monnayeurs bien qu'on les retrouve dans l'exemplaire imprimé et coloré à la main de la Chronique Thuróczy dans l'édition d'Augsbourg où les armes de Mathias et de Beatrix représentées au centre sur des écus séparés mais sous la même couronne sont encadrées en cercle des armoiries de huit provinces. (*fig. 21*)³⁷ Pour les miniaturistes des manuscrits

³³ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. CXXV. (162)

³⁴ Kumorovitz, 1932. 12, fig. 12 et note 82. Le droit du sceau traité par Huszár, 1979. 111 et Soós, 1998. 93 ressemble à ce sceau. Le lion est considéré par Huszár comme les armes des Hunyadi et par Soós comme les armes de Bohême.

³⁵ Kumorovitz, 1932. 11, fig. 8.

³⁶ Kumorovitz, 1932. 11, fig. 9.

³⁷ Thuróczy, 1978. 3.

il pouvait exister des alternatives par rapport à l'agencement en couronne décrit plus haut comme par ex. celle consistant à représenter l'écu principal par les armoiries de possesseur en bas de page tandis que les éléments de la couronne apparaissent comme ornements de bordure de page. Les conquêtes de Mathias au Nord³⁸ figurent sur des monnaies non pas en couronne d'armoiries mais sur écu écartelé (le premier est fascé, le deuxième porte le lion tchèque, le troisième le boeuf de la Lusace et le quatrième l'aigle de Silésie) alors que l'écu en coeur est chargé du corbeau familial. Une autre solution: au droit le premier champ de l'écu parti est fascé, le deuxième représente le lion tchèque tandis que sur le revers on voit l'aigle de Silésie³⁹ sur écu. Ces combinaisons s'apparentent aux sceaux utilisés par Mathias les années 80 du 15^e siècle.

Le grand sceau ou sceau de majesté utilisé de 1464 jusqu'à 1490 constitue une variante spéciale des agencement en couronne. Là, les différentes armoiries sur des écus séparés, placées dans les alvéoles du trône somptueux, entourent le monarque assis sur trône et portant les enseignes du pouvoir. A l'avant, le plus en haut, la croix double sur monticule à trois arcs, en-dessous la belette de Slavonie. Selon une interprétation récente cette dernière figure représente le lévrier bulgare. Viennent ensuite le lion des Hunyadi, et, de l'autre côté, en haut, les fascés de Hongrie, plus bas la couronne, au-dessous les trois têtes de léopard couronnées de Dalmatie, enfin, sous le genou du roi, le corbeau des Hunyadi tenant un anneau de son bec. (fig. 22)⁴⁰ Les figures du droit du sceau de majesté ne sont pas utilisées ensemble sous cette forme mais les armoiries qu'on peut voir sur les différents écus devaient inspirer à l'évidence les miniaturistes pour utiliser les armoiries familiales ou de province comme des éléments d'ornement. Sur le revers du grand sceau biface c'est l'écu fascé tenu par trois anges qui est entouré d'armoiries familiales ou de province (en sens inverse des aiguilles de la montre): la croix double (sans socle), les trois têtes de lion, le lion de Beszterce, le corbeau de sable sur une branche accompagné de la Lune, la belette de Slavonie et la couronne. (fig. 23)⁴¹

³⁸ Huszár, 1979.114, note 733.; Soós, 1998. 94. Ces armoiries figurent sur monuments architecturaux aussi, ainsi au-dessus d'une des portes de la mairie de Wroclav, sans écu en coeur au-dessus de l'ancienne entrée principale de la mairie de Görlitz. Cf. Mieth, Katja Margareth – Winzeler, Marius, «Das Wappen Mattias Corvinus am Görlitzer Rathaus – subtile Huldigungsgeste eine städtische Selbstdarstellung», *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin. Neue Folge*, 11 (2008) 7–26. Abb. 1.; Papp, Szilárd, «Mátyás uralmának heraldikai emlékei Felső-Lausitzban és Sziléziában», In: Farbaky, P.–Spekner, E.–Szende, K.–Végh, A. (ed.), *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király. Hagymány és megújulás a királyi udvarban, 1458–1490* [Mathias Hunyadi, le roi. Tradition et renouveau dans la cour royale]. Catalogue d'exposition, Musée d'Histoire de Budapest, 19 mars – 30 juin 2008. 223–224, fig. 1–2.

³⁹ Huszár, 1979. 114, note 732 et Soós, 1998. 94.

⁴⁰ Csánki, Dezső (ed.), *Magyar kir. országos levéltár diplomatikai osztályában őrzött pecsétek mutatója*. [Registre des sceaux conservés au Département diplomatique des Arch. Nat. Royales]. Budapest, 1889. tableau X, fig. 42. V. son édition moderne: *Sigilla regum – Reges sigillorum*, 2001, 74–75, fig. 38.

⁴¹ Kumorovitz, 1932. 8–9; Balogh, 1966. II. 296, fig. 429.

Les combinaisons des fasces hongroises, des armes de Bohême et du corbeau des Hunyadi figurent sur les anneaux sigillaires de Mathias utilisées dans les années 1480 en sorte que sous la couronne ouverte dans les quartiers premier et quatrième de l'écu écartelé figure le lion tchèque, dans les quartiers deuxième et troisième les fasces de Hongrie et sur l'écu en coeur est représenté le corbeau familial. La différence entre les deux sceaux c'est que sur l'une des variantes les lions rampants regardent en arrière (imitant quasi les lions de Beszterce) alors que sur l'autre ils sont tournés l'un contre l'autre.⁴² Lors du transfert de cette variante dans les manuscrits les miniaturistes ont déplacé l'accent héraldique des lions aux fasces: alors que sur les sceaux dans le premier quartier, plus accentué, figure le lion dans le manuscrit cette place est occupée par les fasces. Cette variante portant les couleurs habituelles se rencontre à la tête d'un manuscrit enluminé gardé à Munich⁴³ comportant l'épopée de Tommaso Seneca de Camerino, humaniste du 15^e siècle avec des lions regardant en avant. On trouve les mêmes figures sur écu de tête de cheval (l'écu du coeur est également de tête de cheval), puis dans un manuscrit de Tacite,⁴⁴ conservé à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Yale, sur écu cintré dans le manuscrit Livius⁴⁵ à la New York Public Library et en variantes semblables dans bien d'autres endroits. Grâce au fait que les variantes comportant des écus aux motifs fasces–lion–corbeau se rencontrent en grand nombre la littérature d'histoire des art a analysé même les façons de dessiner les lions et elle a essayé d'en tirer des conclusions concernant la personne des blasonneurs.⁴⁶ Il existe une variante avec des lions tournés l'un contre l'autre comme on le voit à la tête du manuscrit Ptolemaeus de la Nationalbibliothek de Vienne.⁴⁷

Dans les cinq dernières années de sa vie, conformément à son titre de prince d'Autriche porté à partir de 1485, Mathias fait graver la fasce autrichienne également sur ses sceaux secrets. Le premier quartier y est occupé par les armoiries de Hongrie fascé de huit pièces, le deuxième est chargé du lion rampant. On ne peut dire avec certitude s'il s'agit du lion de Beszterce ou du lion tchèque car il ne tient pas de couronne de sa patte mais il a une queue. Au troisième nous voyons la fasce autrichienne, au quatrième figure probablement l'aigle morave. Sur l'écu en coeur on voit le corbeau sur branche des Hunyadi tandis que sur la bordure supérieure est placée une couronne ouverte à cinq fleurons. (*fig. 24*)⁴⁸ Cette variante a également suscité l'intérêt des miniaturistes des manuscrits. En

⁴² Kumorovitz, 1932.12, fig. 13–14.

⁴³ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XLVII. (92)

⁴⁴ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XLIX. (96)

⁴⁵ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. L. (97)

⁴⁶ V. l'article de Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi In: Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. 81.

⁴⁷ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. XCIX. (137)

⁴⁸ Selon Kumorovitz les données d'histoire des monnaies rendent plutôt plausible l'aigle morave.

fonction d'armes de possesseur on peut en voir un très beau spécimen à la tête du manuscrit⁴⁹ de Leon Battista Albertini traitant de l'architecture. Les ornements de bordure représentent d'autres armoiries de province. Le premier quartier de l'écu écartelé est fascé de gueules et d'argent de huit pièces, le deuxième est chargé du lion rampant tchèque portant une couronne sur un champ de gueules. Là, contrairement au sceau, on peut dire avec certitude qu'il s'agit de la couronne tchèque non seulement à cause de sa couleur et de la queue fourchée bien visible mais aussi parce qu'au milieu de l'ornement de bordure apparaît le lion de Beszterce aussi (rampant, tenant une couronne). Le troisième quartier des armes de possesseur est de gueules portant la fasce autrichienne alors que le quatrième quartier d'azur représente l'aigle morave échiquetée à couronne d'or. (fig. 25)

Après avoir passé en revue les différentes représentations d'armoiries, quelques questions, liées à l'identification et en même temps à l'interprétation de quelques figures, restent toujours ouvertes. Prenons d'abord le problème évoqué le plus souvent, à savoir des couronnes ouvertes alésées – une, deux ou trois – sur champ d'azur. József Holub a estimé il y a 90 ans que jusqu'à 1463, quand la Bosnie tombe aux mains des Turcs, c'est le principal meuble qui figure sur son écu. C'est ce qu'on peut voir sur l'écu du cavalier du grand sceau du roi Tvrtko István I^{er} (1377–91), sur les sceaux de István Tamás datant de 1444, sur le portail du château fort de Jajca, dans les armoiries de la reine de Bosnie ainsi que sur les pierres tombales de Miklós Ujlaki, roi de Bosnie et de son fils, du prince Lőrinc. Néanmoins, dans les dernières décennies du 15^e siècle, apparaît un nouvel emblème, le bras tenant une épée. Ce meuble figure déjà sur le monument funéraire romain de la reine Caterina (†1478), dans un armorial datant de 1484 et sur une gravure de Dürer de 1515. Selon Holub, les armoiries à couronne visibles sur les sceaux de Mathias, de Wladislas II et du roi János (Jean) se réfèrent déjà à la Galicie pour la bonne et simple raison que sous le règne de Ferdinand I^{er} parmi les armoiries encadrant l'écu principal celles chargées du bras avec l'épée⁵⁰ se trouvent à côté des deux écus à couronne.

Kumorovitz⁵¹ est d'accord avec l'avis de Holub et il est suivi de Csaba Csapody et de Klára Gárdonyi⁵² qui blasonnent un nombre de manuscrits Corvina. Il y a deux décennies, l'auteur de ces lignes penchait également plutôt vers cette interprétation. Par contre, pour Ferenc Dóry⁵³, Elemér Mályusz⁵⁴, Zsuzsanna

⁴⁹ Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1981.

⁵⁰ Holub, József, «Bosznia címerei» [Les armes de Bosnie], *Turul* XXXV (1917) 54–57.

⁵¹ Kumorovitz, 1932. 8.

⁵² Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967, 1978², 1981³, 1990⁴ à nombreux endroits.

⁵³ Bertényi, 1988 à plusieurs endroits ainsi que Dóry, Ferenc, «Magyarország címerének kialakulása» [L'évolution des armoiries de Hongrie], *Turul* XXXV (1917).

⁵⁴ Mályusz, A magyar állam, 57. et 649. selon lui: Moesie = Bosnie.

Bánki⁵⁵ et tout récemment Jenő Váralljai Csocsány⁵⁶ l'écu à couronne, pendant tout le règne de Mathias, reste les armoiries de la Bosnie.

Dans ce débat il est très difficile de mettre sur la table des preuves matérielles car il n'est guère possible de dater exactement des statues et des pierres tombales (le seul repère sûr étant un sceau daté de 1444, de plus, ces monuments pouvaient être modifiés ultérieurement). Par contre là où l'on ne voit qu'une, deux ou trois couronnes sur l'écu il n'y a aucun texte pour nous éclairer s'il s'agit des armoiries de la Bosnie ou de la Galicie. De surcroît, les trois variantes pour le nombre différent des couronnes sont source d'autres incertitudes. Avec cela, à côté des sources susceptibles de permettre de lier les représentations soit à la Bosnie, soit à la Galicie il se rencontre des sources qui démentent l'idée de leur emploi stable comme armoiries.

Un missel glagolite daté environ pour 1408 représente à cheval Hervoja, prince de Spalato, voïvode de Bosnie. Sur le champ de son bouclier nous voyons un lion rampant à queue fourchée sur écu avec chef.⁵⁷ Certes, c'est une donnée précoce mais nous ne voyons pas non plus de couronne sur les deniers «de type hongrois» de Miklós Újlaki, roi de Bosnie (vassal de Mathias) bien qu'au droit ces pièces prétendent être la monnaie du roi de Hongrie et ne font mention de Miklós roi de Bosnie que sur le revers.⁵⁸ Il semble que Miklós Újlaki en roi de Bosnie utilise pour la plupart (après les armes de Louis II, patriarche d'Aquilée) les armoiries losangées de la principauté de Teck ainsi que les armoiries du roi Mathias. Cela peut s'expliquer par le fait que c'est Mathias qui a nommé Újlaki roi de Bosnie suite à la répression du complot de 1471 en lui confiant les banats de Croatie et de Slavonie, puis il lui a fait donation des châteaux du prieuré d'Auranie. (Par cela il devient «subditus regni Hungariae» bien qu'il ait été couronné en 1472.)⁵⁹

D'ailleurs selon une expertise numismatique appelant à la prudence «les erreurs pullulent dans la littérature traitant de la fabrication de monnaie de Újlaki».⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Bánki, Zsuzsanna, «A Magyar Országos Levéltár Mátyás-kori pecsétkiállításának katalógusa» [Catalogue de l'exposition des sceaux de l'époque de Mathias des Arch. Nat. de Hongrie], *Levéltári Közlemények* LXII (1991) 60 et 77.

⁵⁶ Váralljai Csocsány, 2005. 80.

⁵⁷ Mályusz, A magyar állam, 23.

⁵⁸ Le premier quartier de leur écu écartelé est fascé de huit pièces, au deuxième quartier se trouve la double croix, au troisième les têtes de léopard de Dalmatie, au quatrième le lion de Bohême, sur leur écu en coeur le corbeau des Hunyadi. V. Gyöngyössi, Márton, «Újlaki Miklós boszniai király pénzverése» [La frappe de monnaie de Miklós Újlaki, roi de Bosnie], *Érem* LIV (1996) 2–6.

⁵⁹ Soós, 1998. 95.; Kubinyi, András, «Die Frage des bosnischen Königtums von Nikolaus Ujlaki», *Studia Slavica* IV (1958) 376–378.

⁶⁰ Gyöngyössi, 1996. 14.

Sur l'une des représentations de drapeau de la médaille «Marti fautori» conservée au National Gallery de Washington on voit un bras tenant un sabre. On peut songer à ce que c'est le motif des armoiries des Sicules.

Mais, étant donné que la Transylvanie du temps de Mathias n'est pas considérée comme une province autonome (elle ne figure pas dans l'intitulation du monarque hongrois), il n'est pas exclu que ce soit les armes de la Bosnie. Vu que l'auteur de ces lignes n'a pu examiner la médaille en question il ne lui est pas possible de formuler plus qu'une hypothèse. Du reste, déjà l'ancienne littérature a remarqué que sur l'un des grands sceaux du roi Ferdinand I^{er}, parmi les petites armoiries encadrant les armoiries principales, on trouve, à côté des deux écus aux couronnes, les armes au bras tenant le sabre, emblème considéré plus tard comme les armoiries de la Bosnie.⁶¹

Une peinture symbolique datée d'après 1608, vraisemblablement de 1621 (et qui se trouvait à l'ancien Musée du Parlement actuellement au Salon d'images historiques du Musée National Hongrois – nr. d'inventaire 1831) agence autour de la Sainte Couronne et de son pays les armoiries des pays attachés et des provinces vassales. Les petites armoiries peintes au milieu et placées à la place d'honneur sont encadrées d'écus plus petits au-dessus desquels on a écrit le nom des pays qu'ils représentent. Le premier de ces pays est la Slavonie – sur champ d'azur une belette courante entre deux fasces d'argent, au-dessus une étoile, le deuxième pays est la Serbie – sur champ d'argent une tête de sanglier de sable tenant dans sa bouche une flèche, le troisième est la Galicie – sur champ d'azur trois couronnes, et le quatrième est la Bosnie: sur champ de gueules un bras tenant une épée, le cinquième est la Bulgarie – sur champ de gueules trois loups d'or, le sixième est la Lodomérie – sur champ d'azur deux fasces échiquetées de gueules et d'argent, le septième est le pays des Coumans – sur champ d'or un lion de sable, le huitième est la Croatie – champ 4 x 4 échiqueté de gueules et d'argent et le neuvième est la Dalmatie – sur champ d'azur trois têtes de léopard portant des couronnes d'or.⁶² Si nous accordons crédit à l'avis selon lequel cette représentation peut être rapportée à 1621, nous pourrions dire qu'au début de 17^e siècle, comme par la suite, les trois couronnes d'or sur champ d'azur sont considérées comme les armes de Galicie alors que le bras tenant une épée symbolise la Bosnie. La question est de savoir depuis quand?

⁶¹ La monnaie est expliquée par Váralljai Csohány, 2003. 24, et pour la Bosnie voir Holub, 1917. 54.

⁶² La source est considérée par l'auteur de la publication comme une figure précoce des grandes armoiries de Hongrie ce qui serait étayé par l'inscription DEUS CUSTODIAT TE AB OMNI MALO entourant la couronne. Kumorovitz, L. Bernát, *A magyar trikolor és a magyar államcimer multja* [Le passé du tricolore et des armoiries de Hongrie]. Thèse de candidature (manuscrit). Arch. des Manuscrits de l'Ac. des Sciences de Hongrie D 448, 1955. 141.; Mikó, Árpád, «A Szent Korona a tartományok címereivel, 1621» [La Sainte Couronne entourée des armoiries des provinces de 1621], In: Mikó, Árpád–Sinkó, Katalin, *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények a múlt és a művészet kapcsolatáról Magyarországon*. Catalogue d'exposition. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 17 mars – 24 septembre 2000. Budapest, 2000. 426–428.

Une description faite en 1581 du pays des Sarmates (c'est à dire de la Pologne et des territoires voisins) parmi les provinces appartenant à la Pologne décrit les armoiries de Galicie consistant en un corbeau portant sur la tête une couronne sur champ de gueules mais d'autres couronnes n'y sont pas mentionnées.⁶³

Selon une source du milieu du 18^e siècle les armes de Galicie avait été le corbeau ou le coq de bruyère couronné mais lors de l'écriture du livre le pays était symbolisé par les trois couronnes.⁶⁴ Le même ouvrage décrit déjà le blason de la Bosnie comme le bras tenant une épée.⁶⁵ Le fait qu'au 17^e siècle les couronnes sont déjà le symbole de Galicie est confirmé par la légende précitée datée de 1608 ainsi que par le sceau portant trois couronnes de 1619 de Wladislaus Sigismundus et ceux de 1633 d'Alexander Carolus et de 1637 de Johannes Kazimir élus plus tard roi de Pologne: ces trois sceaux portant l'inscription «Principes Polonae et de Sveciae» ne représentent pas de choucas non plus.⁶⁶

Dans ces conditions il est fort difficile de se prononcer sur ce que pouvait symboliser les couronnes – une, deux ou trois – apparaissant dans les sources. Leur ancienne signification liée à la Bosnie, si elles en avaient jamais eu une – commence à s'éclipser pour céder la place au senestrochère. Leur signification se référant à la Bosnie doit être datée pour plus tard, mais le choucas dont on dit être les plus anciennes armoiries de la province (du territoire) et qui figurera jusqu'au 20^e siècle dans les armes de Galicie ne figure pas sur l'écu de la province en 1621. Il y a vingt ans l'auteur des présentes lignes traitant des variantes d'armoiries penchait pour l'opinion de son maître Kumorovitz et, dans son sillage, de Csaba Csapodi contre l'explication de Elemér Mályusz mais en indiquant les incertitudes à plusieurs endroits.⁶⁷ Aujourd'hui, il est un petit peu moins sûr que les couronnes – une, deux ou trois – soient les armoiries de la Galicie ou celles de la Bosnie dans la deuxième partie du 15^e siècle. Depuis, il était possible de trouver des représentations de sceau qui, mises en rapport avec des armoiries, rendent probables des conclusions concernant les coins (coins de côté) figurant sur les anciens écus de la famille Báthory, qui, au tournant du 15^e et du 16^e siècle, dans les armoiries de Miklós Báthory, évêque de Vác, commencent à se transformer en dents de loup, ce qui veut dire qu les pièces figurent comme meuble sur les

⁶³ «Halicsense vero vexillum Monedulam coronatam cum expensis alis in compo rubeo pro stemmate gestat hoc ut vides.» In: Granini, A., *Sarmatae Europaeae descripto quae regnum Poloniae, Lituaniae, Samatigiam, Russiam, Massoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam, Moschoviae, tartariaeque partem complectitur.* Spira, 1581. 40.; Csocsány Váralljai y fait référence: 2005. 81.

⁶⁴ «Halicia pro insigniis quondam habuit monedulam coronatum aut attagenam, nunc veru tres coronas ururpat» In: *De monarchia et Sacra Corona regni Hungriae centuriae septem auctore Petro de Rewa comite Turocensi ejusdemque Sanctae Coronae duumviro...* Honovieris, 1659. 148. Váralljai Csocsány y fait référence 2005, 80 (avec l'année 1656).

⁶⁵ «Bosna vel Bosnia...utitur pro insiguiis armato cubito aut ferrata dextra gladium vibrante...» ib. P. 146.

⁶⁶ Gumowski, Marian, *Handbuch des polnischen Siegelkunde.* Graz, 1966. 176 ainsi que Tafel X.

⁶⁷ Bertényi, 1988. 38 – l'incertitude signalée ibid.

armoiries de Báthory plus récentes.⁶⁸ Plus généralement parlant: nous, héraldistes des 20^e et 21^e siècles, ne sommes-nous pas trop sous l'influence des spécialistes de notre art des 17^e–19^e siècles, n'avons-nous pas un regard beaucoup trop théorique concernant les blasons, les pièces, les meubles, les cimiers et d'autres éléments héraldiques hors écu comme par exemple les symboles désignant le rang?

Sur le côté de la fontaine de Hercule de Visegrad se sont maintenues les armoiries très intéressantes de Mathias, datées pour 1484–1485. (*fig. 26*)⁶⁹ Les figures rappellent l'anneau sigillaire des années 1480 portant le corbeau des armes familiales sur écu en coeur, ce dernier situé sur écu écartelé dont le premier et le quatrième sont fascés de huit pièces tandis que dans le deuxième et le troisième on voit le lion de Bohême. Mais dans ce cas, à la différence des représentations observées sur les sceaux, monnaies et dans les manuscrits enluminés, on voit une couronne ouverte en chef de l'écu. Suivant l'ancienne interprétation, là aussi nous devrions penser à la couronne de la Galicie ou de la Bosnie laquelle, cette fois-ci, est placée dans un quartier inhabituel. Mais la question se pose: la couronne ne peut-elle pas être simplement un symbole royal? Sur la bague de légat du cardinal Demeter, archevêque d'Esztergom (1378–1387) on voit l'enseigne de dignité de cardinal, la figure d'ange tourné à gauche tenant le chapeau de cardinal. Par contre, au bas du sceau de pontificat de Demeter, à côté de la figure de prélat priant agenouillé, on voit, des deux côtés, les mêmes meubles mais ici les anges de tous les deux écus sont tournés à droite. (*fig. 27*)⁷⁰

Le droit du sceau biface de 1292 de Buda comporte un écu fascé de huit pièces avec deux pampres de vigne et trois grappes de raisin sur la bordure supérieure. Le revers, sans écu, porte un fragment de muraille avec portail et trois tours. (*fig. 28*) Le motif de cimier à raisin n'est pas repris pour le plus petit sceau secret (simple) de Buda (de la fin du 13^e siècle) mais, en remplacement, on reprend, sous forme simplifiée, le fragment de muraille avec deux tours au-dessus de l'écu fascé de pièces. (*fig. 29*) Les armoiries de Buda gravées sur pierre à la fin du Moyen Age ne reprennent plus le cimier, elles font figurer les deux tours au chef de l'écu parti, au-dessus du champ parti inférieur. (*fig. 30*)⁷¹ Nous

⁶⁸ Bertényi, Iván, «Báthory Miklós címerének néhány problémája» [Quelques problèmes des armoiries de Miklós Báthory], In: Horváth, Alice (ed.), *Báthory Miklós váci püspök (1474–1506) emlékezete* [In memoriam de Miklós Báthory, évêque de Vác (1474–1506)]. Vác, 2007. 55–63.

⁶⁹ Schallaburg '82.

⁷⁰ Bodor, Imre (ed.), *A középkori Magyarország főpapi pecsétjei a Magyar Tud. Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoportjának pecsétmátsolatgyűjteménye alapján* [Les sceaux de prélats de la Hongrie du Moyen Age d'après la collection de copies de sceaux du groupe de recherche d'histoire des arts de l'Ac. des Sciences de Hongrie]. Budapest, 1984. tableau XXVII, fig. 19–20.

⁷¹ Bertényi, 2003. 86, fig. 81, et 82 et fig. 83. La mise à jour de l'usage sigillaire de la ville de Buda au Moyen Age est due à András Kubinyi: «Buda város pecséthasználatának kialakulása» *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* XIV (1961) 110, fig. 1–2., 128–129 et fig. 22. Au chef de l'écu fascé datant de 1444 on peut voir une couronne à trois fleurons. Voir: Pohl, 1982. Tableau 94, n° 184.

sommes amenés à admettre la possibilité que le motif de couronne discuté sous le règne de Mathias était porté sur les différentes armoiries de Mathias comme symbole général du roi. Bien sûr, le fait que nous sommes capables dans le cas de presque toutes les armoiries de les lier à un pays ou à une province concret passé sous son règne va à l'encontre de cette hypothèse. Pourquoi Mathias aurait-il fait figurer un symbole de pouvoir sans référence à un pays concret sur un écu à part? Est-ce peut-être qu'il n'était pas issu d'une, deux ou trois couronnes? L'ornement de tête des papes à une couronne placée sur camelaucum ou phrigyum s'établit déjà avant le millénaire mais la deuxième couronne n'est ajoutée au tiare pontifical nommé aussi triregnum que sous le pontificat de Boniface VIII (1294–1303) et la troisième y est intégrée sous le règne de Benoît XI (1303–1304) ou sous Clément V (1305–1314).⁷² Après l'établissement de l'usage des armoiries du Saint Siège les papes font figurer sur leurs écus leurs propres armoiries familiales, ou, plus récemment, celles adoptées au début de leur pontificat. On peut se demander si les tiaras pontificales à une, deux ou trois couronnes apparaissant successivement au début du 14^e siècle n'ont pas suggéré dans l'entourage de Mathias que les variantes à une, deux ou trois couronnes sont des variantes interchangeables. En plus, le fait que Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini appelant la Hongrie archiregnum au milieu du 15^e est élu pape (Pie II, 1458–1464) au début du règne de Mathias ne pouvait-il suggérer l'idée aux graveurs de blasons de Mathias de l'honorer de plusieurs couronnes – placées sur les écus (également) – une fois le roi devenu «roi principal» après avoir été prince soumis? Cette hypothèse serait corroborée par le fait qu'en nombreux cas⁷³ les armoiries de Mathias sont accompagnées par le monogramme «M A» dont le décryptage spirituel pourrait être Mathias Archirex.⁷⁴ Ceci dit, la figuration de une, deux ou trois couronnes sur écus comme enseignes de monarque doit être toujours considérée comme une hypothèse bien que la chronique Thuróczy parue en impression vers la fin du règne de Mathias sous la légende «Du couronnement du roi Sigismond» on voit le monarque, devenu plus tard empereur et couronné par conséquent de trois couronnes, avec trois couronnes sur la tête. (*fig. 31*)⁷⁵

Sur un denier daté, sous réserve, de 1475, les spécialistes de la numismatique décrivent un écu de base écartelé et un écu en coeur. Le premier quartier est fascé, le deuxième porte la croix double, le troisième est chargé de têtes de lion de la Dalmatie et le quatrième représente le lion tchèque. Sur l'écu en coeur les numismates voient le lion de la famille Hunyadi, et, en-dessous, la licorne rampant des Szapolyai.⁷⁶ Plus tard, István Szapolyai, par délégation de Mathias,

⁷² Heim, Bruno Bernard, *Coutumes et droit Héraldiques de l'Église*. Paris, 1949. 60–61.

⁷³ Ainsi Bibliotheca Corviniana, 1967. VIII (46) et IX. (47).

⁷⁴ Váralljai Csocsány, 2005. 23.

⁷⁵ Thuróczy, János, *A magyarok krónikája* [La chronique des Hongrois]. Edition fac-similée. Budapest, 1986. Fol. 0,7,1

⁷⁶ Soós, 1998. 94.; Huszár, 1979. 113 et 723.

devient gouverneur de l'Autriche et en cette qualité (aussi) ses meubles pouvaient apparaître sur la monnaie de Mathias. Toutefois, ce problème demande encore d'autres investigations (Szapolyai y a-t-il pu faire frapper des monnaies avec ses propres meubles, ne serait-ce qu'en marque d'atelier, si cela est daté sur les dernières années du règne de Mathias?)

Mathias n'utilise pas la licorne comme meuble sur sceau et on n'en trouve pas d'exemple dans les manuscrits enluminés non plus. Comme la corne de la licorne est minuscule il est malaisé de l'identifier et l'on pourrait donc penser également à l'autre meuble des Szapolyai, au loup rampant.

Luxembourg, dont le lion rampant placé sur écu fascé figurait sur le monument de Bautzen dédié à Mathias et anéanti en 1757, sur son deuxième sceau royal tchèque et sur le revers du frontispice de la Chronique Thuróczy,⁷⁷ ne faisait pas partie des conquêtes de Mathias. Peut-être est-ce le nombre de lions liés à la personne ou aux conquêtes de Mathias qui fait que les armoiries du Luxembourg se trouvent plusieurs fois parmi les armoiries du roi si ce n'est que la famille Luxembourg possédait précédemment les pays de la couronne tchèque.

D'ailleurs, s'agissant de petites figures héraldiques, il est toujours difficile d'identifier les lions représentés sur les blasons de Mathias. C'est parce que, théoriquement, on peut prétendre que le signe distinctif le plus important des armoiries de Mathias est le champ par rapport au lion de gueules de Beszterce élevant la couronne sur champ d'argent, au lion de Bohême d'argent à queue fourchée sur champ de gueules et au lion de Luxembourg sur champ fascé d'azur et d'argent. En outre, il se rencontre encore un lion sur champ d'azur figurant dans les armoiries de possesseur de manuscrit enluminé de Lodovicus Carbo qui pourrait être identifié au lion du pays des Coumans.⁷⁸ Au fait, plus tard, le lion des Coumans apparaîtra effectivement parmi les meubles des grandes armoiries de Hongrie. Ainsi, on pourrait admettre que cela remonte jusqu'à l'époque de Mathias. Toutefois, la précaution est de rigueur vu la vogue du lion dans l'héraldique et sa symbolique d'une richesse extrême. De surcroît, on observe des variantes dans le cas d'autres meubles de blason aussi (une, deux ou trois couronnes, double croix d'argent sur champ de gueules, double croix sur trois monts ou alésée etc.), de sorte que cela ne peut être exclu s'agissant de lions non plus. En tout cas, du temps du règne, par élection, du roi János (Jean) I^{er} et de son fils János Zsigmond (Jean Sigismond), sur les armes d'ornement de certains incunables édités à Cracovie nous retrouvons les armoiries à lions bien que la figure élevant la couronne rappelle plutôt le lion des Hunyadi (lion de Besz-

⁷⁷ Wenzel, Gusztáv, «Mátyás király egykori szobra Budissinben» [La statue d'autrefois de Mathias à Budissin], *Archeológiai Közlöny* I (1859) 229–293.; Balogh, 1966. 302, fig. 453. Jolán Balogh l'identifie comme le lion de Beszterce, mais Elemér Mályusz (*A magyar állam*, 57 et 649.) et dans son sillage, Váralljai Csocsány (2005. 80.) le décrit comme le lion de Luxembourg.

⁷⁸ Váralljai Csocsány (2005. 80.) le met en rapport avec la campagne de Moldavie (Coumanie).

terce).⁷⁹ Par contre, faire remonter l'origine de la figure de lion des Coumans aux armes militaires de la XIII^e légion romaine stationnée en Dacie dont la mémoire aurait survécu mille ans, nous semble être une idée beaucoup trop hardie...⁸⁰ Selon l'opinion de ces lignes on ne peut pas considérer comme la première (ou précoce) apparition des armes échiquetées croates la céramique à carreaux rouges et blancs 8 x 7 qui a été retrouvée aux fouilles menées au couvent dominicain du château de Buda et qui est datée pour la période 1476-85. Avec la meilleure volonté on ne peut avancer que l'idée de la proto-histoire des armoiries de la Croatie étant donné que l'ornement de la céramique ne figure pas sur écu et les premières apparitions (d'Innsbruck, dans la maison du juge Walter Zaler) de l'écu croate échiqueté d'argent et de gueules datent de 1495 et de la Tour des armoiries de Maximilien I^{er} de 1499.⁸¹

L'animal rampant figurant au droit du grand sceau de Mathias et considéré jusqu'ici unanimement par la littérature spécialisée comme la belette de la Slavonie peut également susciter des doutes, vu qu'il est judicieux de soulever que la belette slavonne est courante horizontalement non seulement sur les armoiries de la charte de Wladislas II datée de 1496 mais déjà sur les deniers slavons.⁸² Là, selon toute vraisemblance, Váralljai Csocsány a raison de dire que l'animal rampant ne peut guère être la figure des armoiries de la Slavonie (et par cela même, les armoiries de la Moesia, comprenant la Serbie, la Bosnie et la Bulgarie selon l'hypothèse de Mályusz, deviennent également problématiques) tout comme on voit mal comment l'animal rampant peut être perçu, d'après Péter Révay du 17^e siècle, comme trois lévriers («habet tres canes veneticos in campo currentes»). Ainsi, l'explication spirituelle de Váralljai Csocsány, pour le moment, doit être considérée comme plausible en attendant les preuves. Vu que les armoiries de la Serbie à l'époque de Mathias ne se sont conservées en variante à tête de sanglier ou à fer à cheval ni sur sceau, monnaie, ou d'autres monuments ou en manuscrit, dans notre présente étude nous ne les évoquons pas.

⁷⁹ *Epistolae Pauli lingua Hungarica donatae, Az zenth Paal leveley magyar nyelven*. [Les lettres de Saint Paul en langue hongroise]. Cracoviae, 1533, page de titre intérieure (RMNY 13). Imprimé avec le même cliché: *Soltar körü Szekel Estuantul magar nielre forditatott Krakkó* [Psaumes traduites en langue hongroise par Estuan Szekel]. 1548. 121 page de titre n° 63.

⁸⁰ Cernovodeanu, Dan, *L'évolution des armoiries des pays roumains depuis leur apparition jusqu'à nos jours (13^e-20^e siècles)*. Thèse de doctorat d'Etat. Université de Paris, Sorbonne, Ec. Prat. des Hautes Etudes, 1995. 33.

⁸¹ Schallaburg '82, 126, fig. 80 (128) et 296/a n.209/a; Váralljai Csocsány, 2005. 82.; Peić Caldarovic, Dubravka, «The influence of historical context on the development of croatian state heraldry (14-18 century)», In: Morichon, Jean (ed.), *Généalogie & Héraldique*. Actes du 24^e congrès international des sciences généalogique et héraldique, Besançon, 2-7 mai 2000. (La Vie Généalogique, 29), Paris, 2002. II, 207.

⁸² Kumorovitz, 1932. 8.; Mályusz, A magyar állam, 61 et 649.; Balogh, 1966. 297. note 429; Vajay, Szabolcs de, *Les sources numismatiques de l'héraldique d'Etat hongrois*. Tirage à part du Recueil de Congrès Bern, 1966.7, fig.6. Cité et analysé par Váralljai Csocsány, 2005, 80.

Rapidement, abordons la symbolique⁸³ des différentes armoiries de Mathias. Peu après l'extension des armoiries elles commencent à se référer, outre les familles, aux fiefs ou bien, s'agissant de monarques, au pays et aux provinces également.⁸⁴ De sorte que le choix de porter tout emblème transformé en armoiries de pays ou de province signifie en premier lieu que Mathias prétend avoir un droit sous quelque forme sur le territoire en question, qu'il se considère en être le propriétaire. Bien sûr, cette prétention peut dissimuler de divers cas de figure. Au 15^e siècle les princes de Lorraine adoptent dans leur blason la double croix de la Hongrie et celle-ci devient assez vite le blason de la Lorraine en tant que territoire mais, dans le même temps, cela exprime aussi une sorte de prétention par rapport à la Hongrie. Néanmoins, les ducs de Lorraine ne tentent jamais d'entrer en possession de la Hongrie et les héraldistes postérieurs finirent par appeler cet emblème croix lorraine.⁸⁵ De même, le lion sur écu fascé du Luxembourg figurant sur les armoiries de Mathias pouvait signifier le même type de prétention. Par contre, le port du lion de Bohême à queue fourchée à partir de 1469 sur les sceaux et les armoiries de Mathias constitue un symbole plus sérieux, ayant un impact sur la politique quotidienne. Pareillement, arborer les armes de l'Autriche à partir de 1485 avait le même sens traduisant des exigences sur ces territoires pour lesquels le roi est prêt à lutter avec des armes. Faire figurer le lion de Bohême à queue fourchée traduit une menace appuyée vis-à-vis de Frédéric III, empereur germanique, de même qu'arborer l'aigle morave ou le boeuf de la Lusace appartenant à la couronne tchèque ou même l'aigle de Silésie symbolise une menace contre Wladislas II, rival de Mathias. Leur représentation sur les manuscrits enluminés avait pour objectif de déployer une propagande indirecte tout comme le port des armoiries de Vienne en fonction d'ornement sur les pages des manuscrits enluminés. Les armes les plus importantes, se référant déjà cette époque au territoire, sont le champ fascé et la double croix d'argent sur champ de gueules (la plupart du temps sur monticule à trois arcs). Au 15^e siècle ces emblèmes avaient déjà perdu en grande partie leur signification relative à la maison des Árpád et au royaume chrétien et symbolisent surtout la Hongrie à cette époque.⁸⁶ L'idée selon laquelle les fascés d'argent sont perçues comme des fleuves se développe à la fin du 15^e siècle: une demi-décennie après la mort de Mathias en 1496 un acte du roi Wladislas II

⁸³ Nyáry, Albert, *A heraldika vezérfonala* [Le fil directeur de l'héraldique]. Budapest, 1886. 120–121.; Bertényi, Iván, «Simon Barrwys Wappenbrief aus dem Jahre 1417», In: Macek, Josef–Marosi, Ernő–Seibt, Ferdinand (ed.), *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387–1437*. Warendorf, 1994. 220–226; Bertényi 2003. 50.; Bertényi, 1985. 9–12.

⁸⁴ Pastoureau, Michel, *Traité d'héraldique*. Paris, 1979. 44. Concernant le lion de Bohême à queue fourchée: Louda, Jiri, «The double-queued lion of Bohemia as symbol of sovereignty», In: Rachuba, Andrzej–Gorzynski, Slawomir–Manikowska, Halina (ed.), *Heraldyka i okolice*. Warszawa, 2002. 111–122.

⁸⁵ Bertényi, Iván, «A magyar címer kettőskeresztjének továbbélése külföldön» [La survie de la double croix des armoiries de Hongrie à l'étranger], *Vigilia XLVIII* (1983) 5: 395–396.

⁸⁶ Kumorovitz, L. Bernát, «A magyar címer kettőskeresztje» [La double croix des armoiries de Hongrie], *Turul LV* (1941) 45–62.

décrivant les armes de la Slavonie interprète les deux fasces d'argent comme les rivières Drave et Save et dans les armoiries de la ville de Kassa, toujours la chancellerie de Wladislas II considère en 1502 les quatre fasces d'argent des armoiries de la Hongrie comme les rivières Danube, Tisza, Drave et Save. (C'est à cette chancellerie que István Werbőczy peut connaître cette interprétation pour l'inscrire par la suite dans son *Tripartitum* (*Hármaskönyv*).⁸⁷ Dans le même temps, la symbolique religieuse de la double croix est également bien connue dans la mentalité de la fin du 15^e siècle.⁸⁸ Selon une idée qui remonte au Moyen Age (à la légende Hartvik), la double croix fut accordée à notre premier roi par le pape comme croix apostolique. Cette interprétation peut être vivace à l'époque de Mathias aussi, mais parallèlement à cette conception au voisinage (peut-être comme une sorte de propagande) la double croix est perçue comme le symbole de la conversion répétée du peuple hongrois. Cette croyance est évoquée par le chroniqueur tchèque Dalimil au tournant des 13^e et 14^e siècles puis, plus tard, par le chanoine viennois, Thomas Ebendorfer⁸⁹ au 15^e siècle.

Le fait que Mathias lui-même considère la double croix comme le signe de l'appartenance à la chrétienté romaine apparaît de la lettre adressée aux cardinaux en 1480 après qu'il apparaît un litige entre lui et le pape Sixte VI (1471–1484) au sujet de la nomination de l'évêque de Modrus. Mathias écrit notamment à Rome que la Hongrie préfère changer ses armoiries à double croix en armoiries à triple croix plutôt que de consentir à ce que les titres de prélat appartenant à la Couronne relèvent de la compétence du siège apostolique.⁹⁰ Cette menace formulée en langage diplomatique signifie que la conversion à la religion orthodoxe est envisagée.

Il est plus difficile de se prononcer sur le sens secondaire des figures contenues dans les armoiries symbolisant des pays et des provinces. Au 15^e siècle,

⁸⁷ Kumorovitz L. Bernát, «A magyar címer kettőskeresztje és hármashalma» [La double croix et le monticule des armoiries de Hongrie], Tirage à part de l'annuaire du Lycée St Norbert des Prémontrés de Gödöllő, 1942. 20 (ci-après: Kumorovitz, 1941–1942).

⁸⁸ L'ancienne littérature est résumée par Györffy, György, *István király és műve* [Le roi Étienne et son oeuvre]. Budapest, 1977. 307 et 564.; Voir: Kovács, Éva, «Signum crucis – Lignum crucis», In: Székely, György (ed.), *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Études d'histoire des mentalités sur le Moyen Age hongrois]. Budapest 1984. 403–427.; Székely, György, «A kettőskereszt útja Bizáncból a latin Európába» [Le chemin de la double croix de la Byzance à l'Europe latine], In: Ivánfi, 1989. 107–128.

⁸⁹ V. Kumorovitz, 1941–1942. 21–22.; Vrtel, Ladislav, *Das Staatswappen des Slowakischen Republik*. Bratislava, 1996. 5.; Bertényi, Iván, «A magyar heraldika a 13–19. századi szépirodalomban» [L'héraldique hongroise dans la littérature des 13^e–19^e siècles], *Turul* LXXIV (2001) 3–4: 78 et 81.

⁹⁰ «Et ut sanctitas sua aperte cognoscat, certa esset debeat duplicatam illam crucem, quod regni nostri insigne est, gentem Hungaricam libertius triplicare, quam id consentire, ut beneficia et prelature ad ius corone spectantes apud sedem apostolicam conferantur». In: *Mátyás király levelei* [Les lettres du roi Mathias]. Ed. Fraknói, Vilmos, Budapest 1895. II, (n° 31) 47. et la référence de Kumorovitz, 1955. 34.; v. Szántó, Konrád, *A katolikus egyház története* [L'histoire de l'Église catholique]. Budapest, 1987. III. 515.

l'interprétation de la figure de lion comme animal royal, symbole du courage ou celui du Christ devait être assez effacée comme signification symbolique. La question est de savoir si les contemporains, à la vue du lion de Luxembourg, ressentaient la légende qui disait que le père de Mathias était descendant du roi (plus tard empereur) Sigismond. L'anneau du corbeau des armes familiales pourrait s'y référer. Dans le même temps l'anneau fait partie des éléments des armoiries de nombreuses familles italiennes illustres comme attribut permanent de l'animal. Pour János Thuróczy, contemporain de Mathias, le lion d'or soulevant une couronne d'or sur champ d'argent traduit la volonté du roi de donner encore plus de dignité et d'honorer l'excellence du comte de Beszterce par ce blason. Les lettres d'armoiries de Ladislas V datées de 1453 expliquent en détail les enrichissements des armes des Hunyadi à corbeau: le bénéficiaire d'armoiries en tant que gouverneur de la Hongrie avait manifesté un courage dans de lourdes batailles qui peut être comparé à celui du lion. A propos de la couronne tenue dans la patte du lion, la charte mentionne que János Hunyadi, en défendant les biens de la couronne puis les offrant au monarque, a associé avec bonheur le roi au gouvernement du pays. Il est très instructif que ce dernier motif ne figure plus dans l'explication de Thuróczy. Est-ce peut-être que quatre ans plus tard le donateur Ladislas V fait exécuter László Hunyadi et fait traîner Mathias en prisonnier à Prague?⁹¹

La symbolique du corbeau ancestral est également problématique à l'époque de Mathias. C'est le blason original des Hunyadi et on peut s'interroger s'il s'apparente ou non aux princes coumans-roumains de la Moldavie ou bien à d'autres familles hongroises. En outre, il n'est pas inintéressant que János Hunyadi lui-même utilise plusieurs fois des bagues-cachets portant uniquement le corbeau même après 1453 (donc omettant l'enrichissement avec la figure de lion). La naissance de son père sur l'île de Keve admise, nous pouvons demander dans quelle mesure Mathias est influencé par le projet de mariage de son fils à partir de 1485 avec Blanche Sforza dans la représentation du corbeau, dans l'invention de l'aïeul romain luttant avec un guerrier gaulois. Il faut penser qu'un tas d'allusion est susceptible de figurer sur les différentes armoiries de Mathias que nous pouvons avoir des soupçons mais qu'il ne sera jamais possible de les décrypter entièrement. Les peintres des miniatures, peignant de nombreux emblèmes comme armoiries mais sans écu, sont à l'origine de nombreux énigmes. Par ex. un tonneau peut se référer à la cupidité, mais aussi aux vins délicieux de Hongrie, l'horloge à sable peut signifier que le temps passe mais aussi qu'il est urgent d'agir, et ainsi de suite. Dans la présente étude il n'est pas de notre tâche de traiter les figures non-héraldiques.⁹²

⁹¹ V. Kulcsár, Péter, «A Corvinus-legenda» [La légende Corvinus], *História* (1993) 1: 15–17.

⁹² V. Plus récemment di Pietro Lombardi, 2004. 159–169.

Une dernière question: les armoiries de Mathias sont-elles susceptibles de nous aider à dater les monuments qui les portent?

L'ancienne littérature, traitant des manuscrits Corvina, a élaboré la théorie du «premier peintre» et du «second peintre d'armoiries». Depuis, il est apparu qu'il est impossible d'établir la chronologie relative de l'action des deux peintres car, nous semble-t-il, ils devaient travailler en même temps et ils devaient peindre par campagne les armes sans armoiries de possesseur ou les armes portant les armoiries d'autres. La chronologie des armes figurant sur les sceaux est plus facile à établir (grâce à la datation des actes scellés). Ainsi, il est possible d'établir quelles étaient les armes «officielles» à telle ou telle date et cela peut nous fournir des repères pour dater la création des armoiries conservées sur d'autres monuments et concernant ces supports mêmes (mais non pas concernant la création des manuscrits enluminés).⁹³

Nous estimons qu'il reste encore bien des tâches aux chercheurs travaillant sur le décryptage des emblèmes de notre illustre roi.

⁹³ Mikó, 2004. 34–36.

*Fig. 1.**Fig. 2.**Fig. 3.*



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

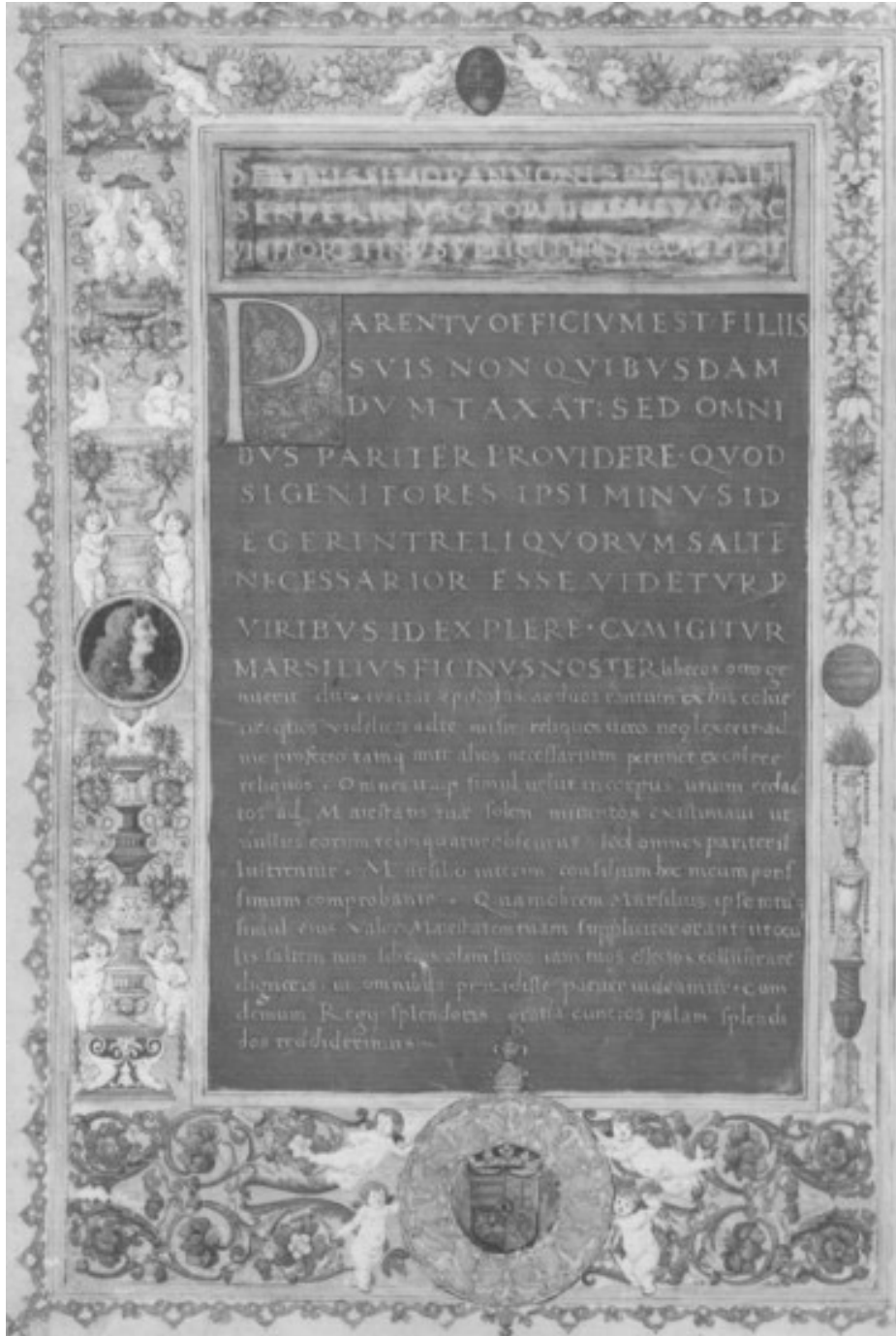


Fig. 6.

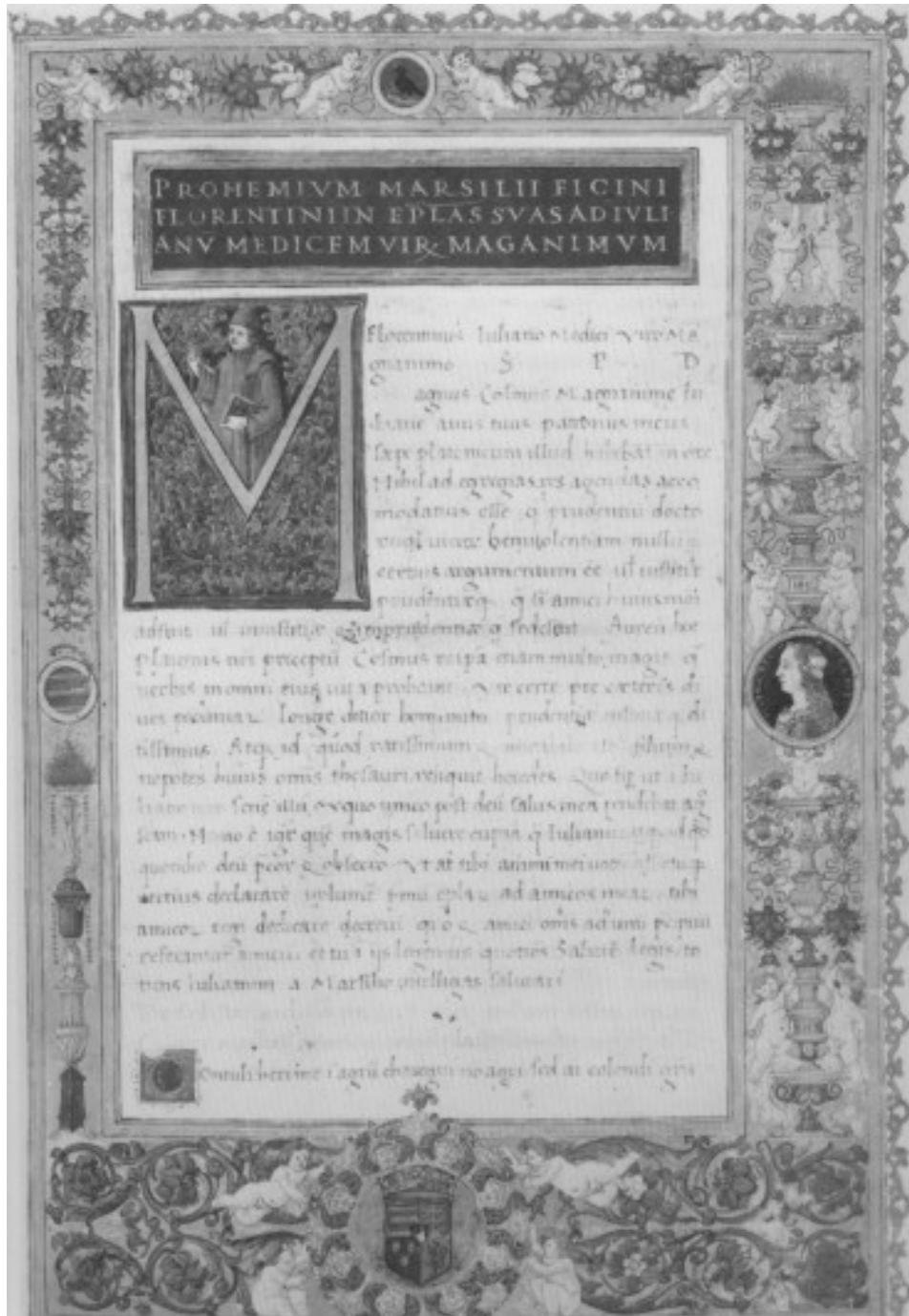


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

*Fig. 10.**Fig. 11.**Fig. 12.*



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

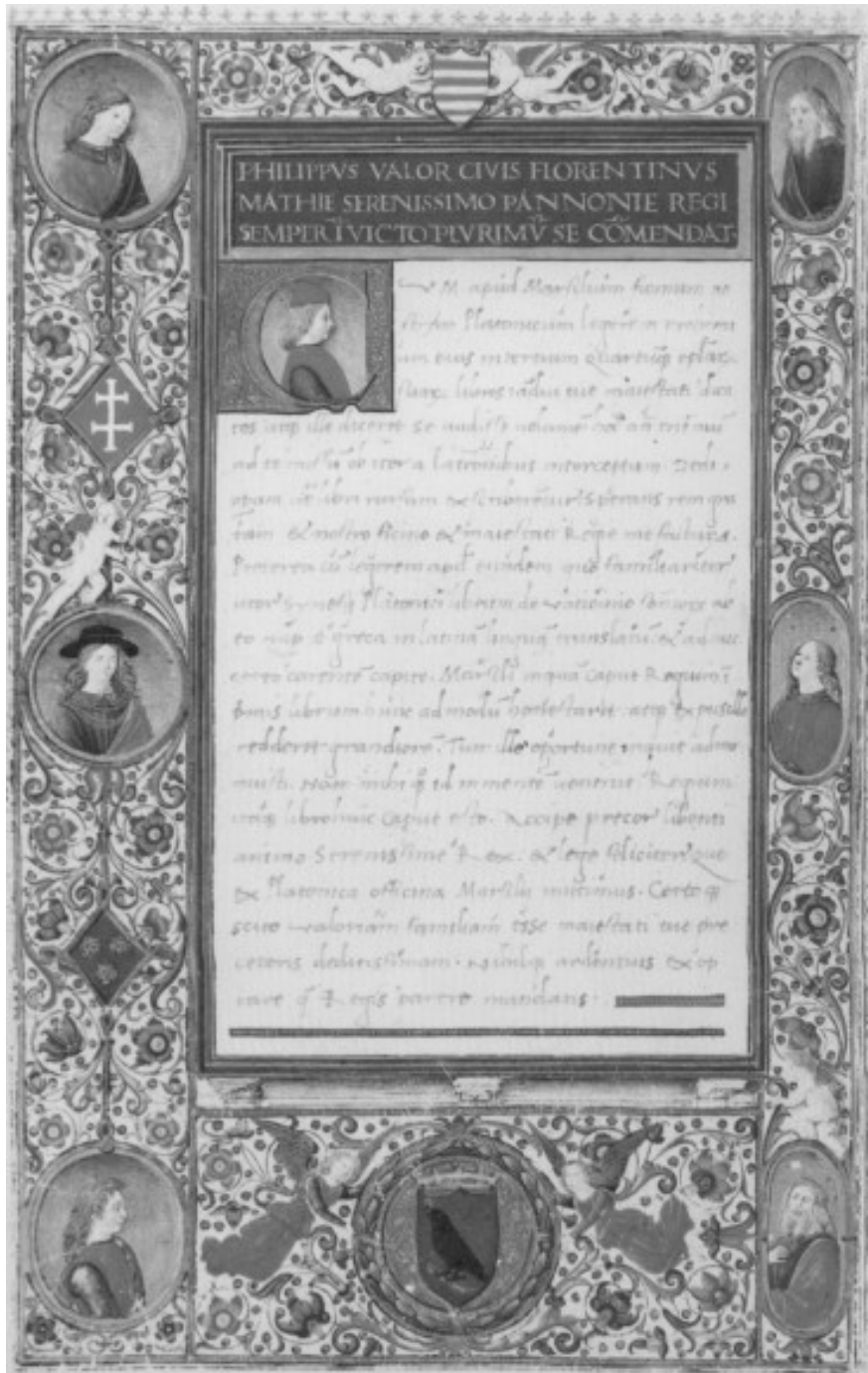


Fig. 17.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.

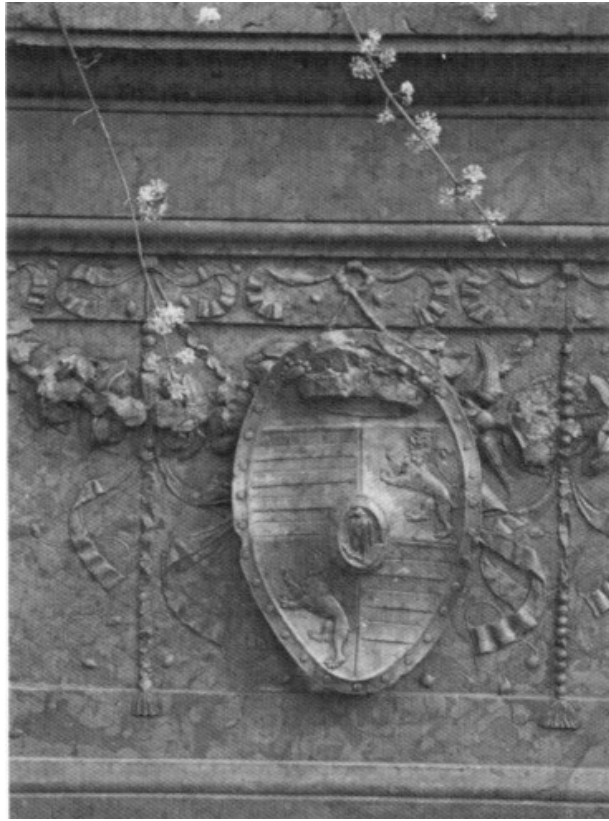


Fig. 26.



Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

*Fig. 30.**Fig. 31.*

MÁRIA PROKOPP

**L'ACADEMIA ISTROPOLITANA E IL SUO CANCELLIÈRE
JOHANNES VITÉZ (1408–1472),
PRIMATE D'UNGHERIA.
IL PROGRAMMA DEGLI AFFRESCHI DEL SUO STUDIOLO
A ESZTERGOM**

Nel 1467, fu inaugurata in Ungheria, a Esztergom, la famosa Università europea di quattro facultà, con i diritti di quella di Bologna. I suoi professori sono venuti all'invito del primate Johannes Vitéz da Parigi, Vienna, Roma, Padova, Cracovia, ecc. La maggior parte di questi studiosi eccellenti appartenevano già 20 anni allo cerchio, al *coetus*, dell'episcopo Johannes Vitéz nella sua sede episcopale a Varad in Ungheria-Est. L'inaugurazione solenne aveva luogo il 20 giugno 1467 a Esztergom, nella Cattedrale e dopo, nel magnifico palazzo del primate Johannes, fatto rinnovato da lui. La sala maggiore, di misura di 47 x 16 x 8 metri, fu più lunga e larga che la Cappella Sistina nella Vaticano che ha 41 metri di lunghezza e 13,4 metri di larghezza. Questa sala fu accompagnata con una loggia della sua lunghezza totale, cioè di 47 metri, che dava al Danubio. Questa architettura magnifica (*fig. 1.*) con la sua decorazione pittorica, dove erano rappresentati tutti i famosi re e antenati ungheresi, che fu lodata dai studiosi umanisti, prima di tutto da *Antonio Bonfini* che abitava nel palazzo di Esztergom dopo l'anno 1490, cioè dopo la morte del re Mattia Corvino. Lui passava 10 anni a Esztergom come umanista del corte della regina Beatrice d'Aragona. Lui scrive dal primate Johannes Vitéz: „*Vir fuit archiepiscopatus vehementer accomodus, quippe qui triclinium in arce amplissimum erexit, prominens vero ante triclinium e rubro marmore ambulacrum cum duplici podio et superbissimum extruxit. Ad triclinii caput Sybillarum sacellum e fornicato opere acuminatum statuit ubi Sibyllas omnes connumerare licet. In triclinio non modo omnes ex ordine Ungarie reges sed et progenitores Scythicos cernere erit. Item caldarias frigidariasque cellas et hortum duplicem quem xystis excoluit et superiore ambulacro coronavit. Inter utrunque turrim rotundam penes rupem erexit in varia triclinia cubiculaque divisam, variis supra specularibus exornatam quam necque edicula carere voluit. Hanc ipse fere semper inhabitavit quia Danubio prominens iucundum prospectum et hortorum amenitatem afferebat. Locus quidem ad filosofandum et contemplandum nimis idoneus...*”¹

¹ Antoniis de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, Dec. IV, lib. III, 97–104. Ed. Fogel–Iványi–Juhász, Budapest, 1941.

Bonfini non ha menzionato lo Studiolo di Johannes nella sua grandiosa opera della Storia del Regno d'Ungheria perché lui menzionò soltanto le più monumentali creazioni dell'arcivescovo Vitéz nel suo palazzo di Esztergom, che erano stupende anche 20 anni dopo la morte del primate. Le ricerche archeologiche – dal 1934 fino oggi – hanno attestato la verità della descrizione di Bonfini.²

Il castello di Esztergom, in maggior parte, fu distrutto durante la guerra turca (fig. 2.) fra 1543–1683. Ma è una fortuna straordinaria che negli anni 1934–38 furono portati alla luce i resti delle sale del primo piano della torre vecchia del palazzo, del donjon dagli anni 1180. Nella sala più vicino alla cappella sono scoperti meravigliosi affreschi quattrocenteschi, in situ alla parete nordica. Questi rappresentano le allegorie delle quattro *Virtù cardinali* negli archi della loggia dipinta (fig. 3.).

Fra le macerie erano le pietre cadute dalla volta e dalle pareti. Tanti da essi portano affreschi ai lati. Dagli frammenti poteva ricostruire l'arco del soffitto fra le due sezioni della volta a crociera con le rappresentazioni dei dodici segni dello *Zodiaco*. Altri frammenti potevano appartenere alle raffigurazioni dei *Pianeti*, probabilmente ai trionfi di loro, come si vede nel disegno della ricostruzione dell'architetto Konstantin Vukov (fig. 4.). Allora le Virtù prendevano un ruolo fondamentale nel programma iconografico della decorazione pittorica dello studiolo come nell'insegnamento del pontefice Johannes Vitéz che testimoniano le sue lettere e discorsi.³ Poi i pianeti, i segni astrologici potevano ricevere una grande parte nella decorazione. Essi affermavano le strette relazioni fra il cosmo e l'uomo. Le ricerche scientifiche della matematica e fisica nella relazione della astronomia nella corte del primate Johannes Vitéz avevano una significazione europea.

Gli affreschi furono seppelliti fino 1934, cioè la pittura murale dello Studiolo sono venuti alla luce dopo più di 340 anni! Il primo restauratore dei dipinti murali fu Mauro Pelliccioli dalla Pinacoteca di Brera da Milano negli anni 1935–37. Fra poco è arrivata la guerra mondiale e dopo l'Ungheria fu staccato dall'Europa Occidentale. Così gli storici d'arte, gli specialisti della pittura dell'400, da diversi paesi d'Europa, non potevano conoscere gli affreschi di Esztergom. Il prof. Tiberio Gerevich che dirigeva gli scavi a Esztergom negli anni 1930 dopo la guerra non aveva più la possibilità di fare ricerche per l'attribuzione degli affreschi dello Studiolo.

Dott. Zoltán Nagy, l'assistente del Prof Gerevich, che era il direttore del Museo del Castello di Esztergom negli anni 1960–70, s'occupava del personaggio dell'arcivescovo Johannes, della sua cultura, del suo mecenatismo delle scienze,

² Horváth, István, „Vitéz János palotájának régészeti feltárása”, In: Bárdos, István (ed.), *Vitéz János Emlékkönyv (Annales Strigonienses)*, 1990). Esztergom, 1990. 78–97.

³ Vedi not. 4.

soprattutto dell'astronomia e delle arti.⁴ Il *programma iconografico* dello Studiolo fu ricostruito per la prima volta nel 1944 dallo storico *Antal Lepold*⁵ canonico della cattedrale di Esztergom.

L'eccellente qualità artistica delle pitture murali di Esztergom era evidente negli anni 1930. Per'attribuzione del pittore degli affreschi ha fatta la prima proposta la dott.ssa *Jolanta Balogh* nel 1947. Ella ha pubblicato un documento del 1494 che parla di un certo „*magister Albertus pictor florentinus*” presente ad Esztergom in quest'anno come testimone. Da lui non si sa niente l'altro. La sig.ra Balogh ha raccomandato di prendere in considerazione un allievo di Filippino Lippi dal fine del '400.⁶

Le mie ricerche dello Studiolo di Esztergom cominciavano negli anni 1960 all'incoraggiamento del Professore Tibor Klaniczay per il giubileo di Johannes Vitéz e Giano Pannonio nell'anno 1972. I risultati delle mie ricerche sono determinati la datazione degli affreschi alla metà dell'400. L'autore dei dipinti ho trovato nella cerchia del *Filippo Lippi*.⁷ A causa dei ridipinti, la personalità del pittore non era possibile constatare più vicino, fino agli anni 2005–07, cioè fino la pulitura di essi.

Negli anni 1960 i restauratori ungheresi effettuavano interventi con le materie sintetiche come paraloid e vinavil e ridipendevano e completavano alcuni dettagli. All'anno 2000 erano divenuti i dipinti in cattivo stato di conservazione e perciò la Soprintendenza degli Monumenti d'Ungheria pubblicava un concorso per il restauro delle pitture murali di Esztergom. La vincitrice fu la dott.ssa *Susanna Wierdl* che dopo essersi laureata presso l'Istituto di Restauro dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Budapest come artista restauratrice di pittura, ottenne a Roma anche il diploma di specializzazione dell'ICCROM e lavorava 20 anni in Italia con grandi riconoscimenti.

Il suo lavoro a Esztergom cominciava con gli diversi esami ed analisi stratigrafica ad infrarossi ed il particolare metodo di analisi stratigrafiche compu-

⁴ Nagy, Zoltán, „Ricerche cosmologiche nella corte umanista di Giovanni Vitéz”, In: Klaniczay, Tibor (ed.), *Rapporti veneto-ungheresi all'epoca del Rinascimento*. Budapest, 1975, 65–93.

⁵ Lepold, Antal, „Vitéz János esztergomi dolgozószobája”, *Szépművészet* 1944, 115–119.

⁶ Balogh, Jolán, „Magister Albertus pictor florentinus”, *Annuario 1947 dell'Istituto Ungherese di Storia dell'Arte*. Firenze, 1948, 74–80.

⁷ Prokopp, Mária, „Italian Renaissance Frescoes in the Castle of the Hungarian Archbishop at Esztergom”, In: Morrourgh, Andrew et al. (ed.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*. Firenze, 1985. vol. II. 365–376.; Prokopp Mária, „Vitéz János esztergomi palotája”, In: Kardos, Tibor–V. Kovács, Sándor (ed.) *Janus Pannonius. Tanulmányok*. Budapest, 1975. (Memoria Saeculorum Hungariae 2) 255–264.; Prokopp, Mária, „Erény-ábrázolások Vitéz János esztergomi Studiólójában”, In: *Sub Minervae Nationis Praesidio. Tanulmányok a nemzeti kultúra kérdésköréből Németh Lajos 60. születésnapjára*. Budapest, 1989, 31–36.; Prokopp, Mária, „Vitéz János és a művészetek”, In: *Vitéz János emlékkönyv...* 53–58.; Prokopp, Mária, „Újabb kutatások Vitéz János esztergomi érsek Studiólójához”, In: Galavics–Herner–Keserű (ed.), *Collectanea Tiburtiana, Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére*. Szeged, 1990, 393–400.

terizzate della ditta olandese Musis che venne effettuato qui per la prima volta al mondo su dipinti murali. I risultati ci hanno confermato che anche la parete di fronte della sala fu dipinta contemporaneamente e in maniera simile con le Virtú. Allora è possibile supporre che il motivo dipinto della loggia ricorresse in tutta la sala, e che sotto gli altri archi stavano altre allegorie e personaggi, uomini famosi.

Nel corso dell'analisi venivano visibili le parti ridipinti e gli stucchi di diverse periodi dei lavori del restauro, soprattutto degli anni 1960. Il lavoro della dott.ssa fu continuato con la pulitura della superficie dalle materie estranee, cioè di *terra pietrificata* che rimaneva dalle battaglie turche di 1595 quando i piani superiori del castello crollarono al primo piano, che fu coperto dalle macerie fino 1934, allora per 340 anni. Poi bisognava togliere le garnizioni di cemento usate negli anni 30, poi i diversi strati degli interventi posteriori. La documentazione preziosa del lavoro di restauro fatta dalla dott.ssa Susanna Wierdl fa conoscere tutti i dettagli del lavoro con i suoi risultati.⁸

Adesso vorrei dimostrare soltanto alcuni risultati del lavoro di restauro che aiutano il migliore la ricerca di storia dell'arte. Il lavoro del restauro è cominciato con la figura della *Temperanza* (fig.5.). Nel corso della pulitura diventavano visibili – sempre più – le forme autentiche, disegnate con il pennello da un artista eminente. Il *disegno* è delicatissimo con le tracce del colorismo vivissimo. Tutta la figura raggiunge un'espressione della felicità della virtù con una poetica profondissima. Lo storico d'arte è toccato dall'alta qualità della rappresentazione della figura! Guardando il viso della figura di tre quarti che getta un colpo d'occhio all'ingiù alla sua attività temperata con una concentrazione lirica e meditativa. I ritmi delle linee sensibilissime al sopraccigli, al naso, alla bocca, ai contorni del viso e soprattutto ai capelli lunghi e biondi – con le tracce d'oro! – che circondano la figura miracola dell'idea della virtù svolazzando pieno di slancio. Durante la pulitura sono scoperte le traccie di ciocche di capelli sullo sfondo che testimoniano il prolungamento della cascata di capelli che sono distrutti ormai.

Il carattere *decorativo* della rappresentazione fu aumentato del diadema sopra la fronte che è accompagnato con un nastrino sottile facendo un arco magnifico sopra il viso. L'arco della loggia, sopra la figura, la cornice di lei, dipinta in prospettiva, aumenta la monumentalità della virtù.

Anche i *pentimenti*, trovati durante la pulitura del dipinto, danno grand'aiuto per la storia dell'arte per l'attribuzione del pittore. L'artista cercava con i mutamenti della testa e delle posizioni degli occhi la soluzione migliore, la più adeguata per l'espressione più profonda all'idea della Temperanza. La figura dell'artista raggiunge i *pensieri soprannaturale dell'anima della Temperanza*. Tutte le soluzioni sono da un talento straordinario. L'idea della figura dimostra la

⁸ Wierdl, Zsuzsanna, *Chi ha dipinto l'affresco „Temperanza” del Palazzo Reale di Esztergom? Novi risultati dalla ricerca sull'arte rinascimentale ungherese*. Roma, 2007. 1–19.

filozofia dell'arcivescovo Johannes, dove si trova un'unità il reale ed ideale, cioè l'insegnamento di Aristotele e di Platone. L'aspirazione per quest'unità caratterizzava già la teologia di San Tommaso d'Aquino. Il primate ungherese Johannes Vitéz formava i suoi pensieri filosofici-teologici, prima di tutto, con i suoi studi, con la lettura dell'opere dei filosofici antichi e contemporanei e poi nelle discussioni, i dialoghi con gli studiosi umanisti dell'epoca.

Gli strati *superficiali* degli dipinti di Esztergom sono perduti, purtroppo, perché, essi furono dipinto al secco. Ma nel corso della pulitura si ha trovato piccoli resti dei pigmenti dello strato della superficie. Così un frammento di colore *rosa* sulla linea nera del collo testimonia lo strato di incarnato ricoprì l'intero volto. Un altro frammento dallo sfondo della figura della Fortezza rivela che l'*azzurrite* era impegnata per dipingere il cielo.

Gettiamo una occhiata alla testa della *Temperanza* di Esztergom. Le linee sono vicini al viso del Pallade di Sandro Mariano ed ai visi delle donne degli affreschi di lui nella Galleria di Louvre che erano staccati dalla Villa Lemmi di Firenze (fig. 6.).

Oltre le figure femminile delle allegoriche delle Virtù si trova a Esztergom un'affresco della *testa d'un uomo*. Anche questo frammento è già pulito dal ridipinto e dalle materie artificiali. Qui è rimasto più dagli strati superficiali. Si vede bene il carattere dell'artista, la qualità eccellente. Questo viso ha grande somiglianza alle faccie dell'affresco ' Prove di Mosè' nella Cappella Sistina nel Vaticano (fig.7.).

Allora, dopo la pulitura degli dipinti da tutti gli strati degli interventi posteriori, sono venuti alla luce le rappresentazioni *tutto nuove*, che hanno una *qualità artistica più alta che di prima*. Tutti che vedevano queste nuove raffigurazioni sono toccati profondamente della grandezza dell'artista!

È evidente che gli storici d'arte di prima che non conoscevano le forme, le linee autentiche del maestro non potevano dare giusta proposta per l'attribuzione del pittore. Secondo le forme autentiche non è difficile determinare il maestro. *La sua virtuosità del disegno, e la sua profondità dell'espressione filosofica e poetica* sono caratteristiche così particolari di un unico maestro che fu *Sandro Marianodetto il Botticelli*. Tutti altri maestri italiani del'400 hanno uno stile tutto differente, hanno un'ars poetica profondamente altra. La maggior parte di loro ha concentrato agli studi dell'anatomia e della prospettiva. Il linguaggio artistico del pittore dello Studiolo di Esztergom è più leggero, più sensibile, più decorativo dei suoi contemporanei. Accanto lui anche lo stile di Filippo Lippi è più plastico, conservando le tracce dell'eredità di Masaccio.

La proposta della nostra attribuzione sono rinforzate da tanti nuovi risultati come p.e. con il ritrovamento i disegni eccellenti delle *piccole figure* sotto diversi strati, situate sotto il capitello della colonna dipinta a sinistra dalla *Temperanza*. Queste figure sono opere di un artista eccellentissimo, d'un ritrattista ottimo. Ed essi – per caso, oppure non per caso!- sono identici con le figure delle illustrazioni

dantesche conservate a Berlino. Queste figure non erano visibili nel dipinto finito. Il pittore li disegna per suo piacere.

Alla base della stessa colonna dipinta, – in corso della pulitura del dipinto – sono venuti alla luce due lettere accoppiate in maiuscola: una M e sotto, nel prolungamento della linea centrale della lettera M c'è una lettera B (fig. 8.). Queste lettere furono incise nell'intonaco ancora fresco. La sigla non fu visibile sulla superficie del dipinto. Il pittore l'ha nascosta similmente alle piccole figure della stessa colonna.

Sandro Mariano detto il Botticelli fu molto giovane negli anni 1465-66. Lui aveva cca venti anni. Gli affreschi di Esztergom potevano essere le sue prime opere famose. Forse la fama di queste incitava la Mercanzia di Firenze nel maggio 1470 alla commissione di Botticelli di dipingere due allegorie delle Virtù. Ma già il 18 dicembre 1469 Piero del Pollaiuolo ricevé l'incarico della Mercanzia a tutte le sette allegorie delle virtù, dallo stesso giudice Tommaso Soderini. È conosciuto la protesta del Pollaiuolo e dei pittori dell'Arte dei Medici e Speciali contro l'incarico a Botticelli. E al fine del processo fu confermato a Botticelli l'incarico per la figura della Fortezza. Già il 18 giugno 1470 fu pagato a Botticelli il dipinto che si trova nella Galleria di Uffizi accanto alle allegorie di Pollaiuolo. Questo dipinto è il primo lavoro documentato di Botticelli. Perché fu così importante a Tommaso Soderini che almeno una Virtù sia dipinto da Botticelli nella serie delle Virtù per la Mercanzia? Forse non è l'argomentazione falsa di supporre che la fama dei suoi magnifici lavori per il primate del Regno d'Ungheria a Esztergom, soprattutto la fama delle rappresentazioni delle Virtù, ed anché lui stesso, è arrivato a Firenze soltanto nella primavera del 1470.

E finalmente alla domanda, come è arrivato il giovane Sandro Mariano in Ungheria, che l'ha invitato? – la risposta è: i contatti fra Firenze ed Ungheria erano molto stretti, soprattutto dal Trecento, quando i re d'Ungheria erano gli Angioini da Napoli. Le relazioni dei mercanti, delle banche ed anche degli artisti e studiosi di Firenze, di Siena e delle altre città erano molto vivace. Queste sono intensificati nel '400 sotto il regno del Sigismondo Luxemburgo – come lo dimostrano i carrieri di Filippo Scolari e della sua parentia –, e poi sotto il re Mattia Corvino. Allora nella metà del '400 fu naturale la presenza, l'attività degli artisti italiani e fra loro in maggior parte i fiorentini secondo i documenti degli archivi italiani. Vorrei menzionare soltanto le lettere di *Bernardo Vespucci*, mercante fiorentino della quartiera d'Ognissanti dove abitava anché la famiglia Mariano, scritte *da Buda* al suo fratello Amerigo Vespucci, al viaggiatore di più tardi. Lui scrisse dei suoi lavori e cose personale con *Chimenti Camicia*. È conosciuto che Camicia „stava al servizio del re d'Ungheria gli fece palazzi, giardini, fontane, tempi, fortezze ed altre muraglie d'importanza” – come scrive Giorgio Vasari. Lui vissuto più di 24 anni in Ungheria da 1479 fino alla sua morte di 1494 a Esztergom.

Sandro Mariano detto il Botticelli, allora, poteva arrivare in Ungheria con l'aiuto dei *Vespucci*, che ha aiutato a tanti artefici italiani per trovare la sua fortuna nel Regno d'Ungheria. La pietra sepolcrale della famiglia Mariano (*fig. 9.*) si trova nella chiesa d'Ognissanti a Firenze, non lontano dalla cappella dei Vespucci. Qui fu sepolto Botticelli nel 1510.

Negli anni 1450–80 gli artisti fiorentini ed altri artefici italiani, verosimilmente, sono arrivati anché con la mediazione degli studenti, degli studiosi ed artisti ungheresi fra loro era il piu celebre appunto il nipote del arcivescovo Johannes, il poeta *Giano Pannonio*. Lui, l'umanista di alta cultura e di alto senso all'arte, fu anche il migliore amico del primate. La sua amicizia con il pittore Mantegna è bene conosciuta. E sicura che lui ed anché gli altri umanisti ungheresi vissuti in Italia, avevano amici fra i pittori italiani.

Botticelli ha ritratto anche l'ambasciatore ungherese di Mattia Corvino al corte del magnifico Lorenzo Medici. Questo ritratto aveva una grande stima per i Medici, anché dopo uno secolo, quando *Giorgio Vasari* ha dipinto nel Palazzo Vecchio l'apoteosi di Lorenzo il Magnifico al soffitto della Sala di Lorenzo Vecchio. Lui scrisse nel suo lavoro "Raglionamenti" – "*ho ritratti da Sandro del Botticello pittore, che udii dire, che questo grassotto primo, con quella toga di damasco paonazzo, in zucca e raso, che é appresso a Lorenzo, era l'Ambasciatore, che teneva qui il sopra tutti gli altri virtuosissimo Re Mattia Corvino di Ungheria*".⁹ La dott.ssa Jolanta Balogh supponeva che questo ambasciatore fu il colto *Taddeo Ugoletto* che fu nominato da Marsilio Ficino "Regio Procuratore".¹⁰

Conoscendo l'alta potenza del Regno d'Ungheria nel Rinascimento, soprattutto nell'età di Mattia Corvino (1458–90), non fu una cosa straordinario che i migliori artisti, studiosi, mercanti, banchieri, artefici italiani aspiravano di ricevere commissioni dai potentati del Regno d'Ungheria.

Il lavoro della pulitura degli affreschi dello Studiolo si continua ancora alcuni anni. Ogni giorno vengono fuori meravigliosi risultati che testimoniano l'alta cultura e l'esigenza artistica del mecenate della decorazione pittorica dello Studiolo di Esztergom, cioè del primate ungherese Johannes Vitéz.

Lo Studiolo dell'arcivescovo di Esztergom prende un *posto unico* fra gli studioli rinascimentali conosciuti in Europa da punto di vista del suo programma iconografico e del suo alto livello della presentazione artistica. Questo Studiolo é finora *l'unico studiolo* che é rimasto di un *pontefice umanista*. Il programma dello studiolo di Esztergom poter aiutarci di far idea dello studiolo perduto del famoso umanista Papa Niccolò V, che trovava vicino alla sua cappella nel

⁹ *Raglionamenti del Signor Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari ... sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinti in Firenze nel Palazzo di loro Altezze Serenissime...* Seconda edizione, Arezzo, 1762. 72.; Vasari: *Vite...* Ed. G. Milanesi, Firenze, 1882. vol. VIII. 112.

¹⁰ Balogh, Jolán, „Újabb adatok Firenze és Magyarország kulturális kapcsolatainak történetéhez” [Nuovi documenti alla storia delle relazioni culturali fra Firenze ed Ungheria], *Archeologiai Értesítő* XLIII (1929) 273–275.

Palazzo di Vaticano, dipinto da Fra Angelico ed anche di quello del papa Pio II. Oggi gli più famosi studioli del Rinascimento sono i Studioli di *Federico da Montrefeltro* (1422–82) condottiere dei Papi, a Urbino ed a Gubbio.¹¹ Questi sono differenti dello studiolo di Esztergom nella misura ed anche nel programma iconografico della sua decorazione artistica. Federico ha fatto fare a Urbino, alla sua sede, una abitazione bella e degna secondo i progetti di Laurana, lo studiolo si trova al primo piano, al piano nobile, sopra il tempietto delle Muse. La sua misura ha 360 x 335 cm (allora più piccola della metà dello Studiolo di Esztergom). Le pareti erano decorati sotto con le tavole intarziate e sopra di esse con le tavole dipinti dei ritratti dei uomini famosi, studiosi e poeti. Lá si trovava anche il ritratto di Federico vestito in corazza e tiene un libro nella mano da Justus Ghent(?), oggi nella Galleria Nazionale delle Marche a Urbino. Federico aveva anche una magnifica biblioteca. Ma non lui l'ha composto come Johannes Vitéz. Lui incaricava *Vespasiano Bisticci* di creare una biblioteca degno a lui di 500 libri. E Bisticci commetteva 45 copisti e durante tre mesi furono pronti i 500 preziosi volumi dei più famosi autori. Lui fu molto ricco. Lui fu il ottimo condottiere d'Italia. Lui fu il modello del Cortegiano di Castiglione, la Luce d'Italia, che incarnava le virtù cardinali: la Prudenza, la Temperanza, la Fortezza e anche la Giustizia, che sono rappresentate alla porta d'entrata del piano nobile. Lui fu colto e grande mecenate dei artisti, ma non fu un studioso, un creatore delle scienze ed anche dirigente degli studiosi come Johannes Vitéz...

Johannes Vitéz cominciò la sua carriera politica nella cancelleria del re d'Ungheria ed imperatore Sigismondo Luxemburgo negli anni 1430 a Buda. Qui lui faceva la conoscenza degli umanisti italiani, prima di tutto del famoso filosofo e storico *Pier Paolo Vergerio* che arrivò in Ungheria, a Buda all'invito dell'imperatore Sigismondo nel 1418, dopo il Concilio di Costanza, portando con se la sua famosa biblioteca. Vergerio visse in Ungheria fino sua morte di 1444. Il suo palazzo di Buda fu un centro degli incontri degli studiosi internazionali, greci, italiani, croati ed ungheresi. Dobbiamo menzionare fra gli altri il cardinale *Giuliano Cesarini*, *Filippo Prodocatario* e *Ioannes de Dominis* episcopo di Várad. Vergerio visitò con piacere il suo giovane amico Johannes Vitéz anche all'episcopato di Várad, dove Johannes fu nominato prevosto il 1441. Dal 1445 fino 1465 Johannes fu il vescovo di Várad, dopo il vescovo italiano *Ioannes de Dominis*.

Durante il venti anni del episcopato di Johannes Vitéz a Várad – oggi appartiene a Romania col nome Oradea – lì si formò un famoso centro scientifico di tipo d'Academia! Qui furono coltivate – accanto la filosofia, letteratura, storia, teologia, – anche le scienze naturali, la matematica, fisica e l'astrologia con la partecipazione di *Georg Peuerbach*, professore dell'Università di Vienna ed il suo studente l'eccellente studioso *Johannes Müller*, nominato *Regiomontanus*. Fra gli umanisti dell'ambiente di Johannes Vitéz si trovavano i più eminenti

¹¹ Cheles, Luciano, *The Studiolo of Urbino. An Iconographic Investigation*. Pennsylvania, 1986.

studiosi d'Europa. Per esempio i greci: *Johannes Argyropylos*, *Georgius Trapezuntius*, gli italiani: *Galeotto Marzio*, *Philippo Buonacorsi*, detto *Callimachus*, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, *Guarino Veronese*, l'eminente maestro dell'Accademia di Ferrara da che studiavano i maggiori umanisti ungheresi mandati da Johannes Vitéz, come *Janus Pannonius* e tanti altri personaggi famosi quali conosciamo dalle lettere di Johannes Vitéz. Il suo epistolario contiene 78 lettere dagli anni 1445–51, e sono raccolti dal suo prete Paolo Ivanich.¹²

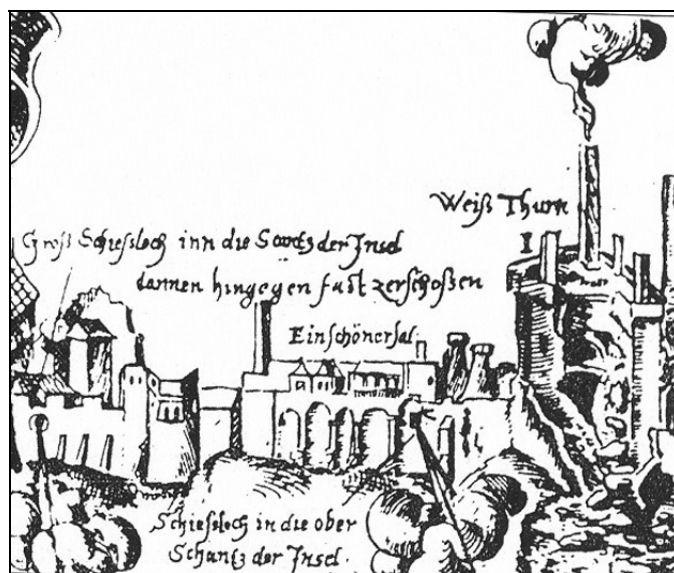
Allora Johannes Vitéz nel 1465 quando fu nominato primate d'Ungheria ed arrivò a Esztergom, lui fu già pronto per la fondazione d'un'Università di tipo di Bologna. Subito fu mandato l'ambasciatore del re Mattia Corvino, Giano Pannonio, l'episcopo di Pécs al Papa Paolo II. a Roma per il permesso della fondazione dell'Università di tipo di Bologna. Giano fu accompagnato da 300 equestri eccellenti. Loro furono ammirati dai italiani durante il loro viaggio attraverso il penisola. Il papa, che conosceva bene il primate Johannes Vitéz, dava subito il permesso a lui. È importante menzionare che la domanda fu fatta dal re, ma la risposta – che si trova nell'Archivio Primatiale di Esztergom – fu scritta al primate Johannes. Lui fu nominato il cancelliere dell'Università. Durante i prossimi due anni fra 1465–67 fu organizzato l'università: erano inviti i professori e sono arrivati a Esztergom, ed il palazzo arcivescovile di Esztergom fu dignitamente trasformato ed arredato allo scopo di un centro internazionale degli studi di più alto livello dell'epoca. Fra l'altro fu istituire un'osservatorio secondo le pretese del maggior studioso della fisica e matematica, *Regiomontano*, e fu formato uno *Studiolo* rappresentativo dove gli affreschi alle parete ed anche alle volte rappresentavano il programma dell'Università, ideata dal primate Johannes Vitéz. Questo proclamava che *il fondamento della vita umana sono le Virtù e l'uomo sta in stretta relazione con il Cosmos, coll'Universo con i planeti ed i segni dello zodiaco. Il mondo, creato del Dio onnipotente, ha una forte unitá.* Questa verità é certificata dalle scienze di matematica e fisica ed anche dalla filosofia e la teologia dell'étá dell'arcivescovo Johannes Vitéz. Lui stesso fu un maestro di tutte queste scienze.

La festoso inaugurazione aveva luogo il 20 giugno 1467 a Esztergom nella presenza dei professori più eccellenti di tutte le parti d'Europa. Il nome dell'Università divenne *Accademia Istropolitana* dopo il nome del fiume di Danubio/Is-ter. Il luogo dell'insegnamento era nella città Posonia al Danubio, situata fra Buda e Vienna. Posonia fu la sede del prevost dell'arcivescovo di Esztergom. Il cancelliere dell'Accademia fu Johannes Vitéz. Tutti i professori tenevano lui in grande considerazione. Dopo la sua morte nel 1472 essi lasciarono l'Ungheria, e l'Università si interrupò, ma i suoi risultati scientifici ed artistici annunciano anche oggi la sua importanza.

¹² Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 431.; Boronkai, Iván, *Vitéz János levelei és politikai beszédei*. Budapest, 1987.; Boronkai, Iván (ed.), *Johannes Vitéz de Zredna: Opera quae supersunt*. Budapest, 1980.



1. La sala grande nel palazzo dell'arcivescovo di Johannes Vitéz a Esztergom.
Ricostruzione dell'architetto Konstantin Vukov.



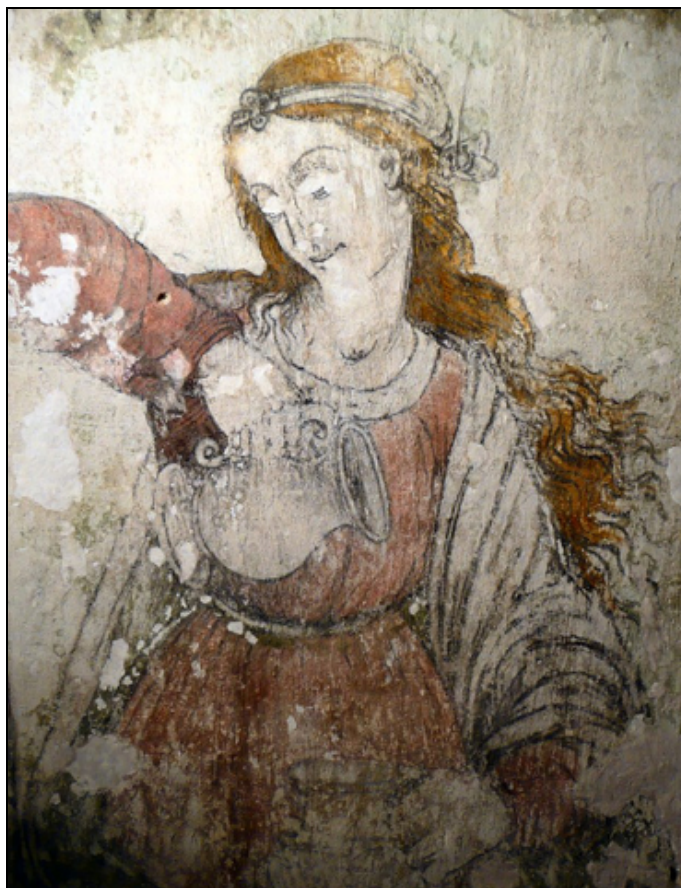
2. Il castello di Esztergom durante la guerra turca del 1595,
incisione di Meyerpeck



3. Le quattro Virtù cardinali, affreschi nello Stodiolo di Esztergom, Museo del Castello



4. Ricostruzione dello Stodiolo, disegno dell'architetto Konstantin Vukov



5. La Temperanza, affresco a Esztergom, durante il lavoro di restauro, 2008, Foto Wierdl



6. La testa della Temperanza fra le teste dipinte da Botticelli: Pallade (Uffizi) e di Louvre, Foto Wierdl



7. La testa d'un uomo da Esztergom e da Botticelli (Cappella Sistina), affreschi, Foto Wierdl



8. La sigla di M e B a Esztergom, Foto Wierdl



9. La pietra sepolcrale di Botticelli, Firenze, chiesa d'Ognissanti, Foto Wierdl

LÁSZLÓ HAVAS

**L'IDÉAL DE LA CITÉ DANS L'OEUVRE
DE JANUS PANNONIUS COMME UN ANTIPODE
DE L'EMPIRE CONCEPTUALISÉ
PAR MATTHIAS CORVIN**

La recherche a jusqu'ici consacré assez peu d'attention à la conception de l'histoire chez le poète hongrois, Janus Pannonius. Je ne peux mentionner qu'une seule étude qui traite *a priori* cette question.¹ D'ailleurs, on comprend le peu d'attention apporté à ce sujet. Janus Pannonius était un poète dont l'oeuvre ne contient pas trop d'éléments qui auraient des rapports essentiels avec l'historiographie. Mais Quintilien qui était un des maîtres favorisés de Guarino prétendait que l'*historia* est très proche de la poésie. Janus, en tant qu'élève de Guarino, a dû connaître cette conception de Quintilien qui devait être importante pour lui, et non seulement pour le poète mais aussi pour l'orateur, comme l'attestent ses *orationes*. Pour Janus, l'histoire signifiait avant tout un arsenal rhétorique, mais ce fait ne nous contraint pas à penser que l'approche historique assez souple de Janus n'ait pas eu de contours précis. Par la suite, nous ferons des essais afin d'éclairer ces questions, en tenant compte des contraintes des genres littéraires, comme Janus Pannonius nous éclaire, en présentant les catégories des *genera* examinés par lui-même, soulignant leurs caractères essentiels (Paneg, ad I. A. Marcellum, 8–15).

Si nous voulons examiner l'accès de Janus Pannonius à l'histoire, c'est le panégyrique qui est, sur le plan du genre littéraire, le point de départ le plus convenable. En effet, cette forme présente un état transitoire entre l'*ars oratoria* et la *poesis*. Le poème écrit à la louange d'une personne illustre est en contact avec la *laudatio* comme genre oratoire, mais en même temps avec la poésie narrative et didactique, et par son recueil d'exemples puisés dans l'histoire, il s'approche souvent de l'histoire elle-même. De ce point de vue il est très instructif pour nous d'étudier surtout le *Panegyricus ad Iacobum Antonium Marcellum Venetum*, qui a été créée, selon la tradition, après le *Panegyricus praeceptorum Guarino Veronensi*, c'est-à-dire dans les années 1456–58. Pour cette période, nous pouvons déjà considérer le poète assez mûri du point de vue

¹ Birnbaum, Marianna D., «Janus Pannonius' View about History», In: Jankovits, László–Kecskeméti, Gábor (eds.), *Janus Pannonius és a humanista irodalmi hagyomány* [Janus Pannonius et la tradition littéraire humaniste]. Pécs, 1998. 37–39.

artistique et politique. Ce panégyrique que la recherche n'a pas apprécié jusqu'ici selon ses mérites (la monographie de L. Jankovits fait une exception), donne des renseignements détaillés sur la vision historique, la conception politique et littéraire et sur les préparatifs artistiques du poète humaniste. La *praefatio* rend évident que pour l'humaniste hongrois, Virgile était le vrai modèle de ce poème et pas Claudien – contrairement à tous les avis antérieurs dans les recherches² – qui a été le maître le plus parfait du panégyrique en vers dans l'antiquité romaine. Janus suit l'*Énéide*, cf. *nunc ego si divi sequar alta exempla Maronis* (préf., v. 23), qui est une allusion évidente à l'épopée, puisque Virgile avait reçu cet ordre fictif de Mécène : *Duc age Dardanias Lavina ad litora classes* (ibid., v. 17). Ce qui montre que nous pouvons compter sur une forme d'approche historique dans le poème suivant de Janus, au moins dans la manière dont l'humaniste hongrois applique l'exemple du passé à son époque. En effet, pour lui I. A. Marcellus signifiait ce que César Auguste signifiait pour Virgile (ibid., v. 24).³

Bien que Janus parle de son oeuvre comme *materia incomptum...opus* (ibid., v. 52), cette oeuvre est tout de même un travail réfléchi, du moins du point de vue historique. La première partie du panégyrique qui raconte les actes et le sort du héros, est prononcée par Pallas Athénée-Minerve, ce qui signifie que c'est la déesse qui doit vérifier le passé, mais qui, par son inspiration apollinienne, connaît également le futur. Par contre, dans la deuxième partie du poème, c'est Clio qui présente les preuves de la descendance de Marcellus qui est issu d'un héros antique, surnommé «l'épée de Rome» qui avait pris Syracuse lors de la deuxième guerre punique. Ainsi, c'est Clio, la Muse de l'historiographie, qui donne la garantie du passé lointain. Ce fait souligne la conception selon laquelle l'histoire est continue, car la *translatio imperii* s'y fait valoir et, dans cette continuité, le nombre précis des années des différentes époques présente une importance accentuée. Par contre, en ce qui concerne l'avenir, Clio – contrairement à Athénée – en a seulement des pressentiments, mais, il faut ajouter que dans ce domaine, sa conception est en parfait accord avec celle d'Athénée. Tout cela signifie une répartition et un arrangement du temps voulus de la part du poète humaniste. Cela est présent, entre autres, dans le fait que les différentes parties du poème qui sont destinées à exprimer des buts variés sont placées sous l'égide de diverses déesses, étant donné que les attributions des deux déesses ne sont pas les mêmes. Du caractère littéraire du panégyrique résulte que le discours de Minerve est plus accentué, car il a pour fonction de présenter le héros, Marcellus et ses actes. Par contre, les paroles de Clio, qui ont une proportion moindre dans le poème, sont placées à la partie finale, par sa position fortement accentuée. Les déesses ont

² V. Jankovits, László, *Accessus ad Janum. A műértelmezés hagyományai Janus Pannonius költészetében*. Budapest, 2002. 83 sqq., surtout 107 sqq.

³ Pour la survie humaniste des épopées homériques et virgiliennes v. Klecker, Elisabeth, *Dichtung über Dichtung. Homer und Vergil in lateinischen Gedichten italienischer Humanisten des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wien (Wiener Studien, 20), 1994.

ainsi, toutes les deux, une importance particulière et donnent sa perspective historique à tout le poème. Mais ce n'est pas seulement le passé lointain que cette première partie évoque, elle fait sentir également l'avenir prochain qui pourrait avoir lieu. De ce fait, l'essentiel du poème se compose, d'une part, de la vie du héros et, d'autre part, du passé et même du présent, ce dernier établissant le futur. De cette manière, l'arrangement du poème est conforme aux critères du panégyrique. Les deux composants structurels fournissent ainsi l'excellent sujet au poème qui aura une grande renommée, digne du talent du poète, ce qui est exprimé par le poète, lui-même (vv. 22–23). Selon Janus Pannonius, c'est le panégyrique qui, grâce à son sujet, est le genre littéraire apte à rivaliser avec l'épopée, puisque, dans le cas de notre poème, il existe une série d'événements historiques récemment passés (tout comme le protagoniste est contemporain) mais qui ont une valeur historique d'après la présentation poétique. Pour nous, il n'est point important que Marcellus chanté par le poète n'était qu'une figure épisodique de l'histoire militaire de Venise. De même que la lutte entre Venise et Milan n'est comparable ni à l'importance guerrière de la Rome ancienne qui reste présente au cours des événements historiques ultérieurs et récents de la ville de Venise, ni aux actes politiques de l'empereur Auguste. Ce qui est important pour nous, c'est que l'humaniste hongrois pensait être élevé à la hauteur de l'épopée historique après avoir exécuté son devoir poétique. Dans ce sens, son oeuvre mérite d'être comparée aux épopées d'Homère ou de Virgile. Donc, la première partie du poème, suivant la conception de *arma virumque cano*, est une série de scènes de bataille qui doivent souligner l'importance du héros placé devant l'arrière-plan mythique. Selon le poète, le monde contemporain, comparé au passé, n'est point négligeable, ce qui est prouvé par la parole de Minerve (vv. 47–48), puisque le temps présent est, peut-être, plus glorieux que l'époque ancienne (vv. 51–53), étant donné qu'il n'existe pas seulement une ville d'Athènes, mais *tot nostras cernis Athenas* (v. 58), c'est-à-dire, par rapport au passé, le nombre des centres culturels a bien augmenté et le nombre des grands artistes est beaucoup plus important. Ainsi on est en droit de demander: *...qui tot videre Linos, tot Arionas anni ?* (v. 82) et la réponse est aussi évidente: le temps présent surpasse tous les précédents avec sa richesse culturelle. Il s'agit d'un nouvel âge d'or qui est interprété par Janus Pannonius même du point de vue géographique. Bien que, dans les trois zones climatiques, la terre ait en abondance des peuples, des villes et des citoyens, il n'existe aucun territoire pareil à l'Italie, où Venise excelle d'une manière particulière, parce que cette ville est le dépositaire par excellence du nouvel âge d'or. Les circonstances extraordinaires de sa fondation en sont déjà un signe, ainsi que son caractère exceptionnel. Sa vraie grandeur et son apparence exclusive ne viennent pas en premier lieu de son aspect extérieur, mais de sa formation et de son développement intérieurs et organiques, car – comme Minerve le raconte et après, les paroles de Clio le fortifient – on trouve ici le point commun des deux sortes d'explication de l'histoire du panégyrique. Il

serait facile d'évoquer les sources antiques sur lesquelles Janus Pannonius a basé cette conception, en utilisant, entre autres, une réminiscence de Florus (cf. *Quippe cum populus Romanus...corpus fecit ex membris et ex omnibus unus est* – 2,6 /3,18/,1). Mais ce qui est le plus important pour nous, c'est que Janus, décrivant la ville sur les côtes Adriatiques, a bien appliqué à Venise la théorie antique de *civitas mixta*, ayant trouvé dans celle-ci la façon idéale de gouverner la cité. En effet, selon l'humaniste hongrois, c'est l'équilibre interne qui a assuré la paix stable et l'ordre légitime pour l'État vénitien. C'est le fait que les trois éléments gouvernementaux y avaient trouvé l'harmonie: d'une part, c'est le peuple (*plebs*) qui était dans l'antiquité le gage de la démocratie, d'autre part, c'est la noblesse (*nobilitas*) qui a été l'élément décisif de la direction aristocratique, enfin, on peut parler encore, dans le cas de Venise, d'une sorte de caractère monarchique de l'autorité, plus précisément du règne (*regnum*) qui, selon les idées de Janus, revient aux pères (*patribus*), c'est-à-dire aux personnalités éminentes, aux patriciens (cf. *patriciae...stirpes* – vv. 138–9). À travers ce troisième élément, Janus fait certainement allusion au pouvoir du doge, en tant que trait caractéristique de la ville commerciale des Vénètes et le poète peut encore penser aux magistrats de la ville tels que Marcellus, le héros de son panégyrique. Selon certains, ce dernier fonctionnait comme *provveditore*: il était un type de transporteur pour l'armée mercenaire, selon d'autres plutôt un quasi agent politique prépondérant.⁴ En effet, cette interprétation était nécessaire pour que le goût de l'époque puisse accepter Marcellus comme héros d'un panégyrique. Ce qui est le plus intéressant dans la conception politique de l'humaniste hongrois, c'est que Janus semble entrelacer, dans l'esprit aristocratique, l'idée de la *civitas mixta*, qu'on peut retrouver chez les auteurs antiques comme Aristote, Polybe, Cicéron, Tacite,⁵ dans la fable de Menenius Agrippa dont la version la plus connue est due à Tite-Live, mais ce thème a été très favorisé aussi par d'autres auteurs (Liv., 2,32,8 sqq., cf. Dion. Hal., 6,96,1 sqq., Flor., 1,17 /23/, 1–2 etc.).⁶ Cette

⁴ Cf. King, Margaret L., *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello*. Chicago, 1994. L'auteur esquisse la carrière de Jacopo Antonio Marcello surtout dans les parties suivantes : 3 sqq., 60, 67–79, 97–117. Pour la fonction de *provveditore* v. *ibid.* 80. Selon King, bien que Marcellus ait été présent aux événements militaires, il n'a pas eu le rôle clé que les «eulogists» lui attribuent, étant donné qu'il n'a pas été «the winner of battles», comme ils le présentent.

⁵ Cf. Nippel, Wilfried, *Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in Antike und früher Neuzeit*. Stuttgart, 1980 et Coleman, Janet, *Political Thought: From Ancient Greece to Early Christianity*. Oxford, 2000, surtout 216–222 (cf. avec le chapitre «Polity: Mixed and/or Middle Constitutions»). V. encore Keyt, D.–Miller, F. D. (eds.), *A Companion to Aristotle's Politics*. Oxford, 1991 et Huxley, G. L., «On Aristotle's Best State», *History of Political Thought*, 6 (1985) 139–149.

⁶ Cf. Nestle, Wilhelm, «Die Fabel des Menenius Agrippa», *Klio*, 21 (1927) 350–360; Havas, László: «Mese és történelemszemlélet az ókorban» [Fable et pensée de l'histoire dans l'Antiquité], *MTA I. Oszt.Közl.*, 33 (1982) 111–121, cf. Havas, László, «L'idée d'État dans les discours consulaires de Cicéron», *Ciceroniana*, 7 (1990) 133–147 et Havas, László, *Corpus Rei Publicae. Studia Historico-philologica collecta*. Debrecen, 2002. 51–64.

civitas mixta vénitienne qui montre plutôt un aspect de la dominance aristocratique selon l'interprétation de Janus, a enfin eu son succès historique. Car ce ne sont pas des tyrans (*tyranni*) qui y ont régné pendant mille ans, mais c'était la *libertas*, cette sorte de liberté dont la base était le peuple, qui, par l'intermédiaire des *patres*, a suivi fidèlement l'autorité de la noblesse. Cette *civitas mixta* vénitienne a été aussi capable d'exercer un pouvoir oecuménique, à l'exemple de la Rome antique, qui a été pareil à un empire que Florus, l'historien romain a décrit dans la partie finale de son oeuvre en relation avec l'empereur Auguste. Cet auteur romain a souligné que le pouvoir de l'empereur a été étendu sur l'Ouest et le Sud, tout comme sur le Nord et l'Est, pareillement à Venise dont la *mitis ditio* s'est fait valoir dans l'île de Crète, dans les Alpes, dans la montagne du Balkan (cf. *Aemonium* – *Haemonium*, et non *Aeminium*, comme certains le pensent), près du lac de Côme (cf. *Larius*), de même que près de l'Ebre (*Hebrus*), au-dessus de l'Océan, de même qu'au-dessus de la Mer Rouge (vv. 134–137). Par ce fait Venise a pris en possession tout le commerce mondial (v. 137), ainsi que la Rome d'Auguste l'avait fait qui a obtenu la puissance mondiale : *cum Romana maiestas toto orbe polleret* (Flor., 2,13,8). Mais il faut dire que cette vision oecuménique du pouvoir a déjà existé dans la littérature latine de l'époque d'Auguste, surtout chez Virgile et Horace, par contre, ce n'est pas dans la littérature humaniste de l'époque de Janus Pannonius que cette vision est devenue topique.

Ainsi posé dans le contexte de l'histoire mondiale, le sujet du panégyrique se développe par la présentation du héros, n'omettant pas les clichés obligatoires de ce genre littéraire, comme p. ex. l'énumération des aptitudes physiques et des talents d'esprit du héros, mentionnant en même temps son origine, sa famille, ses études et ses actes, afin de pouvoir vérifier, par cette présentation, aussi la justesse de l'ancienne maxime : *per aspera ad astra* (Sen., Herc. fur., 437).⁷ Tout cela ne signifie pas que le poète se tienne exclusivement aux formules anciennes du panégyrique. Janus qui semble prendre le rôle d'Athénée-Minerve présente les choses, comme s'il était, lui aussi, prêt à raconter tous les événements historiques vécus par Marcellus, dans leur richesse et leurs détails, c'est-à-dire prêt à composer une grande épopée historique véritable, mais, faute de temps, il doit se contenter d'un abrégé ou, pour mieux dire, d'un extrait quelconque.

Nous avons déjà constaté les racines antiques de la conception biologique et organique de l'histoire et de la politique dans le panégyrique de Janus. Pourtant il faut voir que, pour le poète, même certaines idées chrétiennes ont fait autorité avec la même valeur que les pensées païennes antiques. Il n'y a en cela rien d'étonnant si on tient compte de la pensée chrétienne, basée d'une manière biologique, remontant à saint Paul, selon laquelle les chrétiens sont réunis dans le Corps mystique du Christ (cf. Rom 12,4-5, v. encore 1 Cor 10,17; 12,13; Eph

⁷ Sur le rôle de la *sententia* dans la littérature ancienne, y compris l'historiographie, v. de nouveau: Biville, Frédérique (ed.), *Proverbes et sentences dans le monde romain*. Lyon, 1999.

1,23; 2, 16; 4,12; 16; 5,23; 30; Col 1,18; 24; 2,19; 3,15). En outre, il était également simple de lier le rôle protecteur des saints à la conception organique de l'histoire, formulée dans l'antiquité classique. En effet, on peut tout à fait concilier la conception biologique de l'histoire de Janus avec la réaction défensive de Saint Marc pour sauver Venise, après avoir appris une défaite de sa ville. Il est clair qu'ici Venise ne figure pas seulement comme l'organisme vivant de la *civitas mixta*, mais aussi comme une sorte d'incarnation de Saint Marc, évoqué sous la figure du lion, qui a pour devoir manifeste de sauvegarder Marcellus aussi, le défenseur de sa cause, celui pour qui le but principal, c'est l'imitation de Scipion (vv. 2459–60), ce politicien et général victorieux d'autrefois qui a fait le plus pour soutenir le corps de l'État romain. Cette intervention de Saint Marc est aidée et assistée aussi par les trois autres évangélistes, comme, de sa part, Saint Ambroise tend aussi la main protectrice à Milan, sa ville préférée, au cours des événements de guerre.⁸ L'institution sociale et politique n'est donc pas liée à une seule époque, c'est-à-dire à l'Antiquité classique, mais elle a une valeur solide et globale. Pour notre poète cela n'est pas seulement une simple caractéristique du panégyrique, mais c'est un facteur déterminant des idées, qui revient souvent dans son poème, et également dans son oeuvre complète, avec la pensée du renforcement politique et culturel qui est surtout accentué par rapport à Venise. C'est très conscient de la part de Janus que de fermer la première partie du panégyrique par la rénovation du royaume de saint Marc. La première partie du panégyrique, racontée par Athénée-Minerve qui représente le passé récent et le présent et qui laisse seulement prévoir le futur, est mise en parallèle avec la deuxième partie du panégyrique qui est prononcée par Clio et qui nous découvre le passé lointain de Venise. Cet aspect du temps qui diffère du précédent est mis en relief par Janus, car Athénée-Minerve, après avoir accompli son devoir, s'envole, et le poète s'adresse à la Muse.

La partie finale du poème est dédiée au passé reculé de la ville et de l'histoire légendaire d'une des familles vénitiennes les plus anciennes, les *Marcelli*. Mais dans cette présentation, l'avenir lointain se dévoile également sur les traces du passé, en invitant le public à voir que le passé est le dépositaire du futur, et cela ne diffère pas de l'idée fondamentale de Virgile dans l'*Énéide*. Pour vérifier cette pensée (notamment que les mots de Clio sur le passé lointain sont dirigés vers le futur), il faut observer un élément très important de l'histoire légendaire de la famille de Marcellus : un de ses ancêtres, après avoir pris la ville de Syracuse en 212 av. J.-C., et avant de rentrer à Rome, a consulté l'oracle, en questionnant en Sicile les *Palici* sur l'avenir de Rome. La question était de savoir si le royaume

⁸ Cf. King, *The Death...*, 191–192 et v. encore: Weinstein, Donald–Bell, Rudolph M., *Saint and Society: Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*. Chicago, 1982, surtout: 18 et 27. – Pour l'ensemble des problèmes «Venise, la grande puissance montante» v. p. ex. Norwich, John Julius, *Venice: The Greatness and the Fall*. London, 1981.

fondé par Romulus, c'est-à-dire la Rome ancienne resterait ou non. En effet, l'oracle imaginé par Janus Pannonius et exprimé par Clio a garanti non seulement l'hégémonie mondiale de l'*Urbs* qui était vraiment réelle du point de vue historique (v. 2719), mais il a aussi prédit ce fait que l'Empire Romain s'effondrerait, car, comme Salluste l'avait prédit, *omnia orta cadunt et aucta senescunt* (Iug., 2,3), et comme l'humaniste hongrois en fait une paraphrase (vv. 2725–27). Par contre, selon l'oracle accepté par Janus Pannonius (vv. 2735–36) Rome restera non seulement comme capitale de la religion, mais une nouvelle Rome surgira des ruines d'Italie, ainsi que la Troie d'autrefois est renée à Rome au bord du Tibère. Cette pensée met en relief de nouveau l'importance de la *translatio imperii*, dans l'interprétation de l'humaniste hongrois, qui voit dans l'oracle prétendu le renouveau de Rome et la survie de son pouvoir dans Venise, par l'intermédiaire d'Aquilée. Pour le vérifier, Clio raconte, suivant l'oracle prétendu en Sicile, l'histoire légendaire de la fondation de Venise.

L'humaniste hongrois, avec la présentation de l'*altera Roma*, c'est-à-dire de Venise, ne voit pas seulement la réalisation de la *translatio imperii* au sein de la puissance adriatique, mais fait aussi une allusion claire à l'importance des Hongrois dans l'histoire mondiale. En effet, selon une conception médiévale de l'histoire, les Huns qui mettent en ruine Rome et Aquilée sont les ancêtres des Hongrois, ainsi que les Sarmates et les Scythes. Ce n'est donc pas un hasard que leur nom apparaît au lieu cité chez Janus Pannonius, qui a été l'adepte de la parenté hunno-hongroise – comme il l'a déclaré lui-même plusieurs fois. Il est connu que le roi Mathias a confié à Bonfini la rédaction de l'*historia Unnorum, qui Ungarorum fuere progenitores*. Cet ouvrage présente l'opinion selon laquelle les fondateurs et les habitants du Royaume Hongrois, donc les Hongrois sont, à vrai dire, les successeurs de l'empire des Huns. Selon cette idée, l'invasion des Huns aurait été seulement la première «arrivée» des Hongrois, préparant la deuxième «arrivée» déjà légale, justifiée par le passé, qui ne serait pas une conquête dévastatrice, mais un «retour» qui garantirait la reprise de la possession ancienne. À l'ordre du roi Mathias, Bonfini a dû présenter cette conception en détail, à la manière de l'historiographie de l'antiquité et de la Renaissance. Cette interprétation historique a été motivée par la politique expansive de Mathias qui, suivant en partie l'itinéraire que les troupes d'Attila avaient suivi, a mené une politique expansive plus forte que les rois précédents.⁹ Si nous traduisons tout cela dans le langage de Janus Pannonius, et nous l'insérons dans sa conception de l'histoire analysée plus haut, nous comprenons pourquoi, selon lui, les Hunno-Hongrois ont eu une importance prépondérante dans l'accomplissement de la

⁹ Cf. Györffy, György, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet* [Les chroniques et la préhistoire hongroise]. Budapest, 1948. 152–180; Mályusz, Elemér, *Az V. István-kori Gesta* [Les *Gesta* de l'époque du roi Étienne V]. Budapest, 1971. Une synthèse convenable a été donnée par Kornél Szovák dans son article «Ákos mester» [«Le maître Ákos»], in: Kristó, Gyula (ed.), *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*. Budapest, 1994. 33 s.v.

translatio imperii universelle, c'est-à-dire dans le fait historique que la puissance de l'ancienne Rome a été déposée entre les mains de la nouvelle Rome, c'est-à-dire Venise. Janus, en parlant des relations étroites entre l'*altera Roma* et la Hongrie, restées intactes même après la naissance de Venise, vise à faire prévoir son opinion selon laquelle la maison des *Marcelli*, originellement romaine, mais devenue vénitienne, fera le commerce pendant un certain temps *duros... ad Histros* (ibid., v. 2766), et puis elle sera rappelée de là pour participer au gouvernement patricien de Venise (ibid., vv. 2767–8). Ces idées pourraient bien susciter, en elles-mêmes, notre intérêt envers la prise de position de Janus sur l'histoire de Venise, mais le poète formule ici quelques autres pensées à propos de la mission historique des Hongrois. Il faut ajouter que l'humaniste complète ces idées par beaucoup d'autres observations, conclusions ou allusions essentielles que nous devons de côté à cause des limites contraignantes de la longueur de la présente étude.

Le statut de grande puissance attribué à Venise (cf. v. 2825) est fondé seulement en partie sur la numérologie, mais il est basé surtout sur la force interne civile que le poète avait mis en rapport avec le caractère de la *civitas mixta*. Janus répète son point de vue dans l'oracle prononcé par Clio, soulignant que c'est grâce «à sa constitution mixte» que Venise est devenue l'État (*regnum*) le plus stable du monde sans changer de forme.

En effet, pour Janus Pannonius, quand, entre 1456–1458, la situation de la Hongrie et du trône était très incertaine, l'État «de constitution mixte» a paru un idéal, capable de défendre en même temps la culture italienne et le christianisme contre le monde barbare, et surtout, contre les Turcs. Pour Janus la mission historique des Hongrois consiste en ce qu'ils ont joué un rôle intermédiaire, par l'entremise des Huns, dans la fondation, puis dans la formation et dans le renforcement de cet État à l'avenir grandiose. C'est de cette manière que l'essentiel de la conception de l'histoire de Janus Pannonius se formule dans le panégyrique de Marcellus, et la même idée se dessine dans les autres panégyriques du poète hongrois même s'ils n'ont pas un caractère cohérent au point de vue philosophique. C'est presque la même interprétation de l'histoire qui se trouve dans les discours (*orationes*) de Janus Pannonius qui sont les plus proches des panégyriques de Janus – ce qui est naturel d'après la théorie de Quintilien. Mais dans les lettres de Janus on tombe également sur presque la même conception de l'histoire que nous avons démontrée dans le panégyrique de Marcellus. Dans les épîtres, nous rencontrons aussi l'éloge de la culture d'Italie, opposée aux barbares qui entourent la péninsule italienne. L'auteur a la conviction que, pareillement au cas de Venise qui a profité de l'exemple de la *civitas mixta*, le roi Mathias Corvin doit apprendre les principes de bon gouvernement à l'aide d'un ouvrage de Plutarque, intitulé *De dictis regum et imperatorum liber* et traduit en latin par Janus, qui contient les maximes des rois et des empereurs de l'antiquité.

En tout cas, ce fait pouvait effectuer une des causes du conflit qui est devenu de plus en plus grave entre Janus Pannonius avec ses cercles, d'une part, et, d'autre part, le roi Mathias, au tournant des années 1460–1470. En effet, le point de vue du roi hongrois sur la politique et sur l'histoire était à fond différent de celui de Janus Pannonius, malgré ses contacts avec l'idéologie de l'humanisme et, surtout, car il a suivi dans la pratique des chemins tout divergents. Les recherches menées au cours des décennies dernières et surtout aux années toutes récentes ont démontré clairement que les idées politiques de Matthias étaient inscrites dans les cadres désignés par Sigismond de Luxembourg, ce dernier étant pour lui un exemple de premier ordre, et ainsi il a beaucoup emprunté à la pratique dans le domaine du pouvoir de son prédécesseur. Par contre, il existe un point de vue plus important, le fait que c'est Sigismond de Luxembourg comme l'empereur du Saint Empire romain germanique qui était pour le *rex Matthias* le modèle de prince par excellence. Ainsi il avait pour but sans doute le plus important de s'emparer le trône de l'empire en question (Péter E. Kovács¹⁰) ou, du moins, d'établir un royaume de grande puissance sur le territoire oriental de l'Europe de l'Est lequel aurait été basé sur le modèle de l'empire en question ou qui aurait été, du moins, une variante de cet empire. Ce projet est prouvé par les campagnes menées par Matthias contre la Bohême et l'Autriche. En plus, le roi Matthias voulait baser en premier lieu son pouvoir sur les barons ce qui était loin de la conception de la *civitas mixta*, tenue idéale par Janus Pannonius, du moins dans la forme que le poète humaniste l'a imaginée d'après le modèle de la République Vénitienne. Quoi qu'il en soit, le roi Matthias avait des ambitions monarchiques très vigoureuses, détestant toutes les tentatives qui envisageaient la république. Un poème de Brandolini, poète italien, nous en présente un bon exemple. Dans ce dialogue antirépublicain, de caractère platonicien les preuves de Dominicus Iunius, marchand florentin qui est le représentant de l'idée républicaine, sont réfutées par le roi Matthias même, du moins dans l'interprétation de cet humaniste italien cherchant du refuge en Hongrie. Dans l'oeuvre de Brandolini, le roi hongrois cherche justement à présenter, d'un aspect négatif, la *libertas* (cf. J. Hankins) dont Janus Pannonius s'est présenté propagateur, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut. Tandis que les idées politiques du poète hongrois changeaient d'une manière dynamique au cours et à cause de ses études et de ses expériences en Italie pour trouver leur forme définitive au temps du retour du poète d'Italie, le roi Matthias tendait fortifier, d'une manière consécutive, le caractère monarchique de son royaume ce qui est désigné, entre autres, par le fait

¹⁰ Pour les noms entre parenthèses et sans d'autres données bibliographiques v. le recueil des résumés des contributions prononcées au colloque organisé à Budapest entre les 20 et 24 mai 2008: *Matthias Rex 1458–1490. Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance* (s.d.), v. encore: E. Kovács, Péter, *Matthias Corvinus*. Budapest, 1990, où se trouve aussi une étude concernant notre sujet: „L'État au temps de Matthias”, 47 sqq. Dans le recueil v. une bibliographie synthétique, pp. 196–197.

que le souverain hongrois, suivant l'exemple du Sigismond, mais en même temps en le surpassant, voulait désigner ses lois comme «perpétuelles», pour qu'un nouveau roi ne puisse pas les remplacer (M. J. Bak). Il a essayé de faire fonctionner, d'une façon fructueuse, aussi les institutions traditionnelles de l'État, mais sans qu'il ait pu laisser, derrière lui, un nombre suffisant d'hommes qui, après sa mort, auraient pu maintenir ses réformes établies pour fortifier l'État hongrois (G. Érszegi) concernant les affaires militaires, les finances publiques, mais aussi la justice et encore d'autres domaines. Ces faits rendent évident que le roi Matthias qui a trompé sans scrupules l'aristocratie terrienne contre la petite noblesse ou il l'a fait d'une manière inverse,¹¹ n'a réussi à établir ni pour lui-même, ni pour son régime, les conditions de la *civitas mixta*, une base politique et sociale plus large, malgré que, incité par les humanistes italiens, et suivant le modèle antique, il a fait tout, afin de représenter pour ses contemporains l'image idéale formée de lui-même et de son royaume, resuscitant même la monarchie antique (K. Pajorin¹²) qui a pris comme *optimus princeps* la personne ayant la capacité de coopérer effectivement avec le sénat. La construction des résidences royales et les travaux que le roi Matthias a menés dans la capitale auraient servi ce but. Bien que ces constructions n'aient pas rompu avec la tradition de style gothique tardif, préféré de Sigismond de Luxembourg, elles ont déjà emprunté des traits au style de la Renaissance suivant l'idée *all'antica* (p. ex. Gy. Székely, E. Spekner, K. Magyar, J. Laszlovszky, I. Feld, K. Szende, P. Farbaký–A. Végh, R. Lupescu, Sz. Papp etc.). La création de la *Biblotheca Corviniana* voulait servir le même but. Les villes de Pest et de Buda ont vu un développement splendide, les bourgades et les villes commerçantes (*oppida*) se sont avancées affermies à l'Est du pays, par contre, dans la partie occidentale du pays, le développement des villes ayant un caractère déjà urbain s'est arrêté ou bien s'est ralenti (I. Petrovics), ce qui n'a guère enthousiasmé les humanistes habitués aux normes italiens, Janus Pannonius non plus. Le fait de la centralisation déjà mentionnée est soutenue par le registre établi des voyages du roi. C'est toujours Buda qui est le point de départ de l'itinéraire du roi, mais tandisqu'il part pour la Bohême¹³ et pour la Silésie dix fois, pour l'Autriche neuf fois et souvent pour causes belliqueuses (R. Horváth), la partie sud du pays hongrois est un peu négligée : pour se porter à la rencontre de l'armée de l'Empire ottoman, le roi hongrois

¹¹ Kubinyi, András, „A Mátyás-kori államszervezet” [Organisme de l'État au temps de Matthias], in: Rázsó, Gyula–V. Molnár, László (ed.), *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* [Matthias Corvinus. Mélanges pour l'anniversaire de 500 ans de la mort du roi Matthias]. Budapest, 1990. 53 sqq.

¹² Madame le professeur, citée ci-dessus, avait préparé une étude globale sur la littérature humaniste italienne à l'éloge du roi Matthias, in: Rázsó–V. Molnár, *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 333 sqq. Dans ce recueil, l'étude de Ferenc Szakály s'occupe du mécénat du roi, *op. cit.*, 277 sqq.

¹³ Une étude de grande objectivité de Macek, Josef, „Corvin Mátyás és Poděbrad György” [Matthias Corvinus et Georges de Poděbrady], se trouve in: Rázsó–V. Molnár, *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 201 sqq.

franchit la frontière sud seulement cinq fois. Cette circonstance et encore d'autres événements pouvaient former l'avis de la population dans les territoires sud du pays, et ainsi celui de Janus Pannonius même qui a porté le titre «ban de Slavonie» entre 1469 et 1470,¹⁴ que ce territoire n'était plus qu'une périphérie du royaume (cf. B. Grigin). En effet, il est apparu même la résistance contre le roi, et pour y répondre, le roi était contraint d'y arriver avec des troupes armées pour y faire jouer sa volonté. Le sentiment des intéressés d'être négligé était même redoublé par l'activité diplomatique de Matthias, menée avec des régions de l'Europe de l'Ouest ce que les recherches hongroises, faites justement à Debrecen, ont dernièrement démontré (A. Bárány, A. Györkös). Il faut absolument tenir compte des conséquences de ces relations internationales de large horizon sur la politique intérieure, même si leurs effets ne se sont présentés que par une manière indirecte. Les sympathisants de Venise devaient avoir sans doute le mauvais sentiment voyant le roi prendre contact avec Naples et Milan, soit avec les adversaires de Venise, (v. p. ex. V. Rees), dont Milan avait semblé auparavant le plus dangereux pour Venise.¹⁵ Il existait seulement un domaine où les efforts de Matthias ne croisaient pas les idées de Janus Pannonius et ses semblants, c'était en effet la défense du christianisme que le humaniste hongrois a considéré comme une des plus précieuses valeurs et même un des buts principaux. De nos jours, les recherches de K. Szovák, T. Kerny, G. Klaniczay ont démontré (v. G. Klaniczay) que le roi Matthias pensait de la même manière, puisqu'il soutenait non seulement les ordres religieux, mais aussi le culte des saints nouveaux ou anciens, qu'ils soient hongrois ou qu'ils appartiennent à d'autres nations (v. D. Falvay). Mais ce n'était pas suffisant pour apaiser la déception de Janus Pannonius et de son cercle, ainsi le poète a essayé d'avertir son maître de réaliser une collaboration plus harmonieuse avec un entourage plus large de la société hongroise. Nous retrouvons cette pensée dans une de ses élégies très belle qu'il a écrite en Hongrie dont le titre est *De stella aestivo meridie visa* où le poète, en voyant un phénomène céleste, pense y reconnaître les signes d'un désastre terrible. C'est ainsi qu'il exprime son souhait que la puissance divine qui se cache derrière de ce phénomène amène les hautes personnalités au respect du roi pour que, à l'aide de leurs conseils, le souverain puisse régner sur lui-même et aussi gouverner le royaume (cf. L. Jankovits). Il est évident que, dans l'élégie,

¹⁴ Cf. Fügedi, Erik, *Uram, királyom... A 15. századi Magyarország hatalmasai* [Mon seigneur, mon roi... Les barons de Hongrie au 15^e siècle]. Budapest, 1974. 111; Kubinyi, András, „A Mátyás-kori államszervezet” [L'organisme de l'État au temps du roi Matthias], in: Rázsó-V. Molnár, *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 53 sqq., surtout : pp. 100 et 141, la note 321.

¹⁵ Teke, Zsuzsa, „Az itáliai államok és Mátyás” [Les États en Italie et le roi Matthias], in: Rázsó-V. Molnár, *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 251, avec une riche bibliographie; cf. encore les autres études de Madame l'auteur, surtout: *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a XIII-XV. században* [Relations commerciales entre Venise et la Hongrie aux XIII-XV^{es} siècles]. Budapest, 1979. V. encore: Jászay, Magda, *Velence és Magyarország: Egy szomszédság küzdelmes története* [Venise et la Hongrie : l'histoire tourmentée d'un voisinage]. Budapest, 1990.

c'est notre poète, inquiet de l'état du pays qui s'exprime et qui n'a guère d'espérance dans un nouvel âge d'or à venir dont il avait parlé à propos de la République Vénitienne de «constitution mixte». A partir de cette élégie, nous arrivons juste à une autre, intitulée *De inundatione*, qui prévoit l'anéantissement total de l'univers ce qui est une vision basée sur la philosophie stoïque. Il s'agit notamment d'un désastre mondial qui sera accomplie non seulement par une inondation (cf. *kataklysmos*), mais aussi par une incendie (*ekpyrosis*) (cf. I. Lukinich, B. Láng v. encore O. Gecser).¹⁶ Ces circonstances nous expliquent pourquoi Janus Pannonius a été entraîné à la conspiration contre Matthias. Le roi, pour pouvoir accomplir ses buts monarchiques de grande envergure, l'a étouffée d'une main si forte qu'il a soulevé l'indignation de beaucoup d'humanistes italiens, parmi eux celle de Bartolomeo de Fronzio. Mais, contrairement à Janus Pannonius, cet humaniste italien est resté en vie, et après il s'est même réconcilié avec le roi Matthias Corvinus. Son exemple montre qu'une bonne partie des humanistes ont pu trouver le *modus vivendi* avec la monarchie de Matthias, s'ils ont cessé de se tenir strictement à une conception historico-politique préconçue et s'ils ont été prêts à renoncer à la réalisation complète de leurs idéaux relatifs à la cité, en premier lieu. Dans le cas de Janus, ce dévouement à une communauté civique et pas impériale peut être compris comme la réalisation de soi, mais il est vraisemblable que, dans l'avenir, les recherches y ajouteront d'autres circonstances.

Par contre, il est hors de doute, que l'idéal établi de la manière *all'antica* par Janus Pannonius, suivant surtout le modèle de l'établissement politique de Venise et mettant en relief l'idéal de la civilisation en cité, qui était basé sur la théorie de la *civitas mixta* de l'Antiquité, s'est bien différencié de la réalité, développée surtout par Matthias, sur l'exemple de Sigismond de Luxembourg ce que, à mon avis, l'interprétation d'András Kubinyi a caractérisé avec la plus grande exactitude. Il s'agit ici d'une monarchie, visant les cadres de l'Empire, où «le roi est le 'possesseur naturel' du pays et il a le pouvoir législatif, mais il exerce ensemble avec les ordres ou bien avec le conseil, il est le souverain juge... Quant au domaine des questions fiscales... il a des droits considérables. Il est le généralissime, et, grâce à son droit de patronage, il prend sa part dans la direction de l'Église. A part de cela, on lui a dû de la loyauté», mais «il existait encore d'autres moyens», ainsi «le droit de protection», mais ce dernier n'a point pu sauver Janus Pannonius, le ressortissant révolté,¹⁷ notamment, car l'attitude de révolte a été dangereuse justement pour l'idée impériale monarchique. Bien que le roi hongrois se soit réconcilié plus tard avec le poète mort, en le faisant ensevelir dans son ancien

¹⁶ Après J. Huszti, T. Kardos et É. Kocziszky, c'est surtout János Bollók qui a publié une oeuvre de mérite: „Asztrális misztika és asztrológia Janus Pannonius költészetében: Az epigrammák” [La mystique astrale et l'astrologie dans la poésie de Janus Pannonius: Les epigrammes], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 98 (1994) 299–328. Cette question est traitée dans un contexte plus élargi dans sa thèse de doctorat académique.

¹⁷ Kubinyi, „A Mátyás-kori...”, 57, avec une bibliographie supplémentaire dans les notes.

évêché, établi dans la ville de Pécs, bien qu'il ait ordonné de cueillir ses poèmes pour la *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, ce n'était que la représentation *all'antica* de la *clementia* de la monarchie munie de plein pouvoir pour rendre claire le triomphe de celle-là sur la conception théorique de la *civitas mixta*. En effet, les cités ont eu un très petit rôle politique dans l'activité impériale de Matthias qu' il ne les donc invitées qu'une seule fois à la diète après son couronnement.¹⁸ Dans ce domaine, Bonfini¹⁹ et d'autres humanistes²⁰ n'ont pas réussi à rendre attirant au roi le caractère civilisé des cités de type italien. Aux yeux du roi, ce n'était pas le caractère équilibré d'une cité qui représentait la valeur, mais la puissance économique et militaire qui était encadrée dans la monarchie de plein pouvoir, même si le but lointain de cette cohésion n'était point clair. En effet, il s'agit d'une question ouverte et, en ce moment, pas unanimement résolue par les chercheurs.

Après tout, je voudrais finir la présentation de mes examens par la phrase finale très pointue d'une étude de Zsuzsa Teke où j'ai fait seulement un petit changement: «La tragédie particulière ... de Matthias, c'est qu'il n'a pas pu collaborer sans problèmes avec Venise, cette ville qui aurait pu être pour Matthias un allié sûr tant contre l'empereur romain germanique que... contre les Turques».²¹ Je voudrais y ajouter le suivant: la tragédie de Matthias est devenue plus forte à cause du fait que le roi s'est trouvé opposé justement aux cercles humanistes du pays qui auraient pu donner la base solide de l'esprit de la Renaissance étant en voie de développement et d'élargissement et lequel esprit est né et sorti en fait des cités et pas des empires. C'est cet esprit qui a projeté comme une perspective d'avenir plus large l'idée de la *tota Europa* sous le signe d'une culture commune qui était chrétienne et opposée en même temps à l'expansion ottomane, bien qu'il n'ait été entièrement parfaite sous aucun rapport.²² En tout cas, c'est pour les

¹⁸ Kubinyi, „A Mátyás-kori...”, 79 et 135, v. ici note 194 avec la mention de Kubinyi, András, „A magyarországi városok országrendiségének kérdéséhez” [Pour la question de l'ordre étatique des villes de Hongrie], *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából*, [Études sur le passé de Budapest] 21 (1979) 22.

¹⁹ Pour cette personne et pour ce problème on trouve beaucoup de considérations intéressantes in: Klaniczay, Tibor–Jankovics, József (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus and the Humanism in Central Europe*. Budapest, 1994 et Buck, August–Klaniczay, Tibor–Németh S. Katalin (eds.), *Geschichtsbewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung in der Renaissance*, *Studia Humanitatis*, vol. 7. Budapest, 1989. V. dernièrement mon étude élaborée avec Kiss, Sebestyén, „Die Geschichtskonzeption Antonio Bonfinis”, in: Helmrath, J.–Muhlack, U.–Walter, G. (eds.), *Diffusion des Humanismus*. Göttingen, 2002, 281 sqq. Dans ces Actes de colloque dignes de mérite, l'historiographie humaniste est présentée d'un aspect tout nouveau, surtout la question de l'«État-nation».

²⁰ Pour cette question v. l'étude de I. D. Lázár avec une bibliographie: „La traduzione latina dedicata a Mattia Corvino del *Trattato di Filarete*”, *Camoenae Hungaricae*, 2 (2005) 73–78. Teke, „Az itáliai államok...”, 269.

²¹ Teke, „Az itáliai államok...”, 269.

²² Cf. Rázsó, Gyula, „Hunyadi Mátyás törökpolitikája” [La politique envers les Turcs de Matthias Corvinus], in: Rázsó–V. Molnár, *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 149 sqq. V. encore: Kubinyi, András, *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig. A Mátyás- és Jagelló-kor hadtörténete* [A partir de Nándorfehérvár jusqu'à Mohács. L'histoire militaire de l'époque de Matthias et des Jagellons]. Budapest, 2007.

humanistes, arrivés des cités d'Italie que les efforts de Matthias pour construire le royaume à la manière renaissance, surtout vers la fin de son règne, ont paru dignes d'être loués. Pour ces humanistes, cette idée a représenté la renaissance de l'héritage politique des empereurs romains pour laquelle le démembrement de l'Italie n'a pas pu assurer les cadres convenables. Le roi Matthias a donc représenté le premier degré d'une nouvelle étape de la rénovation de type *all'antica*: il est devenu un des grands précurseurs et représentants des fondateurs des royaumes renaissance.²³

²³ Le colloque international, organisé par l'Eötvös József Collegium, c'est à dire par l'École Normale Supérieure de Hongrie à la mémoire d'István Borzsák, a eu lieu entre les 20–25 avril 2005. Au cours de ce colloque, dans la section de la Société Néolatine de Hongrie (*Hungaria Latina*), a eu lieu la conférence de Ágnes R. Szalay sur Janus Pannonius avec le titre suivant: «Car il existe une déesse, dont le nom est Calomnie». Le sujet de cette étude est le Panegyrique de Marcellus, que j'avais analysé moi-même, où l'auteur a souligné l'effet de la «Calomnie» de Botticelli sur le poète, à partir de la tradition littéraire remontant à Lucien. Le raisonnement de l'auteur de l'étude est tout à fait convaincant, et je peux bien accepter la conception de Ágnes R. Szalay qui met en rapport, suivant István Hegedűs, le message politique de ce poème de Janus Pannonius avec les efforts pour obtenir l'unification de l'Italie de l'époque. V. *Dicsének Jacobus Antonius Marcellusra* [Eulogia sopra Jacobus Antonius Marcellus]. Hegedűs, István (ed. et trad.), Budapest, 1897, 119. 1. (Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományok köréből, XVI/10); cf. Békés, Enikő (ed.), *Janus Pannonius: Válogatott bibliográfia – Bibliografia selezionata – Selected bibliography*. Budapest, 2006. [2^e éd. corr. et compl.], 106, No. 61]. En effet, à mon avis, les efforts faits pour unifier l'Italie ne sont pas contraires à la conception de Janus Pannonius, dont l'idéal était la *civitas*, car cette forme du pouvoir pouvait être insérée dans une monarchie englobante sans l'idée d'une monarchie absolue, selon l'exemple de la Rome antique.

Je dois encore ajouter le fait, que je viens de trouver un volume qui présente les avis des contemporains sur le roi Matthias: Komlóssy, Gyöngyi (ed.), *Animus regis*. Budapest, 2008. Ce volume complète et varie les pensées de l'époque sur le roi Matthias, présentées dans mon étude. Pour les problèmes soulevés à propos de la conception du pouvoir de Matthias v. encore: Farbak, Péter (ed.), *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király. Hagymány és megújulás a királyi udvarban, 1458–1490*. Kiállítási katalógus. Budapesti Történeti Múzeum – 2008. március 19–június 30. [Hunyadi Mátyás, le roi. Tradition et renouveau dans la cour royale, 1458–1490. Catalogue d'exposition. Musée historique de Budapest – du 19 mars au 30 juin 2008].

ÉVA GYULAI

“DURAT ET LUCET” – KING MATTHIAS CORVINUS IN EMBLEM BOOKS

1. EMBLEMS OR “IMPRESAS” (LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

There are two kinds of Renaissance emblems connected with King Matthias, one of which, also called “device”, was used by him in the miniatures of the Bibliotheca Corviniana codices and appeared on glazed tiles in the royal palaces of Buda/Ofen and Visegrád/Visegrad,¹ as well, while the other, also called “impresa”, was published in sixteenth-seventeenth century emblem books.

King Matthias’ 8 personal emblems (a gem-ring, a sandglass, a beehive, a casket, a steel and a flint, a dragon, a well, a barrel and an astronomical sphere)² (*Fig. 1.*) were known from the Corvinas miniatures mainly in the Florentine workshop of Attavante, e.g. the Philostratus Corvina³ (*Fig. 2.*). These symbols, influenced by Italian Renaissance, appeared in Matthias’ representation after he married Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508; 1476–1490), daughter of King Ferdinand I of Naples, also called Ferrante (1431–1494), so the Neapolitan princess brought with her the fashion of bearing emblems or “impresas/impreses” to Hungary.⁴ Matthias’ own emblems, used in his royal representation both in the royal palace and the library, had special meanings which have remained mostly unsolved until now, similarly to other Humanist enigmas dating back to the Renaissance era.

It is the floor-tiles found in the excavations of Buda castle that present Matthias’ emblems together with Aragonese impresas, too, (*Fig. 3.*), but there is another kind of majolica floor put together from glazed tiles depicting Matthias’ he-

¹ Fényes, Gabriella, “Majolika padlócsempék a budai várból” [Majolica Floor-tiles from Royal Palace of Buda/Ofen] In: *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király. Hagyomány és megújulás a királyi udvarban.* [Matthias of Hunyad, the King. Tradition and Renewal in Royal Court 1450–1490]. Ed. Farbak, Péter–Spekner, Enikő–Szende, Katalin–Végh, András. Exhibition Catalogue, 19 March – 30 June 2008, BTM. Budapesti Történelmi Múzeum [Budapest Historical Museum], Budapest, 2008. 354–374.

² Zentai, László, “A Mátyás-emblémák értelmezéséhez”, [An Approach to the Interpretation of Matthias-emblems] *Építés-Építészettudomány* 5 (1974) 365–371.; Pietro Lombardi di Paola, “Mátyás emblémái” [Emblems of Matthias], In: *A holló jegyében.* [In Sign of the Raven] Ed. Monok, István. Corvina–Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, 2005.; Kelemen, Örs, “A Corvin-emblémák” [Corvin-emblems] *Magyar Grafika* (2006) 5: 100–101.

³ Philostratus, Flavius, *Heroica* etc. Firenze, 1487–1490. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 417.

⁴ Pietro Lombardi, 2005.; Zentai, 1974.

heraldic animals like a raven (*corvus*) with a gem-ring, i.e. the allusive device of the *Corvin* (Hunyadi) family⁵ and the lion of Bistritz/Beszterce granted on Governor John Hunyadi as count of Bistritz in 1453. The lion emerged later in the royal blazon of King Matthias as arms of Bohemia,⁶ ruled by Matthias from 1469 (Fig. 4.). The House of Aragon's emblems, including the "diamond on rocks", the "burning throne", the "open book" and the "burning kettle", appearing together with Matthias' emblems on majolica tiles in Buda/Ofen, prove that Queen Beatrice had brought them from Naples to her new country (Fig. 3.).⁷ Very similar tiles were found in Vác, where bishop Nicholas Báthori (1474–1506) held a Renaissance court, as well as a piece depicting the burning throne was found in the excavations in Eger/Agria Castle, the centre of the bishopric of Eger.⁸ Beatrice of Aragon's devices were miniated in the *Wolfenbüttel Psalterium*⁹ around the united blazon of the royal couple, i.e. King Matthias and his consort Queen Beatrice (Fig. 5.).

This shows that Matthias regarded emblems as heraldic devices and vice versa in his courtly representation. The appearance of Matthias' emblems ("well", "sandglass") and Beatrice' impresas of Aragonese origin ("diamond on rocks", "open book", "burning kettle", "bunch of millet" and "fascicle of lances") on glazed tiles in the royal castle of Buda/Ofen and as miniatures in the Bibliotheca Corviniana spread the fame of Matthias as a "modern" ruler who adopted the new custom of bearing impresas from Italian Renaissance courts and palaces.

The impresas depicted on tiles were only pictures without any mottoes or inscriptions while many other representatives of the Renaissance elite bore "whole" emblems with short Latin or Italian mottoes. Therefore, Matthias' and Beatrice's personal and dynastic emblems can be considered to be *visual* signs.

⁵ For the interpretation of the name "Corvinus" cf. Kulcsár, Péter, "A Corvinus-legenda", [The Corvinus-legend] In: *Mátyás király*. [King Matthias] Ed. Barta, Gábor, Budapest, 1990. 17–40.

⁶ Balla, Gabriella, "Beatrix hozománya. Az itáliai majolikaművészet és Mátyás király udvara", [Dowry of Queen Beatrice. The Art of Italian Majolica and King Matthias' Court] In: *Beatrix hozománya. Az itáliai majolikaművészet és Mátyás király udvara*. [Dowry of Queen Beatrice. The Art of Italian Majolica and King Matthias' Court]. *Catalogue*. Ed. Balla, Gabriella. Iparművészeti Múzeum [Museum of Applied Arts], Budapest, 2008. 11–21. [hereinafter *Beatrix hozománya*]; Fényes, 2008,

⁷ Hunyadi Mátyás. BTM, 2008. Cat. no. 9.18; 5.4

⁸ Balla, 2008, 12–13. Cat. no. 2.74.

⁹ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 39. Aug. 4^o. In: *Beatrix hozománya*. Fig. 7.

**EMBLEM BOOKS: GIOVIO, SAMBUCUS
(SECOND HALF OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY)**

The other kind of emblems came from sixteenth-century emblem books. These imprese collections were regarded in the “*respublica litteraria*” (republic of letters) as state symbols. Any person of high status was incorporated in them. In the middle of the sixteenth century, a large number of emblem books were published, among them Alciato’s, Sambucus’, Giovio’s, in several editions in a short time. Paolo Giovio’s works were “best-sellers” in this era, his emblems becoming famous all over Europe. He was also an art collector, who collected portraits of famous monarchs, state and military leaders, and mainly humanist scholars, including Hungarian ones, for his museum at Lake Como. In his portrait book about military leaders and high commanders, King Matthias (*Fig. 6.*) also appeared. Paulus Iovius’ description accompanying Matthias’ portrait claims that this King of *Pannonia*, i.e. Hungary, being endowed with the virtues of both warfare and magnanimity, overshadowed other rulers of his age. Matthias gained glory and laud because he was equally conversant in the art of war and literacy.¹⁰

It was also Giovio who first mentioned King Matthias’ emblem in his work “Dialogo”, published in 1555 and 1556 (*Fig. 7.*),¹¹ but this contained only text without any pictures so the description might be considered as an *ecphrasis*. The *ecphrasis* on the impresa of King Matthias was adopted in unaltered form in Giovio’s other emblematic work “Ragionamento”, first published in Milan 1559 (second edition: Lyon, 1561).¹² In his work written in the form of a dialogue between the author, Paolo

¹⁰ *Matthias Corvinus Rex Pannoniae. Non invictis modo armis, sed magnitudine animi, admirabilique virtutum omnium concursu Matthias Corvinus Pannoniae Rex, cunctorum suae aetatis Regum decus superavit. [...] perpetuis et invictis armis undique sibi amplissimam laudem et gloriam parandam existimaret. [...] Eminerat in Matthis eruditum et grave perspicacis ingenii iudicium, quum rerum bellicarum omnis generis et literarum intelligentia polleret. Neque enim Regem aut Ducem absolutae virtutis et gloriae famam adipisci posse praedicabat, nisi literarum praesidio munitus, omnis aetatis instituta militiae, ipsaque antiquorum stratagemata ex historiis percelleret.* Giovio, 1561, 113–114. [Also see: *Commentario de le cose de’ turchi di Paulo Iouio, vescouo di Nocera, a Carlo quinto imperadore augusto.* Stampata in Roma per maestro Antonio Blado d’Asola, 1531; *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis episcopi Nucerini Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium veris imaginibus supposita, quae apud Musaeum spectantur.* Florentiae, in officina Laurentii Torrentini ducalis typographi, 1551. [hereinafter Giovio, 1551.]

¹¹ Giovio, Paolo, *Dialogo dell’imprese militari et amorose.* Antonio Barré, Roma, 1555 (Editio princeps) [hereinafter Giovio, 1555.]; *Dialogo dell’imprese militari et amorose. di monsignor Gioiio vescouo di Nocera. Con un ragionamento di Lodouico Domenichi, nel medesimo soggetto.* In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de’Ferrari, 1556². [hereinafter Giovio, 1556².]

¹² *Ragionamento di Mons. Paolo Giovio, vescouo di Nocera con Messer Lodouico Domenichi sopra i motti e disegni d’arme e d’amore, che comunemente chiamano imprese. Con vn discorso di Girolamo Ruscelli, intorno allo stesso soggetto.* Appressi di Giouann’ Antonio de gli Antonii, Milano 1559. [hereinafter Giovio, 1559. (Ragionamento, Milano)]; *Ragionamento di Mons. Paolo Giovio sopra i motti e disegni d’arme e d’amore, che comunemente chiamano imprese con un Discorso di Girolamo Ruscelli, intorno allo stesso soggetto.* Giordano Ziletti, Venetia, 1561² [Giovio, 1561². (Ragionamento, Venetia)]

Giovio, bishop of Nocera, and Lodovico Domenichi, his editor on the issue of *impresas*, Giovio describes two personal emblems related to Hungarian history, one is that of King Matthias Corvinus (*Corvino*), and the other one belongs to King John of “Zips” (*Schiepusiense*).¹³ Matthias I Corvinus Hunyadi (1458–1490) and King John I (1526–1540), count of Zips, whose name refers to the North–Hungarian region of *Zips* or *Szepesség*, inhabited mainly by German-speaking population, were not from the same historical era, but both of them were very well-known in the sixteenth-century public, the former as the legendary ruler of the Hungarian kingdom in the previous century and the latter as the contemporary king or usurper of the Hungarian Crown in Giovio’s age. The emblems of both Hungarian rulers, as Giovio explains in his dialogue, are equal with their armorial bearings, a *raven* and a *she-wolf*, respectively, and he regards this manner of emblem bearing “conformity”, i.e. the similitude or identity of heraldic and emblematic devices, the same as when one uses his name allusively on his *impresa*. King Matthias “the Great” (*gran*) has no motto on his *impresa*, but the raven is a bird of power, genius and vivacity (*forza, ingegno, vivacità*), thus, similar virtues were attributed to King Matthias. In spite of the fact that the gem-ring was inseparably attached to the “Corvinus” raven, Giovio does not mention the gem-ring, a well-known attribute of the Hunyadis’ raven. On the contrary, he altered the family crest of Matthias to a “simple” *impresa*, i.e. a bird without any requisites. On the other hand, King John does have a motto, which was created by Stephen Brodaric or Brodarics (*Stephanus Brodericus*), Chancellor of Hungary and a well-known humanist man of letters, which reads “SUA ALIENAQUE NUTRIT”, that is, King John feeds not only his friends and allies but his enemies as well.¹⁴

Both King Matthias and King John of Zapolya/Szapolya were native Hungarians descending from noble families, and these “national” kings of Hungary had their family crest converted to emblems by Giovio, presenting the kings as “old-fashioned” Central European monarchs, who could not or did not want to have special *impresas* for themselves, being satisfied with their old heraldic de-

¹³ Sono alcuni grandi, che nelle imprese loro seguono la conformità ò del nome ò dell’arme loro, come fece il gran Mathia Coruino Rè d’Ungheria, il quale portò il coruo per impresa; vccello di forza, ingegno e viuacità singolare; e chi portò l’arme propria; come fu il Signor Giouanni Schiepusiense, fatto Rè d’Ungheria per fauore di Solimano Signor de’ Turchi, e per affettione d’alcuni baroni del Regno coronati in Alba regale. E esso portò per impresa vna Lupa con le poppe piene, che fu anchora l’arme del padre, ma egli v’aggiunse il motto composto con conueneuole argutia dal Signor Stefano Broderico gran Cancelliere del Regno, che diceua, SVA ALIENAQUE PIRGNORA NVTRIT, volendo dire, che riceuaua in gratia quagli anchora, che gli erano stati contrari. Giovio, 1556. 92–93.; Giovio, 1561 (Ragionamento, Venetia). 129–130.; *Dialogo dell’imprese militari et amoroze di Monsignor Giovio Vescovo di Nocera, et del S. Gabriel Symeoni Fiorentino. Con un ragionamento di M. Lodovico Domenichi nel medesimo soggetto.* Con la tavola. In Lyone, Appresso Guglielmo Rouillio, 1574. [hereinafter Giovio, 1574.] 146–147.

¹⁴ Gyulai, Éva, “A Szapolyai-címer változatai a 16–17. században”, [Variants of the Szapolyai–Coat of Arms in the 16–seventeenth Centuries] *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis Sectio Philosophica Tomus XIII* (2008) Fasciculus 3. 125–164. 148.

vices. Nevertheless, attributing only a raven to Matthias, Giovio ignored the fact that the king had also used a lot of *impresas* differing from his heraldic devices in his royal representation. In his next editions of “Dialogo” (1559, 1561)¹⁵, Giovio published wood-cut illustrations as well, but with only the she-wolf of King John included, delineated with richly ornamented Renaissance frames. Whilst the text on Matthias Corvinus and John of Zips remained the same, Matthias’ raven was no longer included (Fig. 8.). King John’s she-wolf with udders filled with milk (*con le poppe piene*) also differs from the armorial bearing of the Zapolyas, which is a he-wolf emerging (in heraldic terms: *issuant*) from a triple hill.¹⁶ The same woodcut was also published in 1574 with an oval frame but without any ornaments (Fig. 9.).¹⁷

Guillaume Rouille, the owner of Giovio’s print shop in Lyon, produced another emblem book in Italian, entitled “Le Sententiose Imprese” in 1561,¹⁸ the same year when Giovio’s Dialogue was published in French and Spanish as well.¹⁹ The *impresas* presented in the volume are annotated with explanatory moral tetrastichs (quatrains) in Italian (*Tetrastichi morali*), explaining *impresas* of famous personalities. This collection contains two preceding volumes, Paolo Giovio’s “Dialogo” (1559)²⁰ and Gabriele Simeoni’s “Imprese” (Lyon, 1559).²¹ All the emblems were edited and interpreted with four-line-verses by Simeoni. Editor Gabriele Simeoni, publishing and editing 90 *impresas* of Giovio and 36 of his own, also took over the woodcut depicting King John’s she-wolf with the lemma “SUA ALIENAQUE PIGNORA NUTRIT” but under the name of King Matthias Corvinus (*Matteo Corvino Re d’Ungheria*) (Fig. 10). The tetrastich annotated to this *pictura* is about the importance of gaining and deserving fame and honour in one’s life and career.²²

¹⁵ *Dialogo dell’impresse militari et amorose di monsignor Giouio vescouo di Nocera. Con un ragionamento di Messer Lodouico Domenichi, nel medesimo soggetto. Con la tavola.* In Lione, appresso Gviglielmo Roviglio [Guillaume Rouille], 1559. [hereinafter Giovio, 1559 (Dialogo, Lyon)] 129.; *Dialogue des Devises d’armes et d’amours du S. Paulo Iovio, avec un Discours de M. Loys Dominique sur le mesme subiet. Traduit d’Italien par le S. Vasquin Philieul. Auquel avons adiousté Devises Heroique et Morales de Seigneur Gabriel Symeon.* A Lyon par Guillaume Roulle, 1561. [hereinafter Giovio[–Simeoni], 1561 (Dialogue, Lyon)] 137.

¹⁶ Gyulai, 2008, 146–149.

¹⁷ Giovio, 1574, 146.

¹⁸ *Le sententiose impresse di Monsignor Paulo Giovio, et del Signor Gabriel Symeoni, ridotte in rima per il detto Symeoni.* In Lyone, apresso Gulielmo Roviglio [Guillaume Rouille], 1561. [hereinafter Giovio[–Simeoni], 1561. (Le Sententiose, Lyon)]

¹⁹ Giovio[–Simeoni], 1561. (Dialogue, Lyon)

²⁰ Giovio, 1559. (Dialogo, Lyon)

²¹ Simeoni, Gabriele, *Le Imprese heroiche et morali ritrovate da M. Gabriello Symeoni Fiorentino, al gran Conestabile di Francia.* Guillaume Rouillé, Lyon, 1559.

²² *TETRASTICHI MORALI DI MATTEO CORVINO GIA RE D’UNGHERIA. – Poco honor è dell’huom, la fama muta, / Che solo à se, et à pochi altri gioua, / Doue l’un cresce, et l’altra si rinoua, / S’ogn’un ch’el merta largamente aiuta. – Sua alienaque pignora nutrit.* Giovio[–Simeoni], 1561 (Le Sententiose, Lyon), 55.

This mistake, i.e. attributing King John's she-wolf and motto to King Matthias, must have been committed by Gabriele Simeoni because Giovio had only drawn and cut John's impresa in his "Dialogo" while describing both King John's and King Matthias' emblems. Consequently, the picture, inadvertently, was thought to belong to Matthias, who was otherwise more famous and better known than King John. It was also Giovio that in his historical work on the previous decades wrote that Matthias had been the latest Hungarian king famous for glory and virtues.²³

In addition to Simeoni's error, the order of succession in the emblematic work by Giovio and Simeoni is also to be noted. Four impresas of the rulers of the House of Aragon are followed by that of King Matthias',²⁴ so Simeoni must have known about the relationship between the Neapolitan royal dynasty and the king of Hungary. The Aragonese impresa "diamond mountain", as it has been seen above, was depicted on one of the glazed tiles of Buda, too (*Fig. 11.*). The same emblem of King Ferdinand II of Naples (1495–1486), known as *Ferrandino*, preserved in sixteenth-century emblematic art, precedes King Matthias' device in the imprese collections of Giovio (1559) and Giovio–Simeoni (1561) (*Fig. 12.*)²⁵

Simeoni's mistake that King John's emblem and motto appeared under the name of King Matthias was also adopted by Giovio's humanist friend, a native Hungarian, Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), courtier of the Habsburgs' Viennese court and author of the most popular emblem book entitled *Emblemata* (editio princeps: Antwerp, 1564). Sambucus' *Emblemata*, published several times and in different languages in the sixteenth century, contains a lot of emblems referring to Hungary and the Hungarian elite, including King Matthias himself. This emblem book claimed the she-wolf to be King Matthias' emblem and symbol. As a humanist scholar of Tyrnava/Nagyszombat, Hungary (*Tirnaviensis Pannoniae*), Sambucus had to know, of course, that the she-wolf was the armorial bearing of the Zapolya family, that is why he indicates in the title that the emblem is not only for King Matthias but also for King John (*Mathiae Corvini Symbolum, Symbolo Ioan. Regis auctum*).²⁶ In spite of the title, Sambucus attributes the she-wolf and the inscription in a banderole above her: SUA ALIENAQUE NUTRIT, to King Matthias, who fed not only his own children but also others', as did the ancient Roman

²³ [V]icegradum... villa regia ad voluptarios secessus inchoata antiquitus a Sigismundo Caesare, absolutaque demum ingenio Matthiae regis, qui virtute et gloria Hungarorum regum ultimus fuit. Pauli Iovii Episcopi Nucerini Historiarum sui temporis. Tomus primus – Tomus secundus. Venetiis Ioan. Gryphius excudebat, ad instantiam Petri Boselli, 1552–1555. [hereinafter Giovio, 1552–1555.] f 160r.

²⁴ Giovio[–Simeoni], 1561 (Le Sententiose, Lyon), 51–55.

²⁵ Giovio, 1559 (Dialogo, Lyon), 39.; Giovio[–Simeoni], 1561 (Le Sententiose, Lyon), 53.

²⁶ Sambucus, Ioannes, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis, Ioannis Sambuci Tirnaviensis Pannonii*. Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1564 (Reprint: Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua. IX. Ed. Varjas, Béla, MTA, Budapest, 1982) 161–162.

mother-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (*Fig. 13.*). While there is a raven with a gem-ring in the picture of the emblem as well, Sambucus' Latin verse (*subscriptio*) is based on the parallel between the legendary mother-wolf of Rome and King Matthias' attitude.²⁷ The legend about Matthias' descent from ancient Rome²⁸ was widely known, to which Sambucus' emblem and verse referred.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY EMBLEM BOOKS

There is another emblem attributed to Matthias in the early Modern Age, the diamond ring. A gem-ring in the bill of a raven was also emblazoned on the Hunyadi coat of arms, granted to Matthias' father, Governor John Hunyadi, and this armorial bearing became a part of the coat of arms of the Hungarian Kingdom during the Hunyadi era.

The diamond ring is very popular in emblematic art, bore by Este family in Ferrara, the Gonzagas in Mantova and the members of the Sforza House in Milan, used also by the Malatesta family in Rimini.²⁹ The best known dynasty famous for this emblem is however the "casa de' Medici", who, first Cosimo il Vecchio, used this emblem in different, single or triple forms. Matthias' own emblem, the gem-ring also imitated the diamond-ring of the Medicis. The king also used it as a symbol amongst others in his royal representation on miniatures of eight codices of Bibliotheca Corviniana³⁰, known only by a few men of letters and courtiers, but this kind of emblem did not emerge on glazed tiles of the royal palaces.

Matthias' ring first appeared in emblem books at the very beginning of the seventeenth century in the emblematic work "Symbola divina et humana" realized by Jacob Typotius (†1604, Prague) and the painter and engraver Aegidius Sadeler (also Jacopo a Strada, a Renaissance talent and editor), two scholars and artists living at the court of Emperor Rudolph II in Prague. In their book King Matthias was mentioned among the greatest monarchs of Europe, whose career started from the prison in Prague and ended on the top of political power, so he

²⁷ *Vi lupa non proprios, alienos sed quoque foetus / Ubere nutrit, Roma, tibi unde duces: / Sic rex Mathias Hunnorum maximus auctor / Dum superat cunctos, ingeniosa fovet.*

²⁸ Cf. Kulcsár, 1990.; Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes, "A Corvinus-legenda és a régészeti emlékek", [The Corvinus-legend and Archaeological Finds]. In: *Történelem – Kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon* [History – Image. Extracts from the Connection of Past and Art]. *Exhibition Catalogue*. Ed. Mikó, Árpád–Sinkó, Katalin. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest 2000, 258–261.

²⁹ Pietro Lombardi, 2005. 160–161.

³⁰ Pietro Lombardi, 2005. 164.

sustained himself and shone as strongly as the diamond (*Durat et lucet*) (*Fig. 14*).³¹ The author, Jacobus Typotius or Typoets was the first to mention Matthias' diamond-ring emblem and motto. His ecphrasis on King Matthias' emblem proves that the escape of Matthias Hunyadi (Hunniades) from Prague in 1458 was still remembered at the royal and imperial court of Prague in the early seventeenth century.

Matthias' emblem and motto also appear without any illustration in Giovanni Ferro's popular emblem book "Teatro d'Imprese", published in Venice. Ferro's work, containing classifications of emblematic devices, has no illustrations, and in the chapter "Diamante", the author explains the same symbolism and story about King Matthias' career referring to Sadeler's (and Typotius') emblem book "Symbola divina et humana".³² The motto and picture first edited by Typotius remained Matthias' symbol as it can be seen in a Central European emblem book published in Frankfurt/Main by Salomon Neugebauer. His description of King Matthias' emblem ring with faceted diamond (*annulus – adamas acuminatus*) is based on the symbolics of the diamond as the hardest gem stone which shines like virtue even in darkness and is invulnerable like a strong soul (*Fig. 15*).³³

It is strange that the same motto "Durat et lucet" appears in Neugebauer's work as a part of Lazarus von Schwendi's emblem, i.e. the Volcano Etna, too, and the symbolics is also similar to Matthias' device (*Fig. 16*).³⁴ The ever-burning volcano stands for Schwendi's virtue, which cannot be extinguished.

³¹ *Reges Hungariae. Mathias Hunniades, rex Hungarie, Bohe(miae), Dalm(atiae), Croa(tiae), Scl(avoniae) et Bosnie. DURAT ET LUCET. Matthias ex carcere, imo morte eluctatus pene, de se, "Durat", inquit; et, quod non tantum viveret, sed et regnaret, imo vinceret: "Lucet" inquit, licet de Annulo videatur loqui, in cuius pala Adamas, quo non tacite, invictum se esse cogitur.* Typotius, Jacobus, *Symbola divina et humana pontificvm imperatorum regum ex musseo Octavii de Strada civis Romani. Accessit brevis et facilis isagoge Jacobi Typotii.* Praga, 1601–1603. (Reprint: Akademische Druck–Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1972) I. 54–55.

³² Al Diamante parimente in uno anello, e una stella, che serve più all'intentione, che all'Impresa, vi furono scritte le parole DURAT ET LUCET, da Mattias Re d'Ungaria, per mostrare, che scampato da prigione e da morte viveva non pure, ma regnava et vinceva. Ferro, Giovanni, *Teatro d'Imprese.* Venezia, 1623. 277.

³³ MATTHIAS CORVINUS REX UNGARIAE. Annulus aureus asseri directe impositus, comprehendens adamantem acuminatum, cui stella maiuscula ex intersticio supraposita tali cum epigraphe: DURAT ET LUCET, figurat: Rex scilicet impetrare et superare aduersa per acuta atque robusta quaevis. Splendet enim virtus semper, neque illis sordibus siue adversis consolescit, atque in tempestate siue quiete est, lucetque in tenebris. Adamas, quia ejus est duritici et indomiti roboris, vt non solum nullo posset teri aut tundi instrumento, sed et iam vim ignis illaesus perferat: inde in animi foritudine, firmoque animi proposito est acceptus, et universe omnia dura et implacabilia eius gemmae, quam ideo indomitam dixerunt, nomine fucrone denotata. Neugebauer, Salomon "a Cadano", *Selectorum Symbolorum Heroicorum Centuria Gemina Enotata Atque enodata.* Lukas Jennis, Frankfurt/M., 1619. 245–246.

³⁴ LAZARUS A SCHWENDI BARO DE HOHENLANDSBERG. *Aetna undiquaque flammis evomens, ventis septem circumcirca instantibus cum epigraphe DURAT ET LUCET. Ut Aetna mens ille in Sicilia decantatus et ignem late fundit, et tamen in hodiernum usque diem durat, ita et virtus, atque masculus animus etiam in rebus adversis non opprimatur, etiamsi prematur.* Neugebauer, 1619. 403.

Schwendi's volcano emblem and motto, adopted from Matthias, were presented in Johann Jakob Luck's numismatic and emblematic book published in Strasbourg in 1620 as well. Schwendi's emblem has the same sense as the former one, and Luck mentions that Count Schwendi of Hohenlandsberg as military leader of the highest rank (*summus praefectus*) in Hungary and Transylvania captured the most important fortresses, e.g. Tokaj, Szatmár, Szerencs, Erdőd, Kővár and Szendrő for the Habsburg Emperor.³⁵

After all, the diamond ring and the motto "Durat et lucet" remained Matthias' emblem, as the late seventeenth-century emblematic work by the well-known German Jesuit Jakob Masen argues, relating on Matthias' emblem as: "The excellent diamond in a ring with a star above and the inscription *Durat et lucet* means: one endures with patience under bad circumstances and shines at the time of glory".³⁶

*

King Matthias' emblematic representation in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, based partly on his family crest (*a raven*) and emblems or impresas used by himself (*a diamond ring*), and partly due to an erroneous identification by Gabriele Simeoni (*a she-wolf*) and influenced by Renaissance culture (the emblems of the Medicis and other Italian princes) was widespread in emblem books published by outstanding authors and artists of late Renaissance emblematic art, some of whom, like Sambucus and Typotius, lived in the courts of the Austrian Habsburgs.

³⁵ *NUMMUS CASTRENSIS LAZARI SCHWENDII BARONIS IN HOHENLANDSPERG: Caesarei exercitus in Ungaria et Transylvani summi Praefecti, cusus rebus praeclare contra Trucas gestis Anno 1565. Postquam Transylvanus violata pace Zatmarum occupasset Lazarus Schwendius vir illustris... Caesarianis copiis praeficitur, summamque rerum agendarum potestatem nactus [...] Symbolum hoc numismatico virtus quid possit, infractusque viri fortis animus declarat. Aetna ignem suum favillasque longe lateque proicit, nec tamen ejaculatione ejusmodi assidua consumitur, sic virtus (bellica inprimis et militaris) et lucet in tenebris, splendetque per se semper et rebus in adversis illaesa perdurat, non naufragio, non incendio amittitur, non tepestatum, non temporum per-mutatione mutatur, aegrescere potest, emori non potest. Luck, Johann Jacob, *Sylloge Numismatum Elegantiorum, Quae Diversi Impp., Reges, Principes, Comites, Respublicae, Diversas ob Causas Ab Anno 1500, ad Annum usque 1600. Concinnata & Historica Narratione (sed Brevi) Illustrata*. Typis Reppianis, Argentinae (Strasbourg), 1620. 217.*

³⁶ *Reges Hungariae et Bohemiae, Poloniae, Daniae. XLIII. 1. Adamas insignis in annulo sub stella. Inscript. Durat et lucet, videlicet in adversis durat patientia, lucet gloria. Matthias Hunniades, Rex. Hung. et Boh. Masen, Jakob, *Speculum Imaginum Veritatis Occultae*. Ed. tertia prioribus correctior J. A. Kinckius (Witwe). Köln, 1681. 504.*

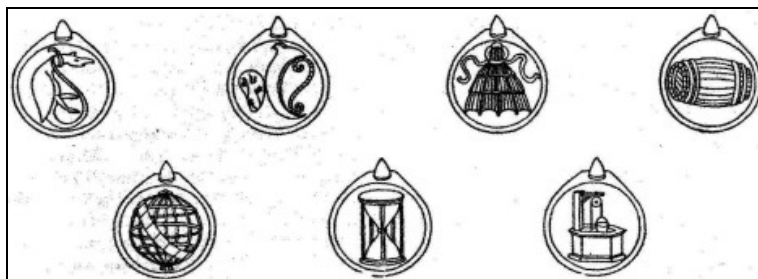


Fig. 1. King Matthias' emblems in codices of Bibliotheca Corviniana (Zentai, 1974, 365.)



Fig. 2. Matthias' emblems on the cover page of Philostratus Corvina (Hunyadi Mátyás, 2008, Fig. 9.)

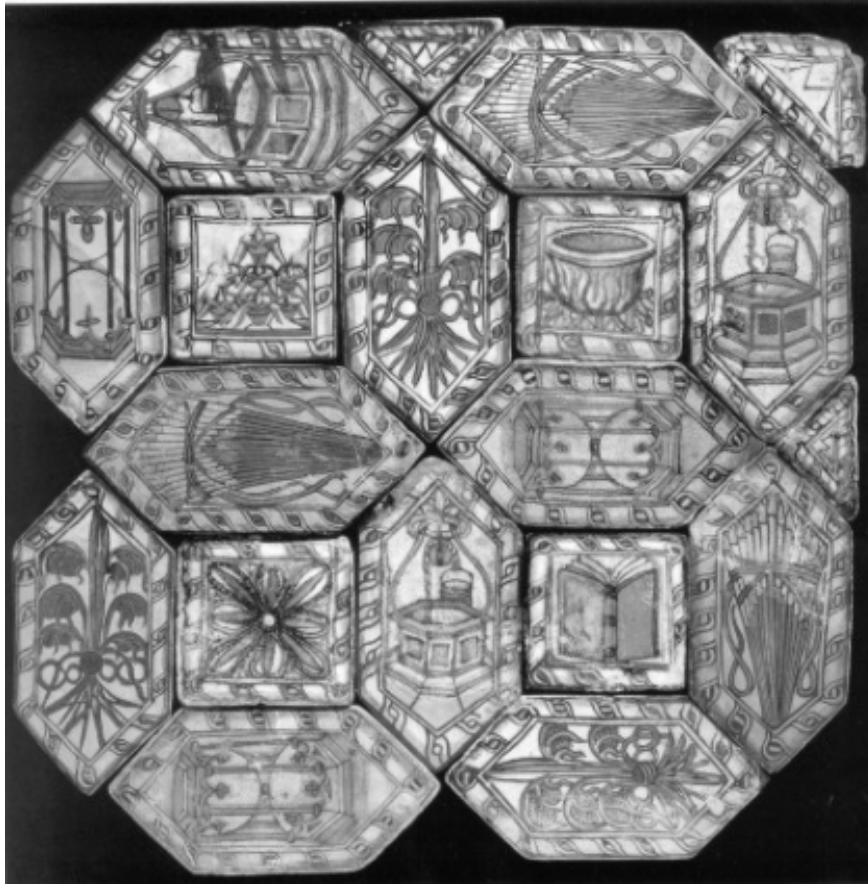
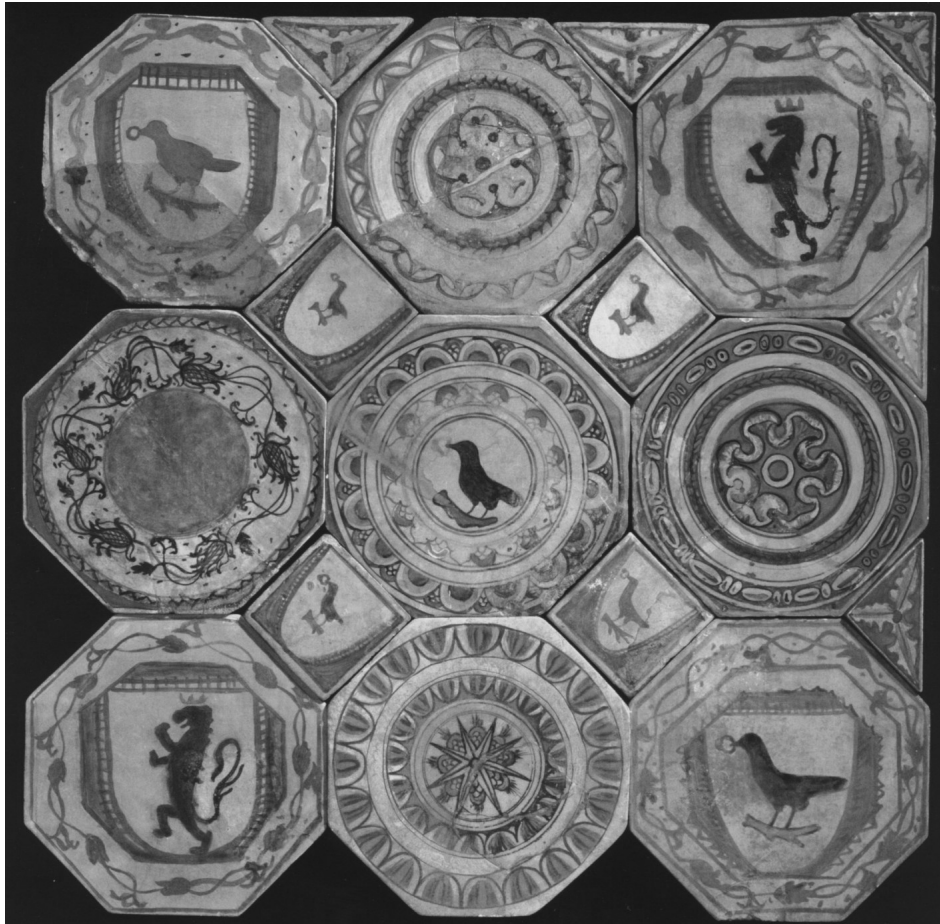
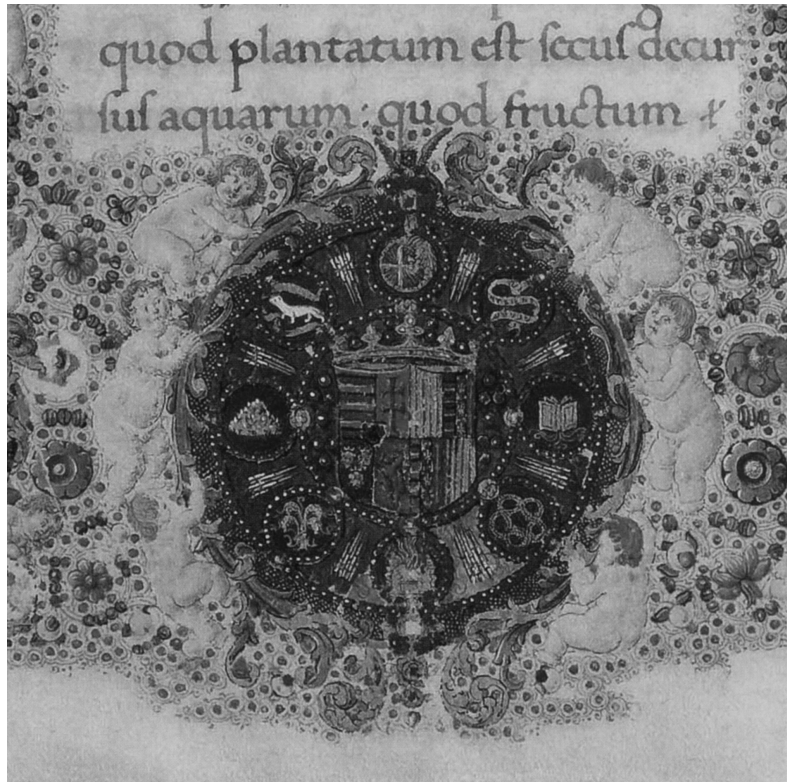


Fig. 3. Tiles from Buda Castle with emblems of King Matthias and the House of Aragon, about 1480 (Hunyadi Mátyás, 2008, Cat. No. 9.17)



*Fig. 4. Tiles from Buda Castle with heraldic devices of King Matthias, about 1480
(Hunyadi Mátyás, 2008, Cat. No. 9.18)*



*Fig. 5. Aragonese emblems in the Wolfenbüttel Psalterium
(Beatrix hozománya, 2008. Fig. 2.)*



Fig. 6. Portrait of King Matthias, woodcut, 1571 (Giovio, 1571, 113.)

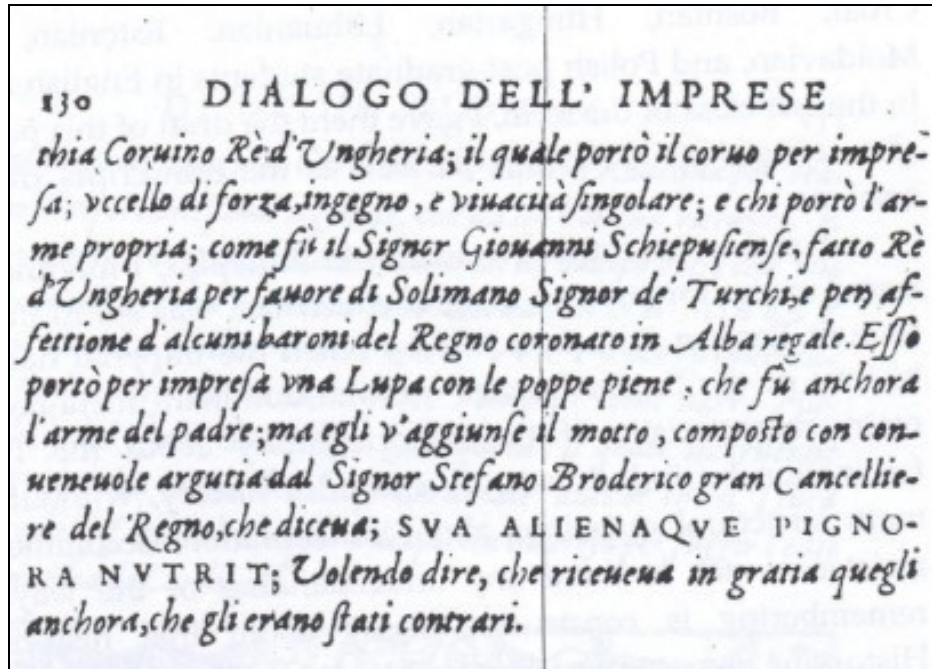
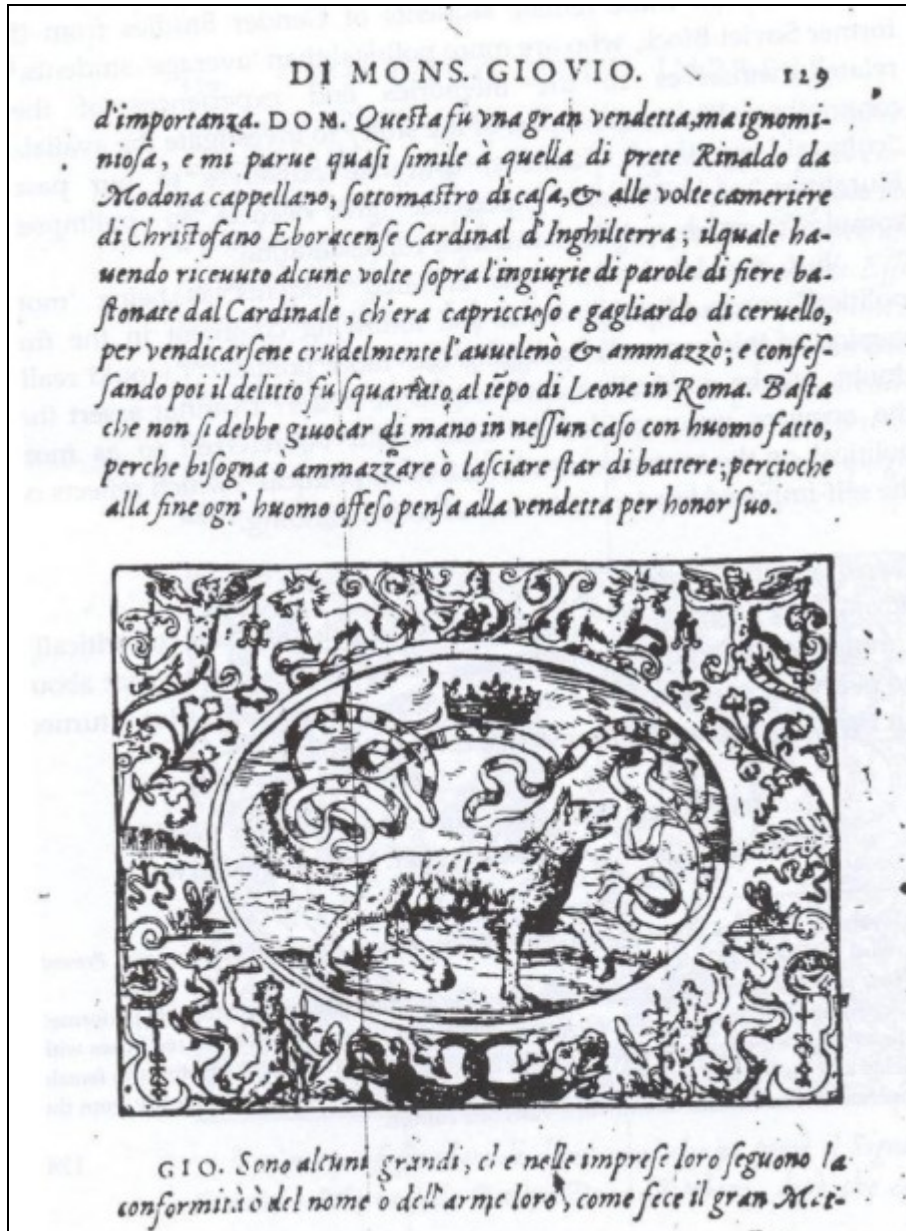


Fig. 7. Description of Matthias' and King John's impresas, 1556
(Giovio, 1556, 92.)



*Fig. 8. Impresa of King John of Zapolya, 1561
(Giovio[-Simeoni], 1561, 129.)*



*Fig. 9. Impresa of King John of Zapolya, 1574,
(Giovio, 1574, 146.)*



Fig. 10. Impresa of Giovio and quatrain of Simeoni on King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (Giovio[-Simeoni], 1561 (Le Sententiose, Lyon), 55.)



Fig. 11. Floor-tile with King Ferrandino's impresa in Buda Castle, about 1480 (Beatrix hozománya, 2008. Cat. No. 2.45)



Fig. 12. King Ferrandino's impresa, 1559
 (Giovio, 1559 (Dialogo, Lyon), 39.)

EMBLEMATA.

161

Mathiæ Coruini Symbolum,
 Symbolo Ioan. Regis auctum.



Vt lupa non proprios, alienos sed quoque foetus
 Vbere nutriuit, Roma, tibi vnde duces:
 Sic rex Mathias Hunnorum maximus auctor
 Dum superat cunctos, ingeniosa fouet.
 Huius ad imperium concursus totius Orbis
 Et fuit inuicto principe dignus honos.
 Vndique cogebat veterum monumenta, superstes
 Quo foret auctorum fama, decensque labor.
 Contudit indomitos vel solo nomine Thracas,

L

Et

Fig. 13. King Matthias' emblem in Emblemata (Sambucus, 1564. 161.)



Fig. 14. Matthias' emblem, 1601 (Typotius, 1601–1603. I. 55.)

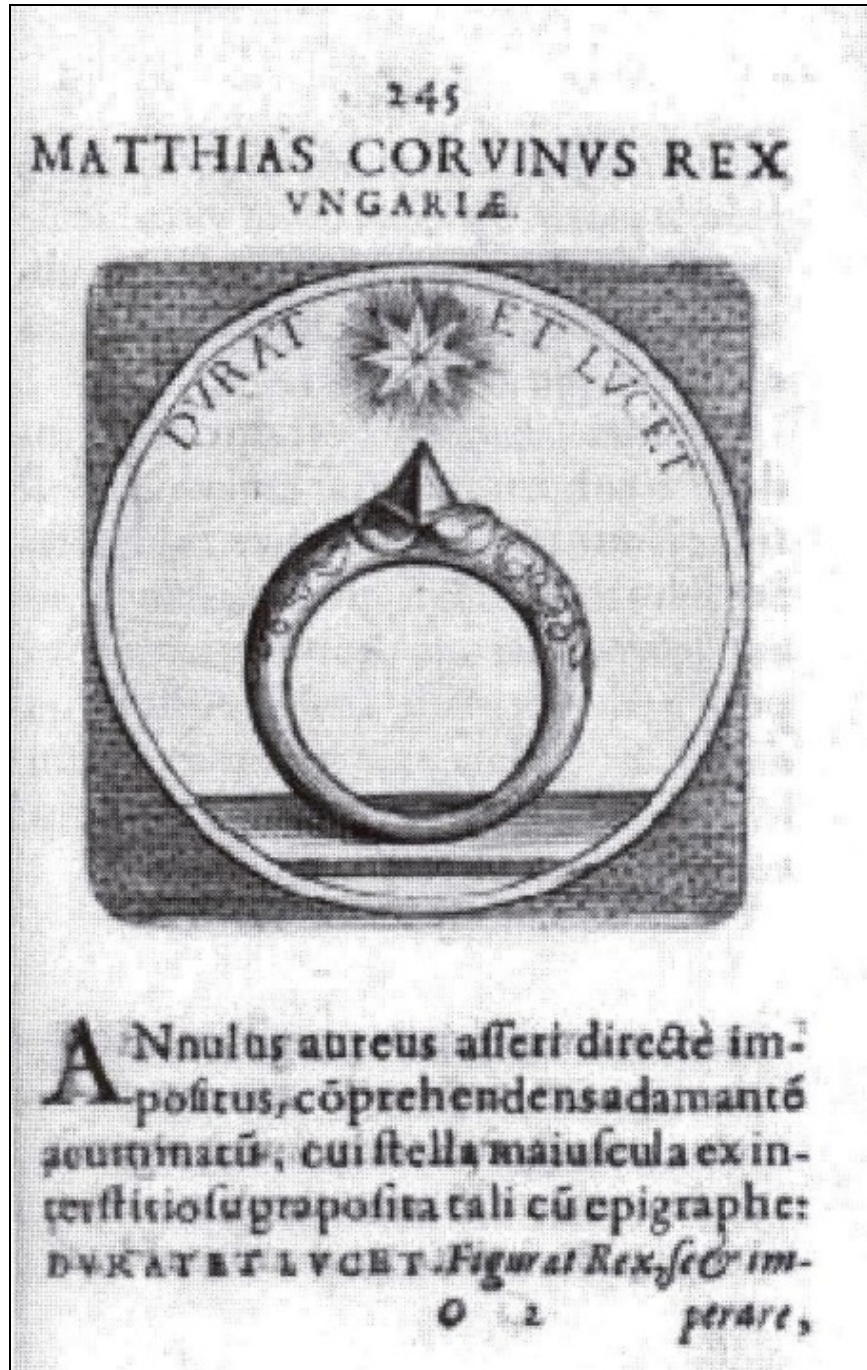


Fig. 15. King Matthias' emblem, 1619 (Neugebauer, 1619. 245.)

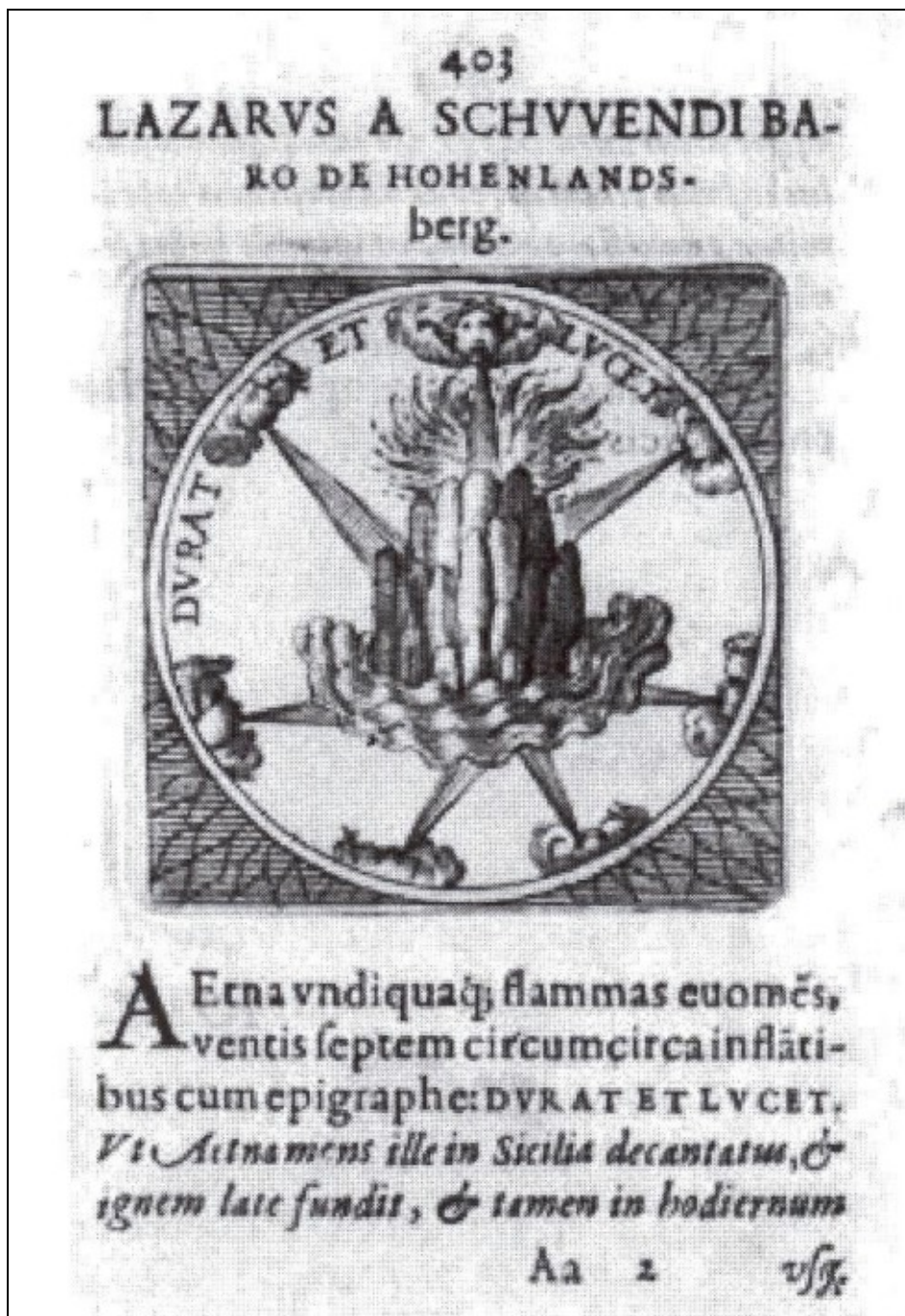


Fig. 16. Emblem of Lazarus von Schwendi, 1619 (Neugebauer, 1619. 403.)

ADRIEN QUÉRET PODESTA

THE ANNALS OF THE FORMULARY BOOK OF SOMOGYVÁR*

INTRODUCTION

I would like to discuss some interesting pieces of short historical writings contained in a very valuable Hungarian late medieval manuscript, that is, the *Formularium* of Somogyvár. This unpublished document is conserved in Târgu Mureş¹ (Marosvásárhely, Romania). It was György Bónis who first gave a description of the manuscript in 1957.² The *Formularium* contains 272 sheets, dealing mainly with chancery work. This document was written mainly between the 1460s and the end of the 1480s in Somogyvár – hence its name – and completed in the sixteenth century³, also in Western Hungary.⁴ However, it is not clear how the document made its way to Transylvania.⁵

In spite of its mainly legal character, almost 10 pages (258 *recto*–267 *verso*) contain notes of a biographical, genealogical and historical nature.⁶ The historical notes, between page 260 *recto* and page 267 *recto*, can be divided into four parts. The first part contains notes concerning biblical and religious history, followed by ones concerning Hungarian history (from 993 to 1291), and extends from page 260 *recto* to the top of page 262 *recto*. It amounts to 60 notes of variable length (from one to six lines). The second part has altogether 46 notes of varying length between one and five lines on Hun and Hungarian history from 337 A.D. to the arrival of the Dominican friars in 1222, occupying the lower four-fifths of page 262 *recto*, the pages 262 *verso* and 263 *recto*, and two thirds of page 263

* Acknowledgments: I would like to thank here Prof. hab. László Solymosi, from the Institute of History of the University of Debrecen, for having drawn my attention on those Annals and for having provided me with research materials and numerous pieces of advice. I am also very thankful to Dr. Attila Györkös for his help with Hungarian scholarly literature and with palaeographical questions. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Daniel Haitas, lector at the Center for the Teaching of Foreign Languages at the University of Debrecen, for having read and corrected the text.

¹ *Formularium* of Somogyvár, Bolyai Library, Târgu Mureş, MS. 374

² György Bónis, “A somogyvári formuláskönyv”, In: *Kelemen Lajos Emlékkönyv*. Cluj–Napoca, 1957. 117–133. Esp. 127., 131 and 132. [hereinafter Bónis, “A somogyvári formuláskönyv”]

³ Bónis, A somogyvári formuláskönyv, 127–129.

⁴ Bónis, A somogyvári formuláskönyv, 132.

⁵ Bónis, A somogyvári formuláskönyv, 132.

⁶ Bónis, A somogyvári formuláskönyv, 127.

verso. The third part is composed of 11 short biographical notes (from one to four lines) about Hungarian kings (and their family) – from Béla III to Ladislas of Apulia⁷ – and can be found on the lower part of page 263 *verso* and the upper part of page 265 *recto*; the names of the kings being written in big Gothic-looking letters. The author gave the Hungarian form of the name of only one king, Andrew II (*Endre*). The fourth part, covering the pages 265 *verso*, 266 *recto*, and the upper two-thirds of 266 *verso*, is formed by 47 notes, of a length varying between one and three lines. It deals with Hungarian history from 1001 to 1464, but was later attached a short continuation (3 notes being a bit longer than those of the main part).⁸ The continuation was written with a different ink⁹ at the very beginning of the sixteenth century; the first note relating the death of King Matthias in 1490, whereas the last one from 1492 concerned an event – the coronation of Anne de Foix – which occurred in 1502 in fact. Judging from the position of the continuation within the manuscript and the dating of the different parts by Bónis it is to be seen that the notes of the main part were most probably written before 1490.¹⁰ We might even suggest that they were possibly written in the middle of the 1480s. It should also be added that on the folio following the last group of notes – 267 *recto* – different notes can be found rejecting the authenticity of certain documents issued by kings of Hungary. The appearance of notes like this in a document dealing with chancery work like the *Formularium* should not surprise us, and it constitutes a good proof of the “legal” conscience of the Hungarian society in the Middle Ages.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, each of the four groups of notes described above was continued. The first continuation contains only one note in fact, of the year 1186. The second one appears on folio 264 *recto* and concerns the years 1460–1543; the last note of which concerns the death of sultan Suleiman during the battle of Szigetvár in 1561, and was written by the same hand as that of the sixteenth century, but in a different ink, though the same as the one used to write the first continuation.¹¹ The third continuation, written by the same hand and with the same ink as the main part of 264 *recto*,¹² is situated on the lower part of folio 265 *recto*, and relates events from the years 1438–1473. The fourth continuation, in the same ink as the main part of 264 *recto* and as 265 *recto*,¹³ can be found on the lower part of the folio 266 *verso* and presents events which occurred between 1516–1540.

⁷ And not Ladislas the fifth, as stated by Bónis. (Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132).

⁸ Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132.

⁹ Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132.

¹⁰ Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 127.

¹¹ Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132.

¹² Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132.

¹³ Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132.

In all the four group of notes, the notes are – except for a few cases – classified in chronological order. The first, second and fourth group bear the years of the events, presenting them clearly in an annalistic form. Each of these groups can then be, in my opinion, individually considered as “annals”, and for the purpose of the present intervention, I am intending to use of the following categorization: “Christian Annals” for the first group; “Hunnic” for the second; “royal biographies” for the third; “Hungarian Annals” for the last one.

I would like to concentrate mainly on the three annals, more precisely on their main parts written at the time of creation of the manuscript, that is, during the reign of King Matthias, and – as has been seen above – shortly before his death but probably preceding the great works of János Thuróczy and Antonio Bonfini. They provide an interesting – although not well known – source of historical culture at the time of King Matthias. My investigation will be divided in three parts: in the first part, I am intending to analyse the information contained in the Annals, trying to determine their level of reliability and the nature of the sources used by the author. The second part will attempt, through a short comparison of the three annals, to define the links existing between them. Finally, I am going to discuss the question of the place and significance of our “annals” in medieval Hungarian historiography, especially in the field of annalistics.

1. ANALYSIS OF THE “ANNALS OF SOMOGYVÁR”

I am following the order displayed by the manuscript and logically begin by what I call the “Christian Annals”. This work can be divided in two parts, which happen to be almost equal. The first part, which is made of 28 notes, is dedicated to universal history, most precisely to Biblical History (of the 11 notes 5 are from the Old and 6 from the New testament) and to the early history of the Christian church (14 notes). Of the three remaining notes, two concerns the times of Charles the Great, whereas the last one speaks of a gift of a banner by a Persian embassy in the sixth century. The sources used for the redaction of this part are obviously of foreign origin. The second part of the Christian Annals is a bit longer, and describes Hungarian history from the beginning of the reign of St. Stephen to that of Andrew III. Two of them concern touch the tenth century, four have data relating to the eleventh century, two deal with twelfth-century events, whereas all the remaining notes, running to two thirds of this second part, depict events from the thirteenth century. The description of the Hungarian past proposed by the “Christian Annals”, although very fragmentary before the times of Andrew II, presents a good number of analogies with the chronicles of the

fourteenth centuries.¹⁴ However, we should also notice that the “Christian Annals” also contain a few mistakes, particularly in the dating of the events.¹⁵ Moreover, the chronological order is not always strictly respected, especially at the very beginning, where it seems intentional.

The “Hunnic Annals” contain only half a dozen notes concerning the Huns, followed by two ones on the raids of the ancient Hungarians. All of them have some similarities with Hungarian chronicles but in a way differ as well, which could be probably explained by the use of foreign sources, though this hypothesis would require further investigation. The three remaining quarters of the Annals relate Hungarian history. Only one account concerns the tenth century, namely the death of St. Adalbert in 997, whereas 14 touch the eleventh, 8 describe the twelfth and 5 notes deal with the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The last account reporting the arrival of the Dominican Friars to Hungary in 1222,¹⁶ seems to be incomplete, suggesting that a part of the annals is missing. Just as in the case of the “Christian Annals”, the depiction of the Hungarian history in the “Hunnic Annals” shows numerous similarities with medieval Hungarian chronicles.¹⁷ However, they also have a few errors in dating, and once two dates, of the death of Emeric (1030) and that of St. Stephen (1038) are interchanged, which seem to be a mistake of the author.

Unlike the two other Annals, the so-called “Hungarian Annals” depicts only events related to with Hungarian history. 14 notes deal with the eleventh century, 7 with the twelfth century, 14 with the thirteenth century, but only 3 with the fourteenth century; this small number can be explained by the fact that the author put the beginning of the reign of Charles I in the thirteenth century and wrote of no event preceding his death. Finally, 9 notes deal with the two first thirds of the fifteenth century, the last one being the coronation of Matthias Corvinus in 1464. Like the other annals, the description proposed by the “Hungarian Annals” shows strong analogies with the medieval Hungarian chronicles. Those annals are not free from mistakes either, and we can even say that the misdatings are of greater significance than the ones in the other two annals. An important number of dates are indeed put earlier than the real dates of the described events, e.g., much earlier as in the case of the dating of the ascension of Charles I to 1289.

¹⁴ “Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV”, In: Ed. Sándor Domanovszky, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* (S.R.H.). Vol. I. Budapest 1999². [1938¹]

¹⁵ A good example of those mistakes is given by the dating D (500) for a conflict between the ancient Hungarians and Charles the Great, which seems to be the consequence of the negligence of the copyist of our manuscript.

¹⁶ This note reads thus: *«predicatores ex precepto summi pontificis»*.

¹⁷ See e.g. *Die Gesta Hungarorum des anonymen Notars*. László Veszprémy, Gabriel Silagi (ed.). Sigmaringen, 1991.; Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Eds. Frank Schaer, László Veszprémy. Budapest, 1999.

2. THE MUTUAL POSITION OF THE ANNALS

One of the most important issues is the simultaneous existence of three annals within the same manuscript, to understand the reason for which a short comparative analysis of the part contained in each of the annals, i.e. the accounts for the period 1001 and 1222 is required. There is a significant number of notes reporting similar information, but there is not a sole account that is completely identical. The notes common to the three annals are the most numerous here (6), which are recurrent themes in most of the medieval Hungarian narrative sources (for instance: coronation of Saint Stephen, death of Saint Stephen, canonization of Stephen, Emeric and Gerard). Four notes are common in the “Hunnian Annals” and the “Hungarian Annals”, whereas there is only one between the “Christian Annals” and the “Hunnian Annals” as well as the “Christian Annals” and the “Hungarian Annals”. This statistics and the nature of the common information seem to show that there is no mutual dependence between the annals but that they constitute different rewritings of the traditional narrative scheme of Hungarian medieval historiography.

The mutual relationship of the annals has also been investigated in terms of the difference in the chronological scope. Even if the “Hungarian Annals” stop at the coronation of Matthias Corvinus and it seems clear that it was written during his reign, the two other annals are finished at a much earlier date. Indeed, the “Christian Annals” – as has been seen above – stop at the end of the thirteenth century, whereas the case of the “Hunnian Annals” is more problematic, since their end is apparently missing. The considerable number of accounts concerning the beginning of the thirteenth century could suggest that they originally stopped at this century, but this is hypothetical. The early ending of the “Christian Annals” and the incomplete character of the “Hunnian Annals” could suggest that those Annals were not created by the author of the *Formularium*, but were composed earlier – perhaps in the thirteenth century – and copied into our manuscript at the time of Matthias Corvinus. They could possibly have been composed in Somogyvár, a place which, according to some researchers¹⁸, played a significant role in the development of Hungarian medieval historiography.

In my opinion, the hypothesis concerning an earlier birth of the “Christian Annals” and the “Hunnian Annals”, even if it demands verification, could explain the coexistence of three annals in the manuscript. We can indeed suggest that they were written by the author of the *Formularium* because of their historical value. This hypothesis can be confirmed by the author’s interest in history, which is obvious in the manuscript, particularly at its end, and by the well-known rising interest of the late medieval intellectual elites for history and the preservation of old

¹⁸ See Bálint Hóman, *A Szent László-kori Gesta Ungarorum*. Budapest, 1925.

documents. Thus, we can affirm that our *Annals* constitute another proof of the development of historical conscience among Hungarian intellectuals at the time of Matthias Corvinus.

3. THE “ANNALS OF SOMOGYVÁR” AND THE HUNGARIAN MEDIEVAL ANNALISTIC

However, one of the main interest of our *Annals* is the fact that they shed a new light on the research about Hungarian annalistics. Indeed, the *Annales Posonienses* is considered the only Hungarian annals that survived.¹⁹ Some researchers mention also the possible existence of some lost annals, the best example being the case of the so-called Annals of Pannonhalma, which, in certain views, might have been copied to constitute the beginning of the *Annales Posonienses*.²⁰ The existence of the Annals of the *Formularium* of Somogyvár represent then a considerable change to the traditional views concerning Hungarian annalistics. Their structural similarities with the *Annales Posonienses* – even if no direct influence from the *Annales Posonienses* can be seen in our Annals – and their annalistic character were already established by their discoverer, György Bónis, in the late 1950s.²¹ To me, the remark of Bónis seems very pertinent, and I also favour the opinion that the *Annals of the Formularium of Somogyvár* should be added to the list of the existing pieces of medieval Hungarian annalistics, together with which their number would now increase from one to four. This number is still quite low if compared to the Polish or even to Czech annalistics,²² but the disproportion is clearly nuanced, just as the image of extreme scarcity usually attached to Hungarian medieval annalistics.

¹⁹ See Gyula Kristó, *A történeti irodalom a Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1241-ig*. Budapest, 1994. 11.; or Ferenc Makk, “Pozsonyi évkönyv”, In: Ferenc Makk–Gábor Thoroczkay, *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről*. Szeged 2006. 337.; “*Annales Posonienses*”, Imre Madzsar (ed.), *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. I, Budapest 1999². [1938¹]

²⁰ Hóman, *A Szent László-kori*, 76–78.

²¹ Bónis, *A somogyvári formuláskönyv*, 132.

²² For a comparison between Hungarian and Czech medieval Annalistics, see Adrien Quéret-Podesta, “The historical conscience in the «*Annales posonienses*» and in the historical notes of the “Pray Codex” and their place in the Hungarian medieval historiography”, Rafał Wójcik, (dir.), *Culture of memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Periode*. Poznań 2008. 155

CONCLUSION

The Annals in the *Formularium* of Somogyvár constitute valuable material for the study of the nature of historical conscience at the time of Matthias Corvinus, but also for the research on Hungarian medieval historiography, particularly in the field of Hungarian medieval annalistics. However, I should underline the fact that my small contribution contains mainly hypotheses and directions of research. I have not answered a few important questions, like that of the dating of the Annals. It would of course demand further investigation and I hope that my modest intervention will contribute to arouse the curiosity of the researchers for the Annals of the *Formularium* of Somogyvár, but also for the rest of this interesting manuscript.²³

²³ During an informal conversation at the conference, Mr Zsolt Simon, Dr. Hist., informed me of the fact that he is preparing a transcription of the Annals of Somogyvár. I would like to thank him for having given me this interesting information.

Part III

HUNGARY AT THE AGE OF THE HUNYADIS

ISTVÁN DRASKÓCZY

**MATTHIAS CORVINUS
UND DER EDELMETALLBERGBAU IN UNGARN:
DAS BEISPIEL VON NEUSTADT/ FRAUENBACH**

1467 hat König Matthias eine Finanzreform durchgeführt. In jenem Jahr kam es auch eine Geldreform, und von da an ließ der König Denare guter Qualität prägen. Gegen 1470 wurden die Münzprägeanstalten von Ofen und Kaschau geschlossen, und von da an prägte man Münzen nur in Kremnitz, Hermannstadt und Neustadt (Frauenbach). Nach 1470 wurde Neustadt die zweibedeutendste Münzprägeanstalt in Ungarn – dank der Entwicklung des Bergbaus in dieser Gegend.¹

Die Blütezeit des Edelmetallbergbaus in Ungarn war in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Im 15. Jahrhundert kämpfte der Bergbau mit Schwierigkeiten, und die Produktion ging zurück. Der Erzabbau stieg nur in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, da (nach Oszkár Paulinyi) neues Erzvorkommen in Neustadt entdeckt wurde. In den 80er Jahren ging die Erzgewinnung (wahrscheinlich in allen drei grossen Bergbaugebieten, Kremnitz und der Umgebung, Neustadt und Siebenbürgen) wieder zurück.

Die Angaben vermehrten sich, die darauf hinweisen, dass sich die Schwierigkeiten in der Gran-Gegend, in den niederungarischen Bergstädten (es handelt sich um das Gebiet des Flusses Hron in der heutigen Slowakei) erhöht haben. 1475 vereinbarte Kremnitz (Körmöcbánya, Kremnica/Slowakei) mit János Thurzó die Errichtung eines Pumpenwerkes, aber die Maschine ist leider nicht fertig geworden. 1479 hat Matthias Corvinus die Kremnitzer von der Urbura und allen Steuern befreit. 1481 verlieh er nur jenen Bürgern von Schemnitz (Selmechánya, Banská Štiavnica/Slowakei) Schankrecht, die ihre Gruben bearbeiteten. In Kremnitz durften nur diejenigen Bürgern Wein ausschenken, die mindestens zwei Gulden pro Woche für den Bergbau verwendet haben. 1486 hat Königin Beatrix

¹ Márton Gyöngyössi, „Die ungarische Münz- und Geldgeschichte von 1000 bis 1526“. In: Márton Gyöngyössi–Heinz Winter, *Münzen und Medaillen des ungarischen Mittelalters 1000–1526*. Hrsg. von Michael Alram, Heinz Winter. Wien, 2007. 30. Gegen 1470 hörte man mit der Münzprägung in Ofen und Kaschau (Kassa, Košice/ Slowakei) auf.

die Einwohner von Fejérbánya von der Urbura freigesprochen. Die Daten (1486–1492) zeigen, dass die Erzgewinnung in diesem Gebiet allmählich zurückging.²

Zur selben Zeit traten wahrscheinlich Schwierigkeiten auch in Siebenbürgen auf. Wegen des Bergbaus hat König Matthias 1489 die Bewohner von Gross-Schlatten (Abrudbánya, Altenburg, Abrud/Rumänien) von der Steuer *Subsidium* für 3 Jahre befreit.³

Die Fachliteratur der Numismatik ist darauf aufmerksam geworden, dass eine Veränderung nach der Geldreform von 1467 im Jahre 1478 eingetreten ist. Die Numismatiker bringen die Veränderung mit dem Besuch des königlichen Ehepaars im Frühjahr von 1478 in Kremnitz in Zusammenhang. Es wurde vom späteren Schatzmeister, Orbán Nagylucsei und vom Kammergespan von Kremnitz, Vid Mühlstein begleitet. Die Veränderung zeigte sich darin, dass das Münzbild verändert wurde, indem die Madonna ohne Schleier, sondern mit der Krone dargestellt wurde. Es ist auch bemerkenswert, dass die Anleitung der Prägung von Gold- und Silbermünzen von einander getrennt wurde.⁴ Orbán Nagylucsei erfüllte zu der Zeit des Schatzmeisteramtes von János Eruszt (1467–1476) den Rang des Vizeschatzmeisters, und er wurde 1478 zum Gespan der königlichen Salzkammern und der Goldgruben ernannt.⁵ Im Mai 1478 wurden diese seine Funktionen noch nicht erwähnt, aber im November des gleichen Jahres schon. Er durfte diese Posten nicht lange erfüllen, denn schon im November oder am Anfang Dezember 1478 wurde er zum Schatzmeister ernannt. Er stand bis zum Herbst 1490 an der Spitze der Finanzangelegenheiten.⁶

² Antal Péch, *Alsó-Magyarország bányaművelésének története* [Geschichte des Bergbaus in Niederungarn]. I. Budapest 1884. 60–69., Oszkár Paulinyi, „Magyarország aranytermelése a 15. század végén és a 16. század derekán” [Die Goldproduktion in Ungarn Ende des 15. und Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts]. *A Gróf Klebelsberg Kunó Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve* 6 (1936) 67., Günther Frh. von Probszt, *Die niederungarischen Bergstädte*. München, 1966. 61–63.; DF. 235 367 (=AMS 2. 717.), 250 189 (=AMK/a 1-42-1-5.), 261 433 (=AML Nr. 17.), 276 253 (HHSta 342a. 34. 35.).

³ Antal Beke, *Az erdélyi káptalan levéltára Gyulafehérvárott* [Archiv des siebenbürgischen Kapitels in Karlsburg]. Budapest, 1889. Nr. 354. Die Wasser stiegen nur zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts im Erbstillen der Offenburger Gruben DF. 245 864 (=AS. IV. 307.), Gustav Gündisch, „Deutsche Bergwerksiedlungen in dem siebenbürgischen Erzgebirge”, In: Ders., *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürgen Sachsen*. Köln–Wien, 1987. 92.

⁴ Antonius Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. IV. Ed. I. Fögel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász. Budapest, 1941., 92., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénergazdálkodás és monetáris politika a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Geldwirtschaft und monetäre Politik im Spätmittelalter in Ungarn] Budapest 2003. 70–71., 108.

⁵ András Kubinyi, „A kincstári személyzet a 15. század második felében” [Personal der Schatzkammer in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts] *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 12 (1957) 30–31.

⁶ Dl. 16 833., 103 010., 103 011., 103 035., 105 054., 105 055. Gusztáv Wenzel, *Az alsómagyarországi bányavárosok küzdelmei a nagylucsei Dóczyakkal 1494–1548* [Kämpfe der niederungarischen Bergstädte mit den Dóczy von Nagylucsei] Budapest, 1876. 7–21., Gyula Schönherr, „Nagylucsei Orbán címeres levele 1480-ból” [Wappenbrief von Orbán Nagylucsei aus dem Jahre 1480] *Turul* 16 (1898) 66-8., András Kubinyi, A kincstári személyzet, 30–31.

Da sein Wappen damals gelegentlich als Meisterzeichen an den Münzen, die in Kremnitz und Neustadt geprägt wurden, auftauchte,⁷ kann als wahrscheinlich angenommen werden, dass er direkter als seine Vorgänger die Münzprägestalten beaufsichtigte.

Es ist interessant zu beobachten, dass der seit 1467 gültige Kurs der Gold- und Silbermünzen (1 Goldgulden = 100 Denare) am Ende der 1470er Jahre in Schwankung geraten ist. Im März 1478 und im Juli 1481 legte der Reichstag wiederholt fest, dass ein Goldgulden 100 Denare wert hatte. 1482 hat König Matthias verboten, mehr als 100 Denare für einen Goldgulden zu verlangen. Nach der Meinung der Fachliteratur versuchte die Schatzkammer den Kurs der Denare durch die Verringerung der in Umlauf gebrachten Menge der Silbermünzen aufrechtzuerhalten.⁸ Die genannten Gesetze und der genannte königliche Befehl ermöglichen auch die Meinung, dass zu dieser Zeit auch verhältnismässig wenig Goldgulden geprägt worden sind.

Neustadt (Frauenbach oder Frauenseifen, Nagybánya, Baia Mare/Rumänien) war im Mittelalter wirklich eine der grossen Bergstädte des Königreichs Ungarn. Ihre Bedeutung zeigt sich auch darin, dass sie in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts nur 600 Goldgulden Steuer bezahlte, aber laut einer Quelle aus 1491 war die Steuer 3000 Goldgulden hoch. Die Einnahmenquellen der Bürger waren der Bergbau, das Handwerk, der Handel und der Weinbau.⁹ Für das Bürgertum der Stadt waren die Privilegien der Zollfreiheit in den Komitaten Szatmár, Szabolcs, Bihar und Külső-Szolnok besonders wichtig. Die Bürger pflegten auch starke Kontakte zu Siebenbürgen, der Stadt Kaschau und dem Komitat Maramarosch.¹⁰

⁷ Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénzgazdálkodás*, 72.

⁸ András Kubinyi, „Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Probleme in den Beziehungen Ungarns zum Westen am Ende des Mittelalters“, In: *Westmitteleuropa–Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von Winfried Eberhard, Hans Lemberg etc. München, 1992. 170–173., András Kubinyi, „A későközépkori magyar–nyugati kereskedelmi kapcsolatok kérdése“, [Fragen der Westkontakte des ungarischen Handels im Spätmittelalter] In: *R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv*. Hrsg. von Péter Tüskér. Budapest, 1998. 112–115., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénzgazdálkodás*, 72.; Márton Gyöngyössi, *Die ungarische Münz- und Geldgeschichte*, 31.

⁹ *Schönherr Gyula dr. Emlékezete* [Zum Andenken an Herrn Dr. Gyula Schönherr] Budapest, 1910. passim, *Monografia municipului Baia Mare* [Die Monographie der Stadt Neustadt] I. Coordonator, Mitrofan Boca. Baia Mare, 1972. passim., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Florenus Hungarialis. Aranypénzverés a középkori Magyarországon* [Goldgeldprägung im Spätmittelalter in Ungarn] Budapest, 2008. 82.

¹⁰ König Wladyslaw II. hat 1504 die Zollfreiheit von Bürgern von Neustadt vor allem für die Komitate Szatmár, Szabolcs, Bihar und Külső-Szolnok anerkannt. MOL A 57. Libri regii V. 421–423. (*Magyar Országos Levéltár. Királyi Könyvek* 1–9. kötet. 1527–1647. CD-ROM. Arcanum.), *Monografia municipului Baia Mare*, 141., Von Maramarosch und Siebenbürgen wurden Lebensmittel nach Neustadt gebracht (Dl. 38 768., DF. 235 431., = AMS 2. 797.), Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története* [Kritische Geschichte des Bergbaus von Ungarn] Budapest, 1880. 402–408. Neustadt pflegte einige Kontakte mit den Bürgern von Bistritz (in Siebenbürgen) und Kaschau. *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in*

Nach der Einstufung von András Kubinyi erhielt die Siedlung 29 Punkte, was dem dritten Niveau – unter sechs Stadtkategorien – entspricht. Vielleicht funktionierte auch eine Salzkammer in der Stadt. In diesem Fall würde die Stadt mit 30 Punkten kaum unter der zweiten Stufe im Kubinyi-System bleiben (Die Grenze: 31 Punkte). Die Ortschaft gehörte den bedeutendsten Städten des Königreichs an.¹¹

János Hunyadi wurde 1445 Besitzer von Neustadt und Umgebung. Er und sein Sohn, König Matthias unterstützten die Städte Neustadt und Mittelberg (eine kleinere Bergstadt in der Gegend von Neustadt: Felsőbánya, Baia Sprie/Rumänien) mit Privilegien. 1454 hat Hunyadi den Bürgern von Neustadt die Zollfreiheit gewährt. 1455 hat er die Privilegien von Mittelberg befestigt. Diejenigen, die neue Gruben eröffneten, befreite er von der Zahlung der Bergsteuer (*urbura*). Die Urkunde wurde zehn Jahre später auch von König Matthias verstärkt. König Matthias hat 1458 und 1464 die alten Privilegien von Neustadt befestigt. Von 1468 an durfte die Stadt ihre Pfarrer frei wählen. 1469 erlaubte er der Stadt, Schanzen und Steinmauern zu errichten. Ab 1472 zahlte die Stadt die Steuer nicht mit dem Komitat Szatmár. Neustadt wurde 1475 vom König in den Landtag eingeladen.¹²

1457–1458 leitete Imre Szapolyai, ein Verwandter der Familie Hunyadi die Kammer von Neustadt an. 1461 tauchte Miklós Szapolyai (Bruder von Imre Szapolyai) an der Spitze der Kammer auf. 1463–1464 bekleidete das Kammergespanamt Christoforus Italicus aus Florenz, der zu der Zeit von János Hunyadi die verschiedenen Münzprägekammern anleitete. Es war nicht ungewöhnlich, dass die Kammern von Siebenbürgen und Neustadt von derselben Person angeleitet werden. 1464 befand sich das Hüttenwerk in Offenburg (Aranyosbánya, Offenbánya, Baia de Arieș /Rumänien) und in Neugrub (Kleingrub, Kisbánya, Băișoara/Rumänien) in Siebenbürgen auch unter der Anleitung von Christoforus. Bemerkenswert ist es, dass ein anderer Finanzexperte und zwar Lőrinc Bajoni (aus Thorenburg – Torda, Turda / Rumänien) der Münzprägeanstalt von Hermannstadt (Szeben, Sibiu / Rumänien) vorstand. 1467 stand ein vorzüglicher Finanzfach-

Siebenbürgen 1203-1570. Von Albert Berger. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Ernst Wagner. Köln–Wien, 1986. Nr. 236., 440., 524., 733., 746., 873., 884. etc. Konrad G. Gündisch, *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter.* Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1993. 226., 242–243., 248., 252., 272., 281 etc., DI. 64 509., DF. 270 487., 270 736., 270 787., 270 846., 271 202. (=AMK Schwarzenbachiana Nr. 448., 698., 748., 823., AMK Appendix Schwarzenbachiana Nr. 18103.)

¹¹ András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Entwicklung der Städte und der Netz der Märkte auf der Ungarischen Tiefebene im Mittelalter] Szeged, 2000. 60., Gyula Schönherr, „A nagybányai bizottság jelentése” [Bericht des Historischen Komitees in Neustadt] *Századok* 23 (1889) Pótfüzet. 130.

¹² DI. 24 571., 37 668., 38 768., MOL. MKA E. 210. Mont. 21 t. 8., Schönherr Gyula dr. *emlékezete*, 264–267., Aurel Socolan, „Un document inedit despre orașul Baia Mare” [Ein unveröffentlichtes Dokument über Neustadt] *Marmatia. Muzeul Județean Maramureș.* Baia Mare 1971., 102., *Îndrumător în arhivele statului. Județul Maramureș.* București, 1974. 53., Béla Balogh, „Nagybánya és Mátyás király” [Neustadt und König Matthias]. *Korunk* 2008. Július: 72–75.

mann des Königs, István Kovács an der Spitze der Kammern in Neustadt und Hermannstadt und Kaschau.¹³ Von 1468 bis 1480 (oder 1481?) pachtete die Stadt die Kammer (mit Unterbrechungen).¹⁴ Es ist also kein Wunder, dass sich unter den Kammergespanen laute Bürger der Stadt (wie z. B. Christan Preuser, Tamás Göbel) befanden. Dann (1481 oder 1482) ist jedoch ein vom dem Schatzmeister ernannter Kammergespan, János Félegyházi aufgetaucht. Félegyházi war übrigens an Finanzangelegenheiten nicht unbewandert. Er war nämlich ein Anhänger von Orbán Nagylucsei. Ab 1479 (bis 1490) war Nagylucsei der Schatzmeister. Es war also nicht von ungefähr, dass Félegyházi 1478–1479 und 1482 Salzkammergespan von Siebenbürgen war.¹⁵ 1483–1490 bekleidete István Zewld (Sewld/Swld) von Osztopán das Kammergespanamt in Neustadt. Er war im Oktober 1490 noch Kammerer.¹⁶ Sein Nachfolger war Bertalan Drágffy (1491).¹⁷

Der Mittelpunkt des Bergbaus in Neustadt lag auf dem Berg Zazar, wo sich in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts mehrere Berglehen befanden. Die zwei wichtigsten, deren Erbstollen in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts eröffnet wurde, gehörten dem königlichen Ärar an. Neben dem königlichen Bergwerk lagen private Berglehen. In Mittelberg gab es ebenfalls einen blühenden Bergbau. Ab die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts errang Kapnikbánya (Cavnic/Rumänien) eine wachsende Bedeutung, doch dieses Gebiet bildete den Gegenstand von Zwistigkeiten zwischen der Stadt Neustadt und der Familie Drágffy.¹⁸

¹³ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*. I–VII. Hrsg. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Gustav Gündisch etc. Hermannstadt–Bukarest, 1892–1991., VI. Nr. 3306., 3321., 3368., 3375., 3376., 3381., 3383., 3384., 3399., 3605., DF. 214 399 (= AMB Nr. 1705.). Márton Gyöngyössi, *Florenus Hungarialis*, 130–131., Es kann auch festgestellt werden, dass die Münzprägestalt von Hermannstadt von Vertrauten des Königs, von István Mikolai und Melchior Goldsmyd (1461 und 1467), Lőrinc Bajoni (1464–1465) und István Kovács (1467) angeleitet wurde. András Kubinyi, *A kincstári személyzet*, 25–26., 29–32., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénergazdálkodás*, 257., 267–268., 288–289., 296–299. Christoforus Italicus leitete zur Zeit von János Hunyadi die Münzprägestalten in Neustadt und Siebenbürgen an. Die Familie besaß Vermögen in Neustadt, Klausenburg und Hermannstadt. István Draskóczy, „Italiener in Siebenbürgen im 15. Jahrhundert“, In: *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*. Hrsg. von Klára Papp, János Barta. Debrecen, 2002. 64–68.

¹⁴ Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénergazdálkodás*, 104–109., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Florenus Hungarialis*, 30.

¹⁵ *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 303., *Urkundenbuch*, VII. Nr. 4284., 4285., 4297. András Kubinyi, *Kincstári személyzet*, 37., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénergazdálkodás*, 253.

¹⁶ Seine Familie stammte aus dem Komitat Somogy. 1484 war er mit Mihály Baracsi Administrator der Einkünfte aus Siebenbürgen. *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der Sächsischen Nation*. I. Hermannstadt, 1880. 100., 103., DF. 245 124 (=AS II. 480.), 245 141 (= AS II. 497.), MOL P 1313. *Miscellanea*. 105. Nr. 625., András Kubinyi, *A kincstári személyzet*, 42., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénergazdálkodás*, 285–286.

¹⁷ DF. 235 431 (=AMS 2. 797.), Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénergazdálkodás*, 250–251.

¹⁸ Oszkár Paulinyi, „Der erste Bau von Stauseen und des wassergetriebenen grossen Kehrrades zur Bekämpfung der Wassernot von Zechen“, *Acta Historica* 24 (1978) 112–114.

Neustadt und Mittelberg lagen seit dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts mit der Familie Dragffy wegen der Nutzung des Forstes im Prozeß. Die Leute von Neustadt durften am Anfang den Forst nutzen, und sie durften dort nach Erz suchen. Die benachbarten Grundbesitzer (die Drágffys) wollten für die Nutzung des Forstes Geld bekommen. König Matthias war 1467 bereit, von dem Einkommen der Kammer Neustadt pro 150 Goldgulden an die Drágffys zu überweisen. 1476 annullierte er seine frühere Entscheidung, und zahlte nichts mehr. 1479 hat Palatin István Báthori ein Urteil gefällt, wonach die Bürger in der Umgebung der Stadt in einem Umkreis von 3 Meilen im Wald frei Holz fällen und Kalk brennen durften. Das Urteil folgte übrigens den Privilegien der Stadt aus 1347 und 1376. Der Streit dauerte aber bis 1505, als die Grenze festgelegt wurden.¹⁹ Die Geschichte des Prozesses zeigt uns klar, wie wichtig dieses Bergbauggebiet für den Herrscher war.

In der Erde befand sich zwar Blei in Neustadt und seiner Umgebung,²⁰ doch den grossen Teil des zur Erzraffinierung erforderlichen Bleis musste man aus Polen erführen. Das Blei transportierten teilweise Händler aus Kaschau (Kassa, Košice/Slowakei) und teilweise polnische Händler. Gegen 1481 wurde das Blei in Polen teuer. König Matthias hat Kaschau befohlen, dieses Produkt für den alten Preis zu verkaufen, sonst hätten die Waldbürger und die Bergleute in Oberungarn grosse Verluste erleiden müssen.²¹ Mit dem Bleipreis gab es aber in den späteren Jahren Probleme. Mai 1483 warnte der Kammergespan von Neustadt (István Zewld von Osztopán) die Bürger von Kaschau, dass er auf Anweisung des Königs im Interesse des Nutzens des Königs und der Unterstützung der Waldbürger Blei dort (von Kaschauern oder von Polen) kaufen müsse, wo es billiger verkauft wird. Der König war offensichtlich bemüht, die Unkosten der Kammern zu verringern.²²

¹⁹ Gusztáv Wenzel, Magyarország bányászatának, 402–414. Zu den Problemen siehe, Antal Szmik, *Adalékok Felsőbánya szabad kir. bányaváros monográfiájához* [Angaben zur Monographie der königlichen freien Bergstadt Mittelberg] Budapest, 1906. 17.; Mária Szentgyörgyi, *Kővár vidékének társadalma* [Gesellschaft der Umgebung von Kővár] Budapest, 1972. 22–23. (Kővár = Cetatea Chioarului in Rumänien.)

²⁰ *A nagybányai m. kir. bányagazgatósági kerület monográfiája* [Die Monographie des Bezirkes der ungarischen königlichen Bergbaudirektion von Neustadt] Hrsg. von István Woditschka. Nagybánya, 1896. 83. 95., 106., 151., Günther Frh. von Probszt, Die niederungarischen Bergstädte, 153.

²¹ Dezső Csánki, „Oklevelek a Hunyadiak korából”, [Urkunden aus der Zeit von Hunyadis] (Kassa város levéltárából/ aus dem Archiv von Kaschau) *Történelmi Tár* (1902) 346., 354–355., 357–358., 365.

²² Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Akta odnoszące się do stosunków handlowych Polski z Węgrami głównie z archiwum Koszyckiego z lat 1354–1505*. Kraków 1902. 46–47., 53. Der Erwerb von Blei bildete ein Monopol der Kammer in Ungarn. Die Waldbürger von Schemnitz beschwerten sich 1486 und 1487 über Blei. *Acta vitam Beatricis reginae Hungariae illustrantia*. Hrsg. von Albert Berzeviczy. Budapest, 1914. 80., DF. 234750., 235 618 (= AMS I. 28., III. 5.).

König Wladislaw II. ließ 1501 untersuchen, warum die Erzgewinnung in Neustadt zurückgegangen ist, beziehungsweise er ließ feststellen, ob die Berge genug Erz enthielten. Die Untersuchung hat festgestellt, dass die Berge viel Erz enthielten. János Thurzó und sein Sohn, Georg ließen später (zwischen 1505 und 1511) eine grosse Maschine für Wasserhebung (Pumpenwerke hohen technischen Niveaus) bauen, diese aber konnten sie aus Geldmangel nicht in Betrieb halten.²³

Der Bericht von 1501 enthielt interessante Informationen über das Verderben der Stadt und den Rückgang des Bergbaus. Laut dieses Nachrichts hat der Kammergespan János Félegyházi die *montanistae* (die Waldbürger) und die *laboratores montanarum* (die Bergleute) verhaftet, und die Schmelzhütten bzw. bei den Mühlen und Hütten Erz, Kohle und Holz beschlagnahmt. Sein Nachfolger, István Zewld von Osztopán (1483–1490) war noch strenger, als er. Er hat Soldaten – angeblich 500 Fußvolk – gegen die Waldbürger und die Bergarbeiter eingesetzt, die die Bergarbeiter gezwungen haben für geringeren Lohn zu arbeiten. Die Bergarbeiter erwiderten das mit einem Aufstand und steckten die Gruben in Brand. Nach der Ermordung von István Zewld gab König Wladyslaw II. Bertalan Drágffy die Kammergespan Position. Er verlangte von der Stadt zuerst 2500 Goldgulden, dann aber 16 000 Goldgulden für die Bergwerke. Der schon erörterte Gegensatz zwischen der Stadt und der Familie Drágffy zeigte sich klar dadurch, dass die Söhne von Bertalan nach dem Tod des Vaters den Bürgern der Stadt nicht erlaubten Holz für die Bergbautätigkeit im Wald zu gewinnen oder Kalk zu brennen. Sie erlaubten auch nicht die zum Bergbau erforderlichen Mittel oder Lebensmittel in die Stadt zu transportieren.²⁴

Aufgrund einer urkundlichen Nachricht kann der annähernde Zeitpunkt des Brandes in Neustadt festgestellt werden. In Mai 1486 überprüften die Mandatare des Palatins und des Konvents in Lelesz (Leles/Slowakei) den Prozeß, den die Angehörigen der ungarischen Adelsfamilie Várdai gegeneinander führten. Die Güter von János Várdai wurden nämlich 1482 von seinen Verwandten, Mátyás, Miklós und Aladár besetzt. Als die Vertreter des Konvents und des Palatins in Jánk angekommen waren, erfuhren sie, dass die Várdaer Hälfte des hiesigen Zolls zwei Jahre vor dem Grubenbrand in Neustadt 160 Goldgulden, während in den beiden Jahren nach dem Brand 90 Goldgulden eingebracht hat. Die andere Hälfte gehörte dem Kapitel Grosswardein (Várad, Oradea/Rumänien), daher kommt es, dass die jährliche Einnahme des Zollamts insgesamt mindestens etwa 160 beziehungsweise 90 Goldgulden ausmachte. Diese Angaben über die Zolleinnahmen von Jánk beruhten zweifelsohne nicht auf Rechnungen, sondern auf

²³ Oszkár Paulinyi, Der erste Bau von Stausseen, passim.

²⁴ Der Bericht ist in drei fast zeitgenössischen Abschriften aus dem 16. Jahrhundert erhalten geblieben, DF. 235 431., 279 996., 280 539. (= AMS I. 797., 1264. I. 3., 1264. V. 9.). Oszkár Paulinyi, Der erste Bau von Stausseen, 114–116.

Behauptungen der Bewohner der Gegend. Ihre Behauptung ermöglicht uns trotzdem, die Größenordnung vorzustellen.²⁵

Um die Höhe der Zolleinnahmen von Jánk einschätzen zu können, möchte ich hier einige Angaben vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts anführen. In den 1510er Jahren betragen die Zolleinnahmen von Tokaj mit besonders grossem Betrieb 140 Goldgulden pro Jahr. Der Zoll von Tiszaluc erreichte 51–52 Goldgulden, und der von Peterwardei (Pétervárad, Petrovaradin/Serbien) in Südungarn machte 87–88 Goldgulden aus. Geringere Einnahmen erbrachten z. B. Sárvár (33–34 Goldgulden), Kapuvár (18–28 Goldgulden) oder Mór (1525 und 1526 35 bzw. 40 Goldgulden).²⁶

Jánk war ein nicht sehr bedeutendes oppidum und ein Zollamt im Komitat Szatmár. Es befand sich etwa 80–90 Kilometer entfernt von Neustadt. Die Siedlung ist an einer wichtigen Landstrasse gelegen, und wurde vor allem von jenen Reisenden benutzt, die von Munkács, Beregszász oder Kaschau, Tokaj, Nyír-bátor, Namény aus in Richtung Szatmár und Neustadt fuhren. Kaschau hatte übrigens gute Kontakte zu Neustadt, und die Bürger von Kaschau hatten Bergwerke oder Immobilien in Neustadt. Die Verkehrsdichte dieser genannten Strasse kann natürlich mit derselben der Strassen, die Ofen mit großen Städten des Königreichs Ungarn (u. a. Neustadt) verbanden, nicht verglichen werden.²⁷ Aufgrund der genannten Untersuchung des Konvents kann man sich die große Bedeutung der Bergstadt im Leben dieser Gegend vorstellen, und das der hiesige Grubenbrand den Verkehr (und den Bergbau) hier für Jahre gebremst hat.

Ich bin der Meinung, dass es sich um den erwähnten großen Brand von Neustadt in der Urkunde von Jánk handelt. Der Grubenbrand kann auf 1484 (oder aufs Ende des Jahres 1483) versetzt werden.

Die Probleme in Neustadt begannen damit, dass der König am Anfang der 1480er Jahren die Kammer von der Stadt zurücknahm, und den Leuten des Schatzmeisters anvertraute. Die Kammerer waren hier fremd, und ihre Arbeit

²⁵ *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*. Ed. Nagy Imre, Nagy Iván, Véghely Dezső etc. I–XII. Pest, Budapest, 1871–1931., XI. 450., XII. 361.

²⁶ Béla Iványi, „A tiszaluci vám bevételei és azok felhasználása 1516–1520-ig”, [Einkommen und Verwaltung des Zollamtes in Tiszaluc 1516–1520] *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 13 (1906) 24–25. Zu Mór, Zsófia Bócsi, „Vár és uradalom kapcsolata az írott források tükrében” [Die Beziehungen zwischen Burg und Herrschaftsgut im Spiegel der schriftlichen Quellen] *Castrum* 6 (2007) 58. Den Wert der Waren, die zwecks des Zolls weggenommen worden sind, muss man z. B. in Tiszaluc und Tokaj zu den Beträgen hinzurechnen, d. h. die tatsächlichen Einnahmen waren höher. 1489 beliefen sich die Zolleinnahmen in Klocz (Klanjec) bei Kaisersberg (Császárkő/Cesargrad–Slawonien/Croatien) auf 200 Goldgulden. Die Zollstelle befand sich nämlich bei der Kreuzung wichtiger Straßen an der Grenze zwischen Steiermark, Kärnte und Slawonien. András Kubinyi, „A császárvári uradalom közbecsű összeírása 1489-ből”, [Die Konskription der aestimatio communis des Herrschaftsgutes Kaisersberg 1489] *Történelmi Szemle* 43 (2001) 11.

²⁷ András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 71.

entfachte Unzufriedenheit. Mit ihrer Tätigkeit waren wahrscheinlich die Waldbürger, die sich mit dem Erzquetschen und den Hütten beschäftigten, unzufrieden. Die Waldbürger gehörten zu den Führungsschichten der Bergstädte.²⁸ Es ist also anzunehmen, dass die Kammerer nicht nur mit den Bergleuten, sondern auch mit einem Teil der Führungssicht der Stadt in Gegensatz geraten sind. 1501 erinnerte man sich an Félegyházi einen machthaberischen Mann, der sich nicht auf den Edelmetallbergbau verstand, zurück. Es ist aber nicht sicher, dass es nur darum ging.

In einer interessanten Urkunde, die ohne Datum in einem Formelbuch, unter den Neustadt betreffenden Urkunden erhalten geblieben ist, hat König Matthias die Bürger und die Bergarbeiter der Stadt streng aufgefordert, die aufgegebenen Gruben zu betreiben. Er drohte Ihnen, dass ihnen der Kammergespan unter Mitwirkung des Stadtrates ihre Häuser, Weingärten, Gruben, Mühlen, Hüttenwerke wegnimmt, und solchen Leuten gibt, die die Gruben betrieben. Laut der Monographen der Geschichte von Neustadt erließ Matthias 1482 eine diesbezügliche Urkunde für den Kammergespan von Neustadt.²⁹ Die Urkunde zeugt also davon, dass die Bergwerke wegen der Nachlässigkeit von manchen kaputtgingen, und wodurch der König Schäden erlitt. Die Anweisung zeugt von Schwierigkeiten, und ein Teil der Bürger schien im Bergbau ein zu geringes Geschäft zu sehen.

Die Massnahmen von Félegyházi entsprachen – mindestens teilweise – der genannten Anordnung des Königs. Félegyházi muss aber viel zu streng gewesen sei, denn er wurde eingesperrt.

²⁸ Der Bericht von 1501 benutzte die Ausdrücke *montanistae* und *laboratores montanarum*. Die letzteren sind mit den Bergarbeitern zu identifizieren. Der *montanista* war ein Unternehmer, der Anteil an Bergwerk besaß, und er wird im allgemeinen Bergbürger genannt. Laut der Meinung von Oszkár Paulinyi können wir hier unter dem Ausdruck *montanistae* Waldbürger verstehen, die neben dem Berganteil die Erzmühlen und die Hütten besaßen. Sie erfüllten gelegentlich auch Kammerämter. Ähnliche Unternehmer mochten in Neustadt z. B. Albert Jung und Tamás Göbel gewesen sein. Letzterer erfüllte auch ein Richteramt. Valentinus Auriseparator, der Ratsmitglied war, gab unter dem Namen Valentinus Schaidler in den Jahren 1481–1482 wiederholt Erze in der Raffinerie. Einer der beiden More war 1480 ebenfalls Ratsmitglied, während sich der andere mit dem Bergbau befaßte. Unter denjenigen, die 1481–1482 Erz eingeliefert haben, begegnen wir wiederholt den gleichen Namen. Die Erzaufbereitung und die Verhüttung durften auch von Privatunternehmern vorgenommen werden, doch die Scheidekunst und die Zementation (d. h. die Raffinierung von Gold) unterstanden immer der königlichen Kammer. Gyula Schönherr, *A nagybányai bizottság*, 130., Oszkár Paulinyi, *Magyarország aranytermelése*, 82–86., 96–129., Oszkár Paulinyi, *Der erste Bau von Stausseen*, 115., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénzgazdálkodás*, 257.

²⁹ Martinus Georgius Kovachich, *Formulae sollennes styli in cancellaria, curiaque regum, foris minoribus ac locis credibilibus authenticisque Regni Hungariae olim usitati*. Pesthini 1799. 499., Béla Balogh–Kálmán Oszócki, *Bányászat és pénzverés a Gutin alatt* [Bergbau und Geldprägung unter Gutin] Miskolc–Rudabánya, 2001. 11–12. Da der Fall ins Formelbuch aufgenommen worden ist, kann man diese Lösung als eine allgemeine Praxis betrachten. Zu diesem Formelbuch, György Bónis, *Középkori jogunk elemei* [Die Elemente des mittelalterlichen ungarischen Rechts] Budapest, 1972. 144–145.

Sein Nachfolger (István Zewld von Osztopán) musste die Bergwerke in Ordnung bringen. Da der gute Fachman für Bergbau und Finanzen, Albert Jung, Bürger von Neustadt in der Zeit nach dem Grubenbrand, 1485 zum Amtspartner von Osztopáni (leider nur vorübergehend) geworden ist, konnte man auf die Konsolidierung der Situation hoffen.³⁰

Es lohnt sich auch eine andere Bestellung des früher genannten Briefes von Osztopáni (Mai 1483) aufmerksam zu werden, wonach die Gruben in Neustadt nicht wenig kaputt gegangen seien, und danach wurden die Waldbürger sehr arm.³¹ Es ist anzunehmen, dass Osztopáni, als er in seinem Brief über den schlechten Zustand der Bergwerke und die Armut der Waldbürger schrieb, an keine Folgen des Grubenbrandes gedacht hat. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der Bergbau auch schon früher mit Schwierigkeiten gekämpft hat.

Der König war bemüht den Bergbau in Neustadt und die Stadt zu unterstützen. Er verbot 1479 dem Woiwoden von Siebenbürgen die Bürger und die Waldbürger zum Militärdienst zu zwingen. Die Ortschaft erhielt in den 1480er Jahren neue Privilegien. Der König bekräftigte 1484, dass der Richter in allen Angelegenheiten der Bürger bis auf die kirchlichen Prozessen zuständig war. Im selben Jahr erneuerte er die Zollfreiheit der Stadt. 1485 hat der König die Ausschank von fremden Weinen in Mittelberg mit der Begründung beschränkt, dass die Bergarbeiter das größte Teil ihrer Zeit in der Kneipe verbracht haben. Dieses Jahr befestigte er besonders die Zoll- und Reisefreiheit der Bürger von Neustadt, die Eßwaren kauften, zur Verschaffung von Lebensmitteln oder in dem Interesse der Bergwerke im Lande herumreisten. 1496, 1501, und 1504 hat König Wladyslaw II. die Zollfreiheit der Bürger erneuert.³²

Laut des genannten Berichtes aus 1501 verwendeten die Könige Matthias und Wladyslaw II. ansehnliche Geldsummen für den Bergbau von Neustadt,³³ doch der erhoffte Erfolg blieb aus. Unsere Angaben zeugen davon, dass König Matthias die Probleme erkannt und versucht hat, sie zu lösen. Aufgrund unserer Nach-

³⁰ Albert Jung war an der Finanzverwaltung tätig, und er besaß in Schemnitz, Neusohl und Neustadt Bergwerke und Immobilien. Er wurde 1495 *montanista* in Neustadt genannt. Márton Gyöngyössi, *Florenus Hungaricalis* 131., 261–264.

³¹ Stanislaw Kutrzeba, *Akta odnoszace*, 46. *..ipsa montana non parvum sunt deteriorata et ipsi montaniste in nimiam deinde devenerunt paupertatem...*

³² HK Handschriften. Nr. 374. fol. 109r., Schönherr Gyula dr. *Emlékezete*, 266–267., *Monografia municipului Baia Mare*, 1972. 133–138., 341–342.

³³ Meinen Forschungen nach hat nur der König zwischen 1492 und 1507 mindestens 36 000 Goldgulden (16341 Goldgulden nur 1494 und 1495) den Bergwerken überwiesen, aber dieses Geld erwies sich als viel zu wenig. DF. 245 141., 245 512., 245 890., 245 394., 245 610., 245 642., 245 643., 245 644 (= AS II. 497., 569., IV. 518., III. 87., IV. 46., IV. 78., 79., 80.), DF. 247 075 (=AB Priv. et. Instr. 250.), *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 369., 447., 456., 460., 462., 466., *Rechnungen*, 487–488., Johann Christian Engel, *Geschichte des ungarischen Reiches und seiner Nebenländer*. I–III. Halle, 1797–1801., I. 47., 78., 150., 152., 153., 154., 166., 171., 173., 175.

richt über den Zoll in Jánk müssen wir aber feststellen, dass die Situation bis 1486 noch nicht konsolidiert werden konnte.³⁴

Die Ursache der Gegensätze, die in der ersten Hälfte der 1480er Jahre ausgebrochen waren, ist nicht nur darin zu suchen, dass das Blei teurer geworden ist oder dass der König die Verpachtung der Kammer an die Neustädter eingestellt hat, und stadtfremde, machthaberische Leute, die sich vielleicht wenig auf die Angelegenheiten des Bergbaus verstanden, ernannt hat. Die Beamtenwillkür der Kammerer trug aberfalls zur Verstärkung der Krise bei, denn infolge der Willkür verringerte sich die Zahl der Unternehmer und der Arbeiter, die sich mit dem Bergbau und der Verhüttung befaßten.³⁵

Hinter dem Aufruhr sind die Probleme des Bergbaus zu suchen. Die Erzgewinnung musste nämlich immer tiefer greifen, und immer mehr Geld musste für die Entwässerung der Bergwerke verwendet werden. Die Zechen lagen nämlich unter dem Erdstollen 140 Lachter (= 283,02 m) in der Tiefe. Man kann sagen, dass die 1480er Jahre hier nicht zu den besten Jahren des Bergbaus gehörten, obwohl ein bedeutender Rückfall erst in der Jagiellonen Zeit eingetreten ist.³⁶

Die Fachliteratur der Numismatik bemerkte, dass die Silbermünzen seit 1486 nur in Kremnitz geprägt worden sind. Die königliche Massnahme war nicht nur damit zu erklären, dass die Gran-Gegend an Silber reicher, als die Gegend von Neustadt oder Siebenbürgen war. Unter den Ursachen muss man auch das Grubenbrand und den schlechten Zustand der Bergwerke von Neustadt mitberücksichtigen. Dazu gehört, dass die Fachliteratur der Numismatik darauf aufmerksam worden ist, dass die Goldgulden von Neustadt in den 80er Jahren gröber und einfacher geworden sind.³⁷

Im Gebiet von Neustadt wurde im 14. Jahrhundert schon einen ansehnlichen Weinbau betrieben. Laut eines Privilegs aus 1376 von König Ludwig dem Grossen war es verboten vor dem Tag des Heiligen Jakob fremden Wein zu verkaufen.

³⁴ Der Erzbischof von Gran erhielt 1488 nur 626,5 Goldgulden, aber 1489 erhielt er 1132,65 Goldgulden pisetum. Diese beiden Angaben lassen uns vielleicht darauf schlußfolgern, dass sich die Situation (wenn auch nur vorläufig) zu verbessern begann. Zur gleichen Zeit trieb das Erzbistum 1427 und 1706,19 Goldgulden pisetum aus der Bergbaugebiet von Kremnitz ein. Erik Fügedi, „Az esztergomi érsekség gazdálkodása a 15. század végén“ [Die Wirtschaft des Graner Erzbistums am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts] *Századok* 94 (1960) 118. Zum pisetum neuerdings, László Örs Kollmann, „Szempontok az északgömöri központi helyek középkori és kora-újkorai fejlődésének vizsgálatához“ [Bemerkungen zur Untersuchung der Entwicklung der zentralen Orte in Nordgömör im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit] In: *Analecta Mediaevalia*. II. Hrsg. von Tibor Neumann. Budapest, 2004. 121–122.; Márton Gyöngyössi, „Kiszorult-e az érsek embere a pénzverésből a 15. században?“ [Ob der Mann des Erzbischofs aus der Münzprägung in dem 15. Jahrhundert verdrängt wurde?] *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 26 (2003) 113–114.

³⁵ DF. 235 431., = AMS II. 797.

³⁶ Oszkár Paulinyi, Der erste Bau von Stausseen, passim.

³⁷ Márton Gyöngyössi, Pénzgazdálkodás, 72–73., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Florenus Hungaricalis*, 59.

fen.³⁸ 100 Jahre später (1467) hat der König den Kammerern verboten im Kammerhaus oder sonstwo Wein zu verkaufen. Die Einwohner von Neustadt wollten 1482 verhindern, dass Fremde nach Mittelberg Wein einfuhrten. Drei Jahre später hat Matthias verboten, fremden Wein nach Mittelberg einzuführen, weil die Bergarbeiter von Neustadt ihre Zeit in den hiesigen Kneipen verbrachten. Wladyslaw II. hat 1492 den Kammerern und Vizekammerern verboten, Wein oder Bier aus anderen Ortschaften zu transportieren und im Gebiet von Neustadt auszuschenken. Er hat 1510 diese Anordnung neu bekräftigt.

Der im Formelbuch erwähnte königliche Befehl rechnete damit, dass die Waldbürger von Neustadt Weingärten besaßen. Tamás Göbel war ebenfalls Weingartenbesitzer. Ein Mitglied der Familie Jung, die sich mit dem Bergbau beschäftigte, verkaufte 1535 seine Fischteiche, Wiesen und Weingärten.³⁹ Diese Angaben zeugen also davon, dass der Weingartenbesitz nicht nur als eine mögliche Kapitalinvestition diente, sondern auch mit dem Weinverkauf als eine nützliche Beschäftigung erschien. Die Kammerer stellten eine Konkurrenz dar, und dies trug wahrscheinlich zur Verschlechterung des Verhältnisses zwischen den königlichen Kammerern und der Stadt bei, doch die Könige nahmen die Bürger in Schutz.

Bemerkenswert ist es aber, dass der Umstand, dass die früher erwähnten Angaben über das Schankrecht der Unternehmer in Kremnitz, Schemnitz und Neustadt aus der selben Zeit stammen, darauf hinweist, dass die Situation in beiden Berggebieten ähnlich war.

Es ist interessant zu wissen, dass das Siegel der Stadt 1483 verändert wurde. Früher verwendete die Stadt zwei Siegel. Das größere hat einen Durchmesser von 7,2 cm, und das kleinere einen Durchmesser von 4,5 cm. Der Durchmesser des neuen Siegels war nur 3,2 cm. Es stellte einen Berg dar, in dessen Öffnung der Oberkörper eines Bergmanns zu sehen ist, und an beiden Seiten des Berges ist je eine Figur eines Hauerns zu sehen. An der Bergspitze gibt es zwei Weinstöcke mit Trauben.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Studio et opera Georgii Fejér. I-XI. Budapestae, 1829–1844. IX/1., 500., IX/5. 97., Schönherr Gyula dr. Emlékezete, 392.

³⁹ Wien. Hofkammerarchiv. Handschriften. Nr. 374. fol. 104v.-105v., 109v., DF. 270 736 (= AMK Schwartzbachiana Nr. 698.), MOL A 57. Libri regii V. 425. (Magyar Országos Levéltár. Királyi Könyvek 1–9. kötet. 1527–1647.), Antal Szmik, Adalékok Felsőbánya, 17., Gyula Schönherr, A nagybányai bizottság, 130., Monografia municipului Baia Mare, 291., In den niederungarischen Bergstädten kam es ebenfalls vor, dass das Schankrecht zwar ein Privileg der Waldbürger bildete, trotzdem befaßten sich die Kammerer mit dem Getreide- und Weinhandel (Günther Frh. von Probszt, Die niederungarischen Bergstädte, 66.).

⁴⁰ Schönherr Gyula dr. Emlékezete, 85–119. Diese Stadtwappen wurde erst am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts verändert. Jenő Faller, „Bányászati vonatkozású magyar városi címerek” [Ungarische Stadtwappen im Zusammenhang mit dem Bergbau] *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok* 75 (1942) 484., 486., 488., Oszóczi, K., „Sigilii folosite de autoritățile administrative comitatense și orașele de pe teritoriul fostului comitat Satu Mare (sec. XIV–XVII.)” [Die von den auf dem Gebiet des ehemaligen Komitats Szatmár befindlichen komitatlichen Verwaltungsbehörden und Städten gebrauchten Siegel, 14–17. Jh.] *Satu Mare, Studii și Comunicări* 5–6 (1981–82). 196–197., Attila Szemán, „A bányászkap

Meiner Meinung nach weisen die Angaben darauf hin, dass auch der Bergbau in Neustadt am Anfang der 1480er Jahre mit ähnlichen Problemen wie in der Gran-Gegend zu kämpfen hatte, und diese Probleme beeinflussten auch die Entwicklung der Münzprägung. Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, dass die 1478 eingeleitete Reform unter anderen ebenfalls auf die Probleme des Bergbaus zurückzuführen war. Der schwere Rückschlag des Bergbaus in Neustadt erfolgte in den 1490er Jahren und besonders am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts.⁴¹

Laut einer Vorlage aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts sollen die Einnahmen der Neustädter Kammer 6000 Goldgulden erreicht haben.⁴² Es scheint auch sicher zu sein, dass diese Vorlage die Einnahmen aus den Kammern Neustadt, Kaschau, Hermannstadt und Ofen einigermaßen unterschätzt hat.⁴³ Laut einer Bericht in italienischer Sprache von 1462/63 soll die Kammer 20 000 Goldgulden/Dukaten erbracht haben.⁴⁴ Laut einer Variante dieses Berichtes in italienischer Sprache, welche etwas später (um 1467–1470) verfasst worden ist, soll diese Summe 24 000 Dukaten ausgemacht haben. Der Verfasser dieses letzteren Berichtes verfügte wahrscheinlich über eigene Informationen, so war der Betrag von 24 000 Dukaten nicht aus der Luft gegriffen.⁴⁵

24 000 Dukaten sind ansehnliche Summen, da Kremnitz nur 12 000 Goldgulden eingebracht hat. Der Nachricht über 20 000 oder 24 000 Goldgulden widerspricht die Urkunde wonach König Matthias die Münzprägestalten von Neustadt und Hermannstadt (und die Raffinerie in Offenburg) nur für 13 000 Goldgulden verpachtete. Dieser Betrag ist weniger, als die Hälfte der Summe, die die italienischen Berichte als Einnahmen der beiden Kammern genannt haben (26 000 oder 31 000 Dukaten). Der Pachtbetrag ist nicht hoch, aber man muss den Nutzen der Stadt noch mit dazu rechnen.⁴⁶ Man muss auch daran denken, dass die Münzreform von König Matthias 1467 begann, und mit Kosten verbun-

ábrázolása a nagybányai pecsétnyomón” [Darstellung der Berghacke auf das Petschaft von Neustadt] *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok. Bányászat* 129 (1996) 449.

⁴¹ Márton Gyöngyössi, Die ungarische Münz- und Geldgeschichte, 32–34.

⁴² János M. Bak, „Monarchie im Wellental, Materielle Grundlagen des ungarischen Königtums im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert”, In: *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im europäischen Vergleich*. Hg. v. Reinhard Schneider. Sigmaringen, 1987. (Vorträge und Forschungen 32) 359.

⁴³ Márton Gyöngyössi, Die ungarische Münz- und Geldgeschichte, 28.

⁴⁴ Biblioteca Marciana (Venedig) Ms. IT. VI. 276 (Nr.8398.), Biblioteca Trivulziana (Mailand). Cod. Nr. 1458., Biblioteca del Civico Museo Correr (Venedig) Mss. Lazzari b. 24. nr. 3., Johann Christian Engel, Geschichte des ungarischen Reiches, II. 16–17.

⁴⁵ Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (Città del Vaticano, Rom) Urb. Lat. 728. Ich werde ausführlicher über die Texte in meiner Schrift im Sammelband der Budapester Matthias-Konferenz schreiben.

⁴⁶ Urkundenbuch, VI. Nr. 3640. Die Ausgabe beruht auf dem Originalexemplar aus dem Stadtarchiv in Neustadt. Der Text der Urkunde wurde auch in das Formelbuch der Kanzlei von König Matthias aufgenommen, was die Häufigkeit des Pachtystems hinweist. Martinus Georgius Kovachich, *Formulae sollennes styli*, 486–487.

den war. Wir dürfen auch nicht vergessen, dass es 1467 in Siebenbürgen zu einem Aufstand gekommen ist, den der König niedergekämpft hat.⁴⁷

Reineinnahmen von 20 000 beziehungsweise 24 000 Goldgulden entsprachen Goldproduktionen von 1905 beziehungsweise 2286 Mark (etwa 467,75 kg und 561,3 kg).⁴⁸

Unsere nächsten Angaben bezüglich der Einnahmen beruhen auf Kammerrechnungen aus den Jahren 1481–1482. Uns stehen Angaben nur bezüglich 25 Wochen zur Verfügung, und Oszkár Paulinyi in mühevoller Kleinarbeit schlußfolgerte darauf, dass damals hier etwa 2470 Mark (= 606,48 kg), d. h. 2500 Mark Gold (= 613,84 kg) und 7328 Mark (1799,3 kg) Silber produziert worden seien. 53% der Goldproduktion des Landes, die 4700 Mark (= 1154 kg) ausmachte, stammte aus Neustadt. Neustadt alleine lieferte der königlichen Schatzkammer mehr, als Kremnitz und Hermannstadt zusammen. Dieser Umstand zeigt schon die grosse Bedeutung dieser Gegend in der Wirtschaft des ganzen Königreichs. Die Reineinnahmen des Königs machte damals zusammen mit der Urbura hochwahrscheinlich 25–26 000 Goldgulden aus.⁴⁹

Meiner Meinung nach verringerten sich höchstwahrscheinlich die Einnahmen des Königs in den 80er Jahren aus der Münzprägeanstalt von Neustadt. Wenn wir jedoch daran denken, dass die Kammerer in den 80er Jahren mit Schwierigkeiten kämpfen mussten, so müssen wir die Spitzenperiode des Bergbaus auf die Zeit vor 1482 versetzen.⁵⁰ In Anbetracht dessen, wie tief die Stollen in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts lagen, bin ich der Meinung, dass die Blütezeit auf die Mitte oder längstens die zweite Hälfte der Jahre von 1470 versetzt werden kann. In der Blütezeit der Stadt war die Gold- und Silbergewinnung stärker, so durften auch die königlichen Einnahmen über 25–26 000 Goldgulden gelegen haben. Die Behauptung

⁴⁷ Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénzgazdálkodás*, 67–68.

⁴⁸ 1 Budaer Mark= 245,53778 gr. Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000–1325*. [Ungarische Münzgeschichte 1000–1325] Budapest, 1916. 96.

⁴⁹ Oszkár Paulinyi, „The Crown Monopoly of the Refining Metallurgy of Precious Metals and the Technology of the Cameral Refineries in Hungary and Transylvania in the Period of Advanced and Late Feudalism (1325–1700) with Data and Output”, In: *Precious Metals in the Age of Expansion*. Hrsg. von Hermann Kellenbenz. Stuttgart, 1981., 39., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Die ungarische Münz- und Geldgeschichte*, 32. In der Wirklichkeit muss die Erzgewinnung einigermassen höher gewesen sein: denn die Urbura aus Mittelberg stand seit 1452 der örtlichen Kriche zu (Dl. 14 582.)

⁵⁰ „Trotzdem sollte sich bereits in den letzten Jahren Königs Matthias Corvinus auch in der Montanwirtschaft von Nagybánya eine schwere Krisenperiode ein...“– schrieb Oszkár Paulinyi. Oszkár Paulinyi, *Der erste Bau von Stausseen*, 114.; István Draskóczy, „Der ungarische Goldgulden und seine Bedeutung im ungarischen Außenhandel des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts”, In: *Der Tiroler Bergbau und die Depression der europäischen Montanwirtschaft im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Tasser, Ekkehard Westermann. Innsbruck–Wien–München–Bozen, 2004. 64–65., 75.

aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts wonach der König zu der Blütezeit von dieser Kammer mit 40 000 Goldgulden rechnen konnte, scheint übertrieben zu sein.⁵¹

Es ist schwer das Ausmass des Niederganges, der am Ende des 15. und am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts eingetreten ist, einzuschätzen. Die Produktion ist wahrscheinlich allmählich zurückgegangen. Ein Diplomat von Venedig bemerkte in seiner Meldung von 1503, dass der Gold- und Silberbergbau (mit den Münzstätten) jährlich 14 000, 7 000 und 18 000 Dukaten für den König erbrachten. Wir wissen aber nicht, an welche Bergbaugebieten/ Münzprägestalten er gedacht hat. Hinter der ersten Zahl kann man die Summe erkennen, die von János Thurzó und seinem Sohn, György als Pachtzins für die Kremnitzer Kammer gezahlt worden sind. Die zweite Angabe bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf die Kammer von Hermannstadt, als nämlich János Lulay diese Kammer pachtete (1503–1521), zahlte er angeblich soviel an die Schatzkammer. Die dritte Summe könnte, wenn sie glaubwürdig ist, mit Neustadt in Verbindung gebracht werden. Die Summe von 18000 Goldgulden entspricht der Produktion von ungefähr 1700 Mark Feingold. Nach einer Berechnung, die jedoch nur auf die Produktionsangaben einer einzigen Woche beruhte, soll auch 1700 Mark Feingold (= 419 kg) 1508 gewonnen worden sein.⁵² Die Berechnungen aufgrund der Nachrichten aus den Jahren 1503 und 1508 liefen zwar nur ein ziemlich annäherndes Ergebnis, aber sie bekräftigen sich gegenseitig. Unsere Berechnungen verlangen aber noch weitere Untersuchungen, deshalb müssen wir umsichtig umgehen, indem wir die 1700 Mark als die höchstmögliche Goldproduktion am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts in Neustadt annehmen. Die Goldgewinnung ist bis Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts auf 400 Mark zurückgesunken.⁵³

Abkürzungen

AB	Archivele Statului Județul Brașov, Archivă orașul Brașov (Brașov, Rumänien)
AMB	Štatny Okresný Archív v Bardejove, Mesto Bardejov (Bardejov, Slowakei)
AMK	Archív mesta Košic (Košice, Slowakei)
AMK/a.	Štatny Okresný Archív v Kremnice, Mesto Kremnica (Kremnica, Slowakei)

⁵¹ Johann Christian Engel, Geschichte des ungarischen Reiches, III. 17.

⁵² István Balogh, *Velencei diplomaták Magyarországról*. [Diplomaten aus Venedig über Ungarn] Szeged 1929. VII., Zsuzsanna Hermann, *Jakob Fugger*. Budapest 1976. 146., Johann Christian Engel, Geschichte des ungarischen Reiches, II. 41., Márton Gyöngyössi, *Pénzgazdálkodás*, 199., Die Kammer von Hermannstadt wurde 1491 für 6 000 Goldgulden verpachtet (Történelmi Tár 1880. 169.). 1495 trug diese Kammer 6115 Goldgulden Reingewinn ein (Johann Christian Engel, Geschichte des ungarischen Reiches, I. 150.).

⁵³ Oszkár Paulinyi, Der erste Bau von Stausseen, passim.

AML	Štatny Okresný Archív v Banskej Bystrici, Mesto L' ubietova (Banská Bystrica, Slowakei)
AMS	Štatny Okresný Archív v Žiari nad Hronom. Pobočka v Banskej Štiavnici. Mesto Banská Štiavnica (Banská Štiavnica, Slowakei)
AS	Archivele Statului Județul Sibiu, Colectia documente (Urkunden) (Sibiu, Rumänien)
DF	MOL, Diplomatische Photosammlung (Budapest, Ungarn)
DI.	MOL, Collectio Antemohácsiana (Urkundensammlung, Budapest, Ungarn)
HHSta	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Österreich, Wien)
HK	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv (Österreich, Wien)
MOL	Magyar Országos Levéltár (Ungarisches Staatsarchiv, Budapest, Ungarn)

ISTVÁN PETROVICS

**URBAN DEVELOPMENT DURING
THE REIGN OF KING MATTHIAS:
THE CASES OF SZEGED AND DEBRECEN**

In my paper, after a short introductory survey of urban development in medieval Hungary, I will focus on the histories of two towns, Szeged and Debrecen. Both towns are located in the eastern part of the realm and on the territory of the Great Hungarian Plain. These two towns can be regarded as the most important localities of this region in the late fifteenth century. My primary aim is to demonstrate how the urban policy of King Matthias and the members of the Hunyadi family affected the development of these two towns, which in the second half of the fifteenth century went through profound changes.

**GENERAL FEATURES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT
IN THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF HUNGARY**

By the mid-fifteenth century, when Matthias ascended to the throne of Hungary, the towns of the realm had a past reaching back several hundred years. However, it should be stressed already at this point that real towns, that is, ones that – besides being centres of trade and handicrafts – enjoyed broad legal autonomy, did not appear before the turn of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. These places are mostly referred in Latin documents as *civitates* (sometimes as *oppida*), with their inhabitants named as *cives et hospites*. A particular and characteristic feature of medieval Hungarian urban development is that foreign ethnic groups, belonging to the socio-legal category of *hospites*, i.e. guests, largely contributed to the formation of towns, once the necessary level of economic and social development was reached. Their presence in Hungarian pre-urban and real towns is sometimes testified by direct evidence, i.e. information provided by royal charters and narrative sources, while in other cases we have only indirect evidence, such as toponyms. Among these foreign groups the ‘Latins’ and the Germans should be mentioned. The ‘Latins’ were constituted preponderantly by Walloons and Italians. Walloons came from Flanders, Northern France and Lorraine, and appeared in Hungary particularly in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, while the Italians arrived primarily from Lombardy. Their presence was very important, especially during the reign of the Angevin kings, and in the late fifteenth century, par-

ticularly after Matthias's marriage to Beatrice of Aragon. It should be noted, however, that most of the Italians cannot be regarded, in fact, as burghers of the Hungarian towns, since they remained foreign merchants, or became royal officials working in different branches of state-administration. The Germans were partly Saxons living in Transylvania and in the Szepes (present-day Spiš, Slovakia) region, and partly *Teutonici*, i.e. people coming from the towns of Austria and Southern-Germany (Wien, Augsburg, Nürnberg etc.). Besides Transylvania and the Szepes region, the towns of the western borderland, for example, the chartered royal cities of Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg), Nagyszombat (Trnava, Tyrnau) and Sopron (Ödenburg), just to mention the most important ones, the mining towns and, of course, the royal city of Buda, the medieval capital of the realm, were also places where Germans lived in large numbers in the Late Middle Ages. In short: from the second part of the thirteenth century German ascendancy became obvious in most of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom.¹

The thirteenth century, primarily the years following the Mongol invasion of 1241, brought several serious changes in the socio-political and economic life of the kingdom. This is the time when Hungary, parallel with the decline of the trading contacts with Kiev and Constantinople, became an integral part of Western European economy. Links tying Hungary to Germany and Italy had become ever closer. Surprisingly enough, after the Mongol invasion only the German immigration continued.²

¹ For further details see Fügedi, Erik, „A befogadó: a középkori a magyar királyság” [Medieval Hungary as a welcoming kingdom], In: Fügedi, Erik, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek* [Mendicant friars, burghers, nobles] Budapest, 1981. 398–418.; Györffy, György, „A székesfehérvári latinok betelepülésének kérdése” [The settling of Latin guests in Székesfehérvár], In: *Székesfehérvár évszázadai* [Centuries of Székesfehérvár]. Székesfehérvár, 1972. Vol. I–II. II. 37–44.; Kubinyi, András, „Zur frage der deutschen Siedlungen im mittleren Teil des Königreichs Ungarn (1200–1541)”, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 18 (1975) 527–66.; Székely, György, „A székesfehérvári latinok és vallonok a középkori Magyarországon” [The Latins and Walloons of Székesfehérvár in medieval Hungary], In: *Székesfehérvár évszázadai*, II. 45–72.; Petrovics, István, „A korai magyar városfejlődés és az idegen jog” [Early Hungarian urban development and foreign law], In: *Régi és új peregrináció, magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon* [Old and new peregrination, Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary] Papers of the Third International Congress on Hungarian Studies. Szeged, 1993. 267–71.; *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon, ninth to fourteenth centuries]. Ed. in chief Kristó, Gyula, Eds. Makk, Ferenc and Engel, Pál. Budapest, 1994. s.v. vallonok, olaszok, németek; István Petrovics, „The fading glory of a former royal seat: the case of medieval Temesvár”, In: Nagy, Balázs and Sebők, Marcell (eds.) ...*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*. Budapest, 1999. 527–28. Engel, Pál, *The realm of St Stephen: A history of medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London and New York, 2001. 69; Petrovics, István, „Foreign ethnic groups in the towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages” (Forthcoming).

² Szűcs, Jenő, „Az utolsó Árpádok” [The last kings of the Árpád dynasty], Budapest, 1993. 223–41.; Szende, Katalin „Was there a bourgeoisie in medieval Hungary?” In: Nagy–Sebők (eds.), ...*The Man of Many Devices*, 446.; Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 112; Petrovics, *Foreign ethnic groups*.

It should also be noted that from the thirteenth century onwards the term *hospes* referred primarily not to foreign immigrants, but to such persons who during the process of colonization had acquired a special legal status but were not necessarily of foreign origin. This fundamental change meant that anybody enjoying that particular legal status – regardless of ethnic origins – could be referred to as a *hospes*. Thus, in addition to the Latins and the Germans, Hungarians, Armenians and Slavic people were also among the *hospites*.³

Another particular and characteristic feature of urban development is that the nature of urbanisation in medieval Hungary was determined by two factors: one of them being the production and export of gold and the other the import of luxury goods. The network of towns that came to life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was essentially shaped by these economic circumstances. The most important towns emerged at places where consumption was concentrated: in the middle of the kingdom where the royal court resided, along the frontier where merchants from abroad entered the kingdom, and in the mining regions where precious metals were produced. Consequently, Hungary's urban network had a strange, semicircular shape, which more or less followed the ranges of the Carpathian mountains. It is conspicuous, but in the light of the above mentioned facts not surprising, that within this semicircle in the southern part of Transdanubia, in the Great Hungarian Plain, and in the Temes region, towns can hardly be found.⁴ There are only two localities in this area, Szeged and Pécs, which were towns of outstanding importance, the latter being, in fact, an episcopal seat.⁵ However, the case of Pécs, or rather that of Nagyvárad (present-day Oradea, Romania) shows that an economic upswing did not necessarily depend on a privilege. Although Nagyvárad had neither walls, nor real self-government, and its inhabitants were not *cives*, but the tenants of the bishop and the chapter residing in the town, thanks to its favourable geographical location, became one of the most important trade centres of the realm. It had the right to hold 9 annual fairs, which, with the ones in its agglomeration, Olaszi and Vadkert, runs to 11 altogether.⁶

The urban network of fifteenth-century Hungary was constituted, above all, by 30 localities, which were regarded as royal free cities. Among them were the mining towns: Selmec-, Körmöc-, Beszterce-, Új-, Baka-, Béla-, Libetbánya

³ Petrovics, *The fading glory*, 528.

⁴ Szücs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 266-76.; Petrovics, *The fading glory*, 529.; Kubinyi, András, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Urban development and the network of markets on the Great Hungarian Plain and its fringes in the Middle Ages]. Szeged, 2000. 11.; Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 247-53.

⁵ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 92.; Kubinyi, András, „Pécs gazdasági jelentősége és városiassága a késő-középkorban” [The economic significance of Pécs and the level of its urbanization in the Late Middle Ages] In: Font, Márta (ed.) *Pécs szerepe a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [The role of the town of Pécs in the period preceding the battle of Mohács]. Pécs, 2001. 43–52.

⁶ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 92.

(present-day Banská Štiavnica, Kremnica, Banská Bystrica, Nová Baňa, Pukanec, Banská Belá, L'ubietová – all in Slovakia), Nagybánya (present day Baia Mare, Romania) and the towns of the Transylvanian Saxons: Nagyszeben, Brassó, Beszterce, Medgyes, Szászsebes, Szászváros, Segesvár (present-day Sibiu, Braşov, Mediaş, Bistriţa, Sebeş, Oraştie, Sighişoara – all in Romania). However, the most illustrious group of the royal free cities was formed by the so called free royal or *tavernical* cities, represented by the 8 walled localities that came under the jurisdiction of the *Tavernical Bench*, headed by the dignitary *magister tavernicorum*, i.e. the Master of the Treasury. (Buda, Sopron, Pozsony (present-day Bratislava, Slovakia), Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia), Kassa (present-day Košice, Slovakia), Bártfa (present-day Bardejov, Slovakia), Eperjes (present-day Prešov, Slovakia). Pest, the eighth city, due to its rapid development, could join this group, in all probability, around 1481, i.e. during King Matthias' reign. Another group was formed by those towns, which were privileged to appeal to the court of the *personalis*, i.e. to the *sedes personalita*: Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Lőcse (present-day Levoča, Slovakia), Szokolca (present-day Skalica, Slovakia), Kisszeben (present-day Sabinov, Slovakia) and Szeged.⁷

Besides, there were many other towns in the realm that had already passed into private lordship, therefore, their inhabitants were not considered free burghers. Some of these towns were fortified like Kőszeg, Kismarton (present-day Eisenstadt, Austria), Szalónak (present-day Stadtschlaining, Austria), Trencsén, Beckó, Kézsmárk (present-day Trenčín, Beckov, Kežmarok – all in Slovakia), Siklós; some were episcopal towns, though they were individually referred to as *civitas*, but they were not free towns in fact. However, the overwhelming majority of towns belonged to the category of *oppida*, i.e. they were unwalled localities subject to seignorial jurisdiction. Some of them were under the seignury of the king: Komárom (present-day Komárno, Slovakia), Tata, Nagymaros, or the queen: Óbuda, Ráckeve, Miskolc, Beregszász (present-day Beregove, Ukraine) and the five towns of the Máramaros (present-day Maramureş, Romania) salt-region, while other *oppida* were subjected to secular or ecclesiastical lords.⁸

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from the facts presented above is that the town in the legal sense of the word should not be confused with the more general idea of the town as a commercial centre, or to be more precise, as a central place. It was András Kubinyi who made the concept of central places fit Hungarian circumstances, and with the help of his research results it can be easily shown how urbanized a certain settlement was. It seems that there were al-

⁷ Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 254-55.; Kubinyi, András, „Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében” [The network of towns in the Carpathian Basin in the Late Middle Ages] In: Csukovits, Enikő–Lengyel, Tünde, *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században* [From Bártfa/Bardejov as far as Pozsony/Bratislava. Towns in the thirteenth-seventeenth centuries]. Budapest, 2005. 9–10.

⁸ Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 255.

together 1,200 central places in fifteenth century Hungary, of which only 180 to 200 can be regarded as urban type localities. However, the overwhelming majority of these places, approximately 150 settlements can only be regarded as towns in the economic sense of the word. To put it another way: central places can be ranked into seven categories, of which only the localities belonging to the first four categories can be regarded – functionally – as towns. In order to demonstrate Kubinyi's results, let me have a few examples of the four categories. In brackets one can see the points in Kubinyi's categorization a locality could gain as a central place:

Category I: Towns of primary importance:

Buda (55); Pozsony/Bratislava (49); Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca (45); Kassa/Košice (43); Székesfehérvár (43); Szeged (42); Pest (41); Sopron (41); Várad/Oradea (41).

Category II: Towns of secondary importance:

Pécs (39); Esztergom (38); Bártfa/Bardejov (33), Eperjes/Prešov (32).

Category III: Towns of minor importance and *oppida* with major urban functions:

Nagybánya/Baia Mare (29); Lippa/Lipova (28); Debrecen (28); Kismarton/Eisenstadt (22)

Category IV: *Oppida* with medium urban functions:

Kőszeg (19); Visegrád (17); Kisseben/Sabinov (16)⁹

After this short survey of the history of towns in medieval Hungary, it is possible now to proceed to the case studies of Szeged and Debrecen.

Part II/1.

SZEGED IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Szeged was one of the most important towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages. It emerged at the confluence of the Rivers Tisza and Maros. Although a watch-tower stood here in Roman times, and different nomadic peoples (*e.g.* Huns, Avars) also favoured this region, no urban-type settlement existed here before the arrival of the Magyars in the late ninth century. Both archaeological find-

⁹ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 7–94; Kubinyi, *Városhálózat a késő középkori*, 17–31. See the full list of central places on page 30.

ings and documentary evidence support the contention that the town of Szeged evolved in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Due to its favourable geographical location, all regions of the kingdom could be reached from here. While the River Maros connected Szeged with Transylvania, the River Tisza created a link with the southern and northern parts of the realm. Moreover, from Szeged, with its very busy ford, important land routes led to the western and north-western localities of the kingdom.

The name of Szeged appears in written sources as early as 1183, but its *hospites* were first mentioned only in 1247. The appearance of the *hospites* who, most probably were ethnic Hungarians and the subjects of the king, demonstrates that the pre-urban Szeged was being transformed into a real town after the Mongol invasion. In contrast with other parts of the kingdom, no foreign ethnic groups seemed to have played a role in this process. The influx of Romance speaking Latin guests to Hungary took place mainly prior to the thirteenth century and even at that time they avoided settling in the localities of the Great Plain. The situation was the same with the Germans who succeeded the Latin guests. Depending on their occupation, both the Latin and German settlers preferred administrative centres, primarily royal and ecclesiastical seats, and the mountainous regions of the kingdom to the Great Plain. The lack of toponyms such as Olasz(i), ('Italians'), Szász(i) ('Saxons'), Német(i) ('Germans') etc. in the territory of the Great Plain confirms the above statement.

The first mention of Szeged in the sources that can be analysed from a demographic and ethnic point of view, occurs in the tithe-list from the year 1522. This important document enumerated 1,644 mostly independent families in Szeged and, according to scholars who made estimates on the basis of this tithe-list, the number of inhabitants of the town might have reached 8,000 – or according to another opinion, 9,500 – at that time. This shows that Szeged was one of the most populous towns of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Late Middle Ages. For the sake of comparison let me mention that Buda, the medieval “capital” of the realm had 12–15,000, while Pest, the second largest one had 10,000 inhabitants at the end of the fifteenth century. The tithe-list also justifies that the population of Szeged was able to preserve its Hungarian character even in the first half of the sixteenth century.

It is equally important to stress that Szeged was not only a town with a large number of inhabitants, but was also a thriving commercial centre, the bases of which were provided by the large-scale cattle- and horse-breeding, and the wine-production in the Szerémség, a region located between the Danube and the Sava rivers. Besides, from the earliest times on a royal salt warehouse had been in operation in the town, also enhancing its development. In accordance with the general Hungarian situation, commerce played a more important role than craft industry in the economic life of the town. Consequently, Szeged had the privilege of holding three weekly markets in the fifteenth century, and from 1499 an annual fair.

From the point of view of the ecclesiastical structure, Szeged was the centre of an archdeaconry, although the *archidiaconus Segediensis* moved, probably in the thirteenth century, to Bács (present-day Bač in Serbia) where the archbishops of Kalocsa had one of their seats. The town had two parish churches, one dedicated to St. George, the other to St. Demetrius, two hospitals, and four monasteries (two belonging to the Franciscan order, one to the Dominicans and one to the Premonstratensians) in the Late Middle Ages. These ecclesiastical institutions, however, did not threaten or restrict the autonomy of Szeged, which – with the exception of shorter periods – pertained to the king in the whole of the Middle Ages. This favourable legal position and the economic importance the town had reached by the late fifteenth century led to King Wladislas II declaring Szeged to be a royal free town in 1498. It should also be noted, nevertheless, that the new legal status of Szeged was enacted only in 1514.¹⁰

Part II/2.

DEBRECEN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The other town of the Great Hungarian Plain, Debrecen also had a very favourable geographical location: it came into being in a region that served as a natural passage between Upper Hungary and Transylvania. Owing to this, Debrecen also functioned as a thriving commercial centre, though its trading activity was considerably restricted by Várad (present-day Oradea, Romania), an episcopal seat situated about 30 kilometres from Debrecen on the geographical border between the Great Hungarian Plain and Transylvania. In contrast with Szeged, Debrecen appeared in written documents relatively late (it was mentioned for the first time in 1235), and for a long period, similarly to Szeged, it was not a unified settlement. The town later to be named as Debrecen was composed of three independent villages (Debrecen, Mesterfalva, Szent László-falva), owned by the mem-

¹⁰ For the medieval history of Szeged see *Szeged története* [History of Szeged], Vol. I. From the beginnings up to 1686. Ed. Kristó, Gyula. Szeged, 1983. The relevant parts were written by László Szegfű, István Petrovics and Péter Kulcsár. See also Petrovics, István, „Dél-dunántúli és dél-alföldi városok kapcsolata Felső Magyarországgal a középkorban” [Economic and social contacts of towns situated in the southern parts of Transdanubia and the Great Hungarian Plain with Upper-Hungary in the Middle Ages]. In: Csukovits–Lengyel, *Bártfától Pozsonyig*, 133-4., 144-48., 153-55.; Petrovics, István „Witch-hunt in Szeged in the early eighteenth century.” In: Blanka Szeghyová (ed.), *The role of magic in the past. Learned and popular magic, popular beliefs and diversity of attitudes*. Bratislava, 2005. 108–116. Documents, mostly charters, pertaining to the medieval history of Szeged are published *in extenso* in the work of János Reizner, *Szeged története IV*. [History of Szeged, Vol. IV.], Szeged, 1900. 3–154. See also Érszegi, Géza, „Adatok Szeged középkori történetéhez” [Contributions to the medieval history of Szeged], *Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből* 6 (1982) 13–51.

bers of the Debreceni family, a fortunate situation that promoted the unification of the components in the long run. A charter of 1332 referred to a judge, the aldermen and the *hospites* of the town. The latter were ethnic Hungarians, but – unlike the guests of Szeged – cannot be regarded as royal *hospites*. It is even more significant that King Louis I issued a charter to the inhabitants of Debrecen in 1361, granting liberties to elect a judge and several aldermen, having authority over all civil, criminal and financial affairs. The monarch also ordered that the citizens of Debrecen could not be made to appear before any other judge in any suit whatsoever. In 1405, due to the fact that a year earlier the male issue of the Debreceni family had become extinct, King Sigismund acquired Debrecen, which, thus, became a royal town. King Sigismund supported the urban development of Debrecen in several ways. First of all, he confirmed the “ancient” right of its citizens to elect their judge and aldermen. The citizens were also privileged to use the law of Buda and to appeal to the *Tavernical Bench*. They were granted liberties to run markets, and those of them, who had previously participated in a rebellion, but were pardoned, were allowed to return freely to Debrecen. The charters issued by King Sigismund contained privileges as well as duties. The most important fact in the latter case is that the citizens of Debrecen had to pay 300 golden florins to the treasury annually. In 1410, however, King Sigismund put Debrecen in pawn to Andrew Balicky for 13,000 golden florins, and a year later donated it to Stephen Lazarević, despot of Serbia. After the despot’s death in 1427, his Hungarian estates, including Debrecen, devolved to Stephen’s successor, George Branković. In 1444 John Hunyadi obtained Debrecen and many other estates of Branković in terms of an agreement preceding the treaty of Váradi. Between 1444 and 1507 Debrecen had the Hunyadis as its landlords. In the first part of this long period it was especially Elizabeth Szilágyi who took care of the Hunyadi-estates. After his mother’s death (1483) King Matthias donated the domain of Debrecen and Munkács (present-day Mukacheve, Ukraine) to his natural son, John Corvinus in 1484. Around 1493 John Corvinus put Debrecen in pawn to Emeric Derencsényi and Mark Horváth, which had disastrous consequences as the new owners were overtaxing the citizens. This and other encroachments resulted in the depopulation of a great part of the town. Duke John Corvinus was able to redeem Debrecen only in 1502.¹¹

¹¹ For the medieval history of Debrecen see *Debrecen története 1693-ig. I* [History of Debrecen. From the beginnings up to 1693, Vol. I]. Ed. Szendrey, István, Debrecen, 1984. The relevant parts were written by György Módy, István Szendrey, László Nagy, István Bársony and Béla Takács. Charters pertaining to the medieval history of Debrecen were published in a calendar form by Gábor Herpay. *Debrecen szab. Kir. Város Levéltára diplomagyűjteményének regesztái* [Calendars of the collection of charters pertaining to the archives of the town of Debrecen], compiled by Herpay, Gábor. Debrecen, 1916. King Matthias, who did not have a legitimate heir, considered John Corvinus, his natural son as his successor. Corvinus had quite bright prospects for mounting the throne: he enjoyed part of Matthias’s immense prestige, detained the Holy Crown and possessed the huge family fortunes. He was the lord of 30 castles, 17 castella (manor houses), 49 market towns (oppida) and about 1,000 villages. He was not able, however, to secure

Part III

**THE URBAN POLICY OF KING MATTHIAS
AND THE HUNYADI FAMILY**

The members of the Hunyadi–Szilágyi “clan”, particularly King Matthias, treated the citizens of both Debrecen and Szeged very generously. They confirmed the ancient privileges and donated dozens of new ones, ranging from the exemption of paying different tolls and taxes, through regulating the election of the judge, to granting the citizens liberties to run markets and fairs. Let me mention only one example here. King Matthias issued 15 charters containing different privileges to the citizens of Szeged. Among them, the most important was the one that permitted the citizens of Szeged to transport their wine from the Szerém region to Upper Hungary, where they were allowed to sell it, and another that enabled them to graze their cattle on the pastures of the Cumans. Concerning Debrecen, it is important to note that King Matthias made its citizens exempt from paying tolls within the boundaries of the realm, as well as from paying the thirtieth, a royal due levied on trade. They also enjoyed exemption from paying the chamber’s profit, and the monarch, though only temporarily, transferred the staple right and fairs of Várad to Debrecen. Elizabeth Szilágyi permitted the citizens of Derecen to make their last wills, and to leave Debrecen freely. More important was the privilege that enabled the tenant peasants to move freely to the town of Debrecen, which turned out to be the only way of increasing the number of the inhabitants. The number of the inhabitants of Debrecen in the age of the Hunyadis was between 6–8,000, and in 1552 might have reached 12 to 14,000. According to the document that survived from 1552 the number of the ‘portae’ was 1216 in Debrecen.¹²

the collaboration of Beatrice, the widow of King Matthias, and showed insufficient energy to launch any action on his part. He took up arms only when it was already too late, when the Estates had already decided to elect Wladislas of Jagiello, King of Bohemia. Soon Paul Kinizsi and Stephen Báthori were sent with an army against Corvinus, whom they defeated in the battle at Csonthegy near Szabaton on 4 July 1490. The struggle for the throne had disastrous financial consequences which, evidently, led John Corvinus to put a number of his towns and landed estates in pawn.

¹² The privileges donated by King Matthias to Szeged can be studied in Reizner, *Szeged története*, 52–87. The calendar of charters issued by Elizabeth Szilágyi, John and Matthias Hunyadi, and John Corvinus to Debrecen are published in Herpay, *Debrecen szab. Kir. Város*, 54–81. For the transfer of the staple right and fairs of Várad to Debrecen see Kubinyi, András „A városi rend kialakulásának gazdasági feltételei és a főváros kereskedelme a XV. század végén” [The economic conditions of the formation of the Estate of the towns and the trading activity of the capital in the late fifteenth century], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963) 189–224. For the number of inhabitants of Debrecen and for demographic changes in the town see *Debrecen története 1693-ig*, 233–48, 636.

The profound changes occurring in the structure of commerce in the fifteenth century also supported the development of Szeged and Debrecen: imported cheap mass products became dominant, while most exports consisted of domestic raw materials, cattle and wine. As a consequence, the growth of towns in the western part of the realm came to a halt, for example in Sopron and Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava). This was, however, counterbalanced by the spectacular development of the towns of Buda and Pest, and of the market towns (*oppida*) located in the eastern part of the realm.¹³ Despite this favourable economic situation only Szeged could become a royal free town (1498), even if only a few years after King Matthias' death. The situation in which Debrecen remained subjected to a secular lord, and on top of all that, it was pawned to greedy nobles in a critical period, created such conditions that Debrecen, despite its extensive privileges, could not become a royal free town.

Despite the many similarities which can be found between the medieval histories of Debrecen and Szeged, surprisingly enough, only a very few documents have survived that prove economic or social connections between the two towns prior to 1526. In 1484, for instance, King Matthias ordered his officials, Luke of Szeged and Benedict Literati, who were in charge of the Transylvanian salt chamber, not to prevent the citizens of Debrecen from buying and selling salt. The other document is actually a testament made by Andrew Tar, citizen of Debrecen in 1527, and recorded by Blasius Borsika, priest of a parish church in Debrecen and former inhabitant of Szeged. Documents informing us about the influx of the citizens of Szeged to Debrecen appear particularly after the fall of Szeged to the Ottomans in 1543.¹⁴

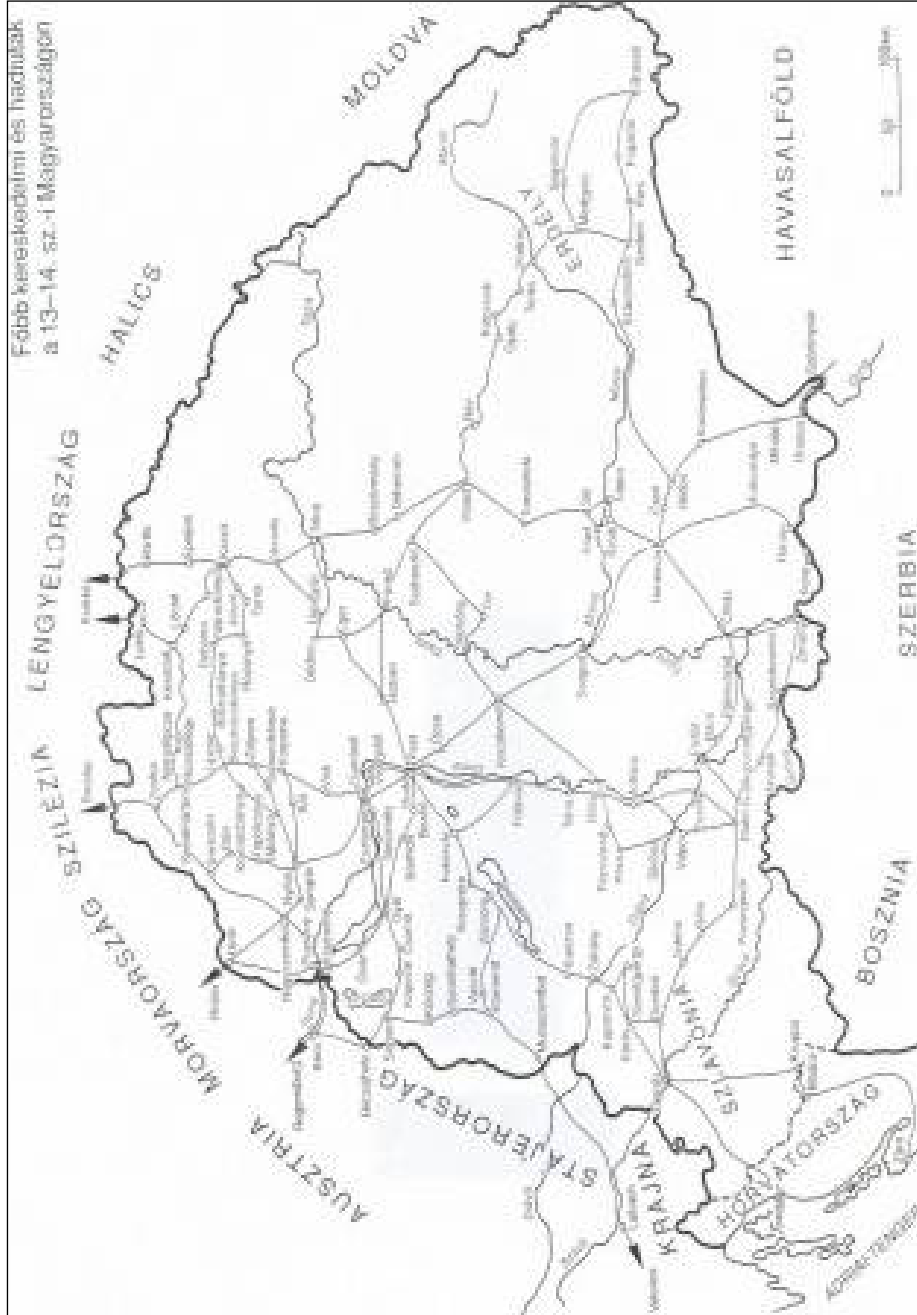
CONCLUSIONS

King Matthias and the members of the Hunyadi family soon realized the favourable geographical location of both Szeged and Debrecen, as well as the profound changes that occurred in fifteenth-century economy, both on the international and national level. They needed the political and economic support of these localities, in return for which, especially King Matthias and his mother, Elizabeth Szilágyi,

¹³ Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 323.

¹⁴ Bálint, Sándor, *Szeged reneszánsz kori műveltsége* [The renaissance literacy and culture of the town of Szeged]. Budapest, 1975. 92-9. The activity of Luke of Szeged may indicate the rivalry that existed between Szeged and Debrecen in the marketing of salt. Blasius Borsika („*Blasius presbyter rector altaris Katherinae in ecclesia parochiali Debreceniensi de Zege-dino, Borsika cognominatus, dioceses Bachiensis Sacra Apostolica Auctoritate Notarius*”) moved from Szeged to Debrecen probably before 1526. Petrovics, *Dél-dunántúli és dél-alföldi városok*, 146-48.

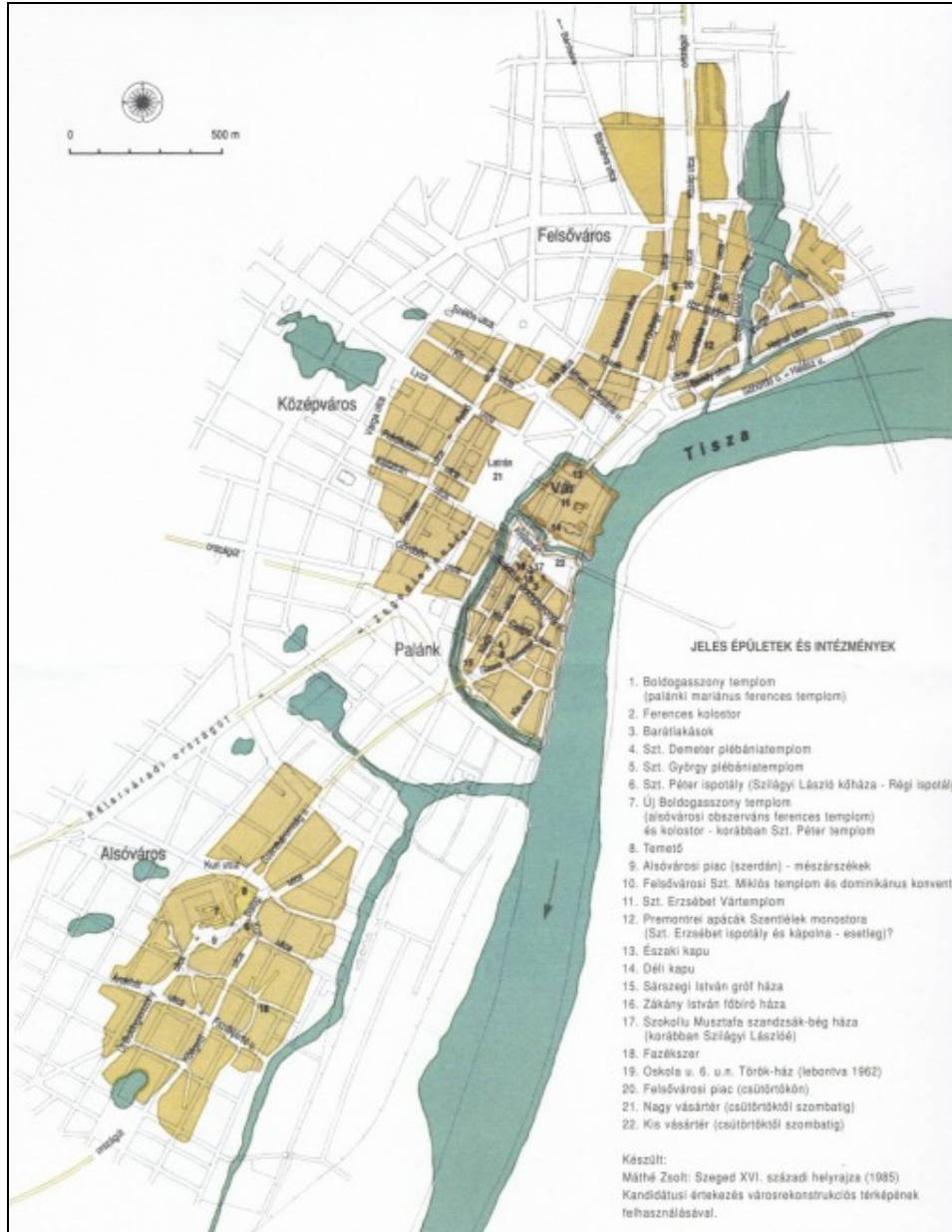
bestowed a significant number of privileges upon the “burghers” of Szeged and Debrecen. Despite the extensive and similar privileges, the differences in the legal position of the towns examined above, foreshadowed the divergent ways of later development. Szeged was able to preserve the status of a royal town, while Debrecen was under the lordship of the members of the Hunyadi family, *i.e.* it was, in fact, under seigneurial jurisdiction. The real break in the development of Debrecen, however, was caused by the unfortunate situation in which John Corvinus had to put it in pledge.



Major trade and military roads in Hungary in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. *Korai Magyar Történeli Lexikon*, 95.



Debrecen around 1340. Korai Magyar Történelmi Lexikon, 163.



Szeged in the sixteenth century.

Blazovich, László, Városok az Alföldön a 14–16. században, between pages 60–61.

LÁSZLÓ SZABOLCS GULYÁS

**ELITE CITIZENS IN THE MARKET-TOWNS
OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL HEGYALJA REGION**

The research of medieval market-towns has old traditions in Hungary. Among others Elemér Mályusz, Jenő Szűcs, Vera Bácskai, Erik Fügedi, Erzsébet Ladányi and András Kubinyi were doing researches on the medieval *oppidum* in Hungary during the last 50 years. These investigations have a common feature: they usually examined the economic functions of these settlements and the role they played in the development of craftsmanship and trade. Another important issue was whether the market-towns contributed to the development of „western-type” citizenship in Hungary. The researches were mainly of general character and focussed on the towns on the national level.¹

Most recently it was András Kubinyi who applied the „central point system” he elaborated in Hungarian town development to the *oppida*. He proved that medieval Hungarian market-towns could be involved in the development of towns from a functional point of view. On this basis, the *oppidum* seems to be more urbanized than it had been though before. Both its outstanding economic

¹ The most important general works in this topic are Bácskai, Vera, *Magyar mezővárosok a 15. században*. Budapest, 1965. (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből. Új sorozat, 37) and Mályusz, Elemér, „A mezővárosi fejlődés”, In: Gy. Székely (ed.), *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században*. Budapest, 1953. 128–191. Besides the origin of the market-towns is examined in Fügedi, Erik, „Mezővárosaink kialakulása a 14. században”, *Történelmi Szemle* 14 (1972) 321–342. From the viewpoint of the economic situation the following studies must be mentioned: Bácskai, Vera, „Mezőgazdasági árutermelés és árucsera a mezővárosokban a 15. században”, *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 6 (1964) 1–35., Makkai, László, „A mezővárosi földhasználat kialakulásának kérdései (A telkes és „kertes” földhasználat a 13–15. században)”, In: A. Bodor–B. Cselényi–E. Jancsó–Zs. Jakó–T. A. Szabó (eds.), *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. Bukarest, 1957. 463–478. and Székely, György, „Vidéki termelőágak és árukereskedelem Magyarországon a 15–16. században”, *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 3 (1961) 309–343. Additional data: Szűcs, Jenő, *Városok és kézművesség a 15. századi Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1955. *passim*. Regarding the market-towns’ legal status and everyday official functions: Bácskai, Vera, „A mezővárosi önkormányzat a 15. században és a 16. század elején”, In: Gy. Bónis–A. Degré (eds.), *Tanulmányok a magyar helyi önkormányzat múltjából*. Budapest, 1971. 9–34., Ladányi Erzsébet, „Az *oppidum* fogalom használata a középkori Magyarországon. Az *oppidumok* jogélete”, *Levéltári Szemle* 42 (1992) 4: 3–12.; Idem, „Liber villa, civitas, *oppidum*. Terminológiai kérdések a magyar városfejlődésben”, *Történelmi Szemle* 23 (1980) 450–477.

role and its function in Hungarian social development makes it important to investigate the issue.² The society of market-towns is not such a popular field amongst medievalists as for instance their economic role. So far it was Vera Bácskai and Elemér Mályusz who mainly investigated the financial situation, family and social relationships and the office-holding of the leading groups in market-towns.³

The most suitable sources for examining the society of medieval market-towns are the records issued by municipal councils. In the medieval Hegyalja region we are in a lucky situation: here we can find densely situated wine-growing settlements, resulting in intensive property-circulation and thus, in an ever greater number of documents issued. A significant type of source for the examination of the town elites are the commercial contracts that make it possible to come to conclusions in family- and social relationships, vineyard-possession, craftsmanship. The appearance of craftsmen in the town councils are closely related with the above sources as well.

About 1200 the territory of the Hegyalja region was royal property. Patak and Újhely were the most important settlements.⁴ The former was the residence of the *comes* of Patak, and the latter obtained city privilege in 1261.⁵ At the beginning both were possessed by the ruler, but in 1390 the Perényi managed to get hold of them.⁶ However, in 1429 King Sigismund granted the privilege of free royal city to Patak. At the same time the Pálóci acquired the entire lordship, including both cities, and held it up to the end of the Middle Ages.⁷ Patak was one of the most important settlements of the family, who also held their residence here.⁸

² See: Kubinyi, András, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén*. Szeged, 2000. (Dél-alföldi évszázadok, 14) and Idem, „Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében”, In: E. Csukovits–T. Lengyel (eds.), *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században*. Budapest, 2005. (Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, 35) 9–36. Kubinyi made a considerable impression on the research of medieval urban history in Hungary. His scholarly achievements were summed up in an article: Kubinyi, András, „Miért lettem a középkor kutatója?”, *Korall* 21–22 (2005) 218–244.

³ Mályusz, Mezővárosi fejlődés, 142–143. and Bácskai, Mezővárosi önkormányzat, 14–17.

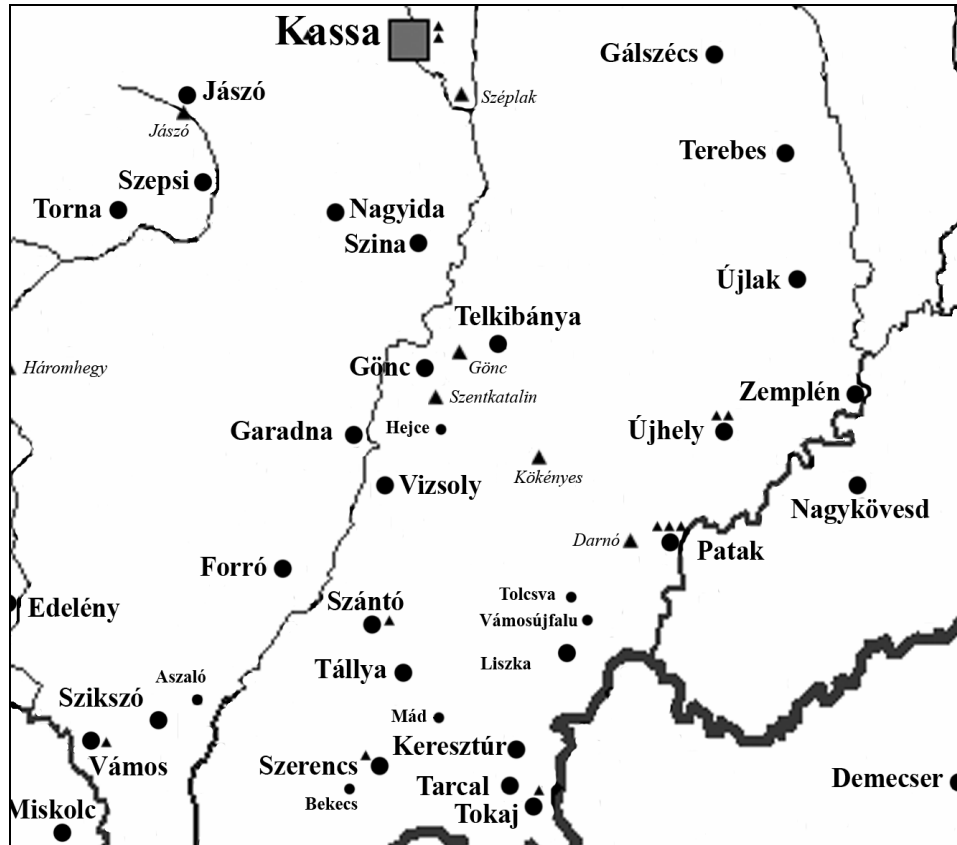
⁴ The early history of Patak and his vicinity was examined in detail in Szűcs, Jenő, „Sárospatak kezdetei és a pataki erdőuradalom”, *Történelmi Szemle* 35 (1993) 1–57. Additional information on these settlements' medieval history: Détsy, Mihály, „A sárospataki r. k. plébániatemplom történetének okleveles adatai”, *Műemlékvédelem* 6 (1969–1970) 89–101., Idem, *Újhely várának története*. Sátoraljaújhelyi Kazinczy Ferenc Múzeum Füzetek, 1). Idem, „Hol állt a középkori sárospataki vár?”, *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 6 (1966) 177–197., and Cs. Csorba–J. Fehér–I. Högye–D. Kováts, *Sátoraljaújhely 1261–1986*. Sátoraljaújhely, 1986.

⁵ *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*. III./2., Ch. Ed. A. Kubinyi. Budapest, 1997. (Acta collegii historiae urbanae societatis historicorum internationalis 43.)

⁶ *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. I–XI., Stud. et op. Georgii Fejér. Buda, 1829–1844. X/1. 340.

⁷ Related sources: National Archives of Hungary, Collection of Medieval Charters (Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár [hereinafter DL] 12 052. and DL 12 092.

⁸ The first data for the castle is from 1444. Détsy, Sárospataki vár, 182.



The most important settlements and ecclesiastical institutions in the region

Újhely, and even to a greater extent Patak were rather urbanized places. Both had *exempt* parishes and two monasteries, besides, the latter had a nunnery, a hospital and a public bath.⁹ Liszka was owned by the chapter of Szepes from the year 1248

⁹ For the exempt status of the churches see: Szűcs, Sárospatak kezdetei, 9–12. and Ladányi Erzsébet, “A „Bodrog-parti Athén” kezdeteiről”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2000) 191–198. 18. footnote and the connecting parts of the text. Other mentioned ecclesiastical institutions appeared in a papal edict in 1418. – *XV. századi pápák oklevelei. V. Márton pápa (1417–1431)*. Ed. P. Lukcsics. Budapest, 1931. (Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár, 1) 49. Additional related sources: Csánki, Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. Vol. I–III., V.. Budapest, 1890–1913. I. 338., Karácsonyi, János, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*. Vol. I–II. Budapest, 1923–1924. II. 529–531.; 556–557. The hospital is mentioned at Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1999. (METEM Könyvek, 22) 266. The earliest data for the bath is from 1515: „Leonardus Germanus provisor pronunc procuratorque domus balnei vaporalis de Patak” – National Archives of Hungary, Photo-collection of Medieval Charters (Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [hereinafter DF]) 217 460.

up to the end of the Middle Ages. In the fifteenth century the market-town was controlled by an *officialis*, who was one of the locals.¹⁰ Tolcsva was first possessed by the Tolcsva *genus* but from 1398 on it was owned by the Debrői, Csicseri, Upori, Cekei, Tárcái and Perényi families.¹¹ Szántó was one of the most significant market-towns in the region. From the thirteenth century it was owned by the Szántói, but by 1459 it was annexed to the lordship of Tokaj. Its importance is clearly shown by the fact that a Franciscan monastery was founded there in the fifteenth century and it was the third populous settlement in Újvár county, having 109 households.¹²

The history of other important settlements in the Hegyalja region (as Vámos-újfalu, Tállya, Mád and Keresztúr) were interwoven into the framework of the lordship of Tokaj. In the fifteenth century the landlords of this territory were the Szilágyi, Brankovics, Szapolyai, and partly the Perényi families.¹³

Apart from these examples, I have examined two market-towns, which are actually not located in the Hegyalja region, but in the near vicinity. Gönc was one of the German villages in the lordship of Vizsoly, and thus it was in the possession of the Queen since the thirteenth century. In 1391 the Bebek family managed to acquire it, but at the end of the Middle Ages the settlement was owned by the king, the Szapolyais, and the chapter of Szepes.¹⁴ In Újvár county Kassa (Košice, Slovakia) was the most populous, while Gönc the second largest about 1420. In 1511 it was licensed to hold four fairs annually. There were two monasteries in the neighbourhood, which also testifies its importance.¹⁵

Szikszó, another of the *oppida* under investigation was by the end of the fourteenth century obtained by the king from the Aba kindred.¹⁶ About 1430 it was

¹⁰ *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica.* Vol. I–II/1. (1001–1272). Ed. I. Szentpétery. Budapest, 1923–1943, II/2.–II/4. (1272–1301), Ed. I. Borsa. Budapest, 1961–1987. (Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 9, 13.), I. 890. The overseer: DF 214 648.

¹¹ *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* I–II/2. (1387–1410), Ed. E. Mályusz. Budapest, 1951–1958. III–VII. (1411–1420), Ed. I. Borsa. Budapest, 1993–2001. VIII–IX. (1421–1422.), Ed. I. Borsa–N. C. Tóth. Budapest, 2003–2004. X. (1423), Ed. N. C. Tóth. Budapest, 2007. (Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok, I, 3–4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43.) I. 5467. and VII. 302., Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz* I. 339., Bándi, Zsuzsa, “Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei (regeszták)”, *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv* 5 (1985) 683–684., Pauleczki, Ferenc, *Tolcsva története.* Tolcsva, 1996. 23–24. The Cekei family kept a provisor in the settlement in 1505: DF 229 262.

¹² Györfly, György, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza. Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae.* Vol. I–III. Budapest, 1963–1987. I. 142–143.; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, I. 200., *Codex Diplomaticus VIII/7.* 153–154. For the monastery: DL 72 087 (1500).

¹³ An adequate summary about the history of the lordship of Tokaj: Németh, Péter, “A tokaji uradalom kialakulása”, *Századok* 139 (2005) 429–447.

¹⁴ Györfly, *Történelmi földrajz*, I. 89. A summary of the medieval history of Gönc: Iványi, Béla, *Gönc szabadalmas mezőváros története.* s. l., 1926.

¹⁵ For the tax look Iványi, Gönc, 8–9. The privilege: DL 39 969. About the monasteries: Joó, Tibor, “A Gönc melletti pálos kolostorok”, *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Közleményei* 24 (1986) 48–58.

¹⁶ Györfly, *Történelmi földrajz*, I. 147–148.

attached to the appurtenance of the lordship of Nagyida castle, built by the Perényis. At the end of the Middle Ages the settlement was partly owned by the Szapolyai.¹⁷

Although these market-towns lived various histories, they have an important feature in common: wine-growing played a very characteristic role in their economic and social life.

ANTECEDENTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The inhabitants of market-towns were of the legal status of villeins, though possessed various communal privileges, for instance exemption from customs and taxes, self-government and to a certain extent they also had the privilege to elect their own judicial authorities. In the fourteenth century the elite in a great proportion had relationships with nobles. The descendants of these families still appear in the middle of the fifteenth century, and it seems they were often in the same financial situation as before. Another part of the elite can also be found in another type of market-towns, i.e. that had been simple villages still in the fourteenth century but developed into *oppida* by the end of the Middle Ages. The rise of this type of townspeople is due to the viticulture and wine-trade.

For instance, townspeople with noble relationships can be found especially in Patak. As seen in the sources, the elite of the fourteenth century considerably differed from that of the following one. We are now to take mainly the lifestyle and wealth into account as the population in these settlements during the fourteenth century was almost similar to the great commercial cities like Buda. By the middle of the fifteenth century the residents of these market-towns had become categorized as *oppidanus*. It means that the legal status of townspeople was similar to that of villeins who lived in villages lacking any privileges.

Let me have a few examples in this regard. In 1302 *Johannes filius Tenkus comes*, a town dweller from Patak, exchanged his building-site and vineyard for a landed property in Szabolcs county. The estate named *Ewzud*, was originally held by the sons of *Keled*. The records show *Keled* originated from the illustrious *Gutkeled* genus and was related to *Johannes*.¹⁸ In 1322 *Hilla* from Patak, a widow of *Vincentius* (formerly, in 1303 and 1305 *iudex*) bequeathed the parts of his estates located in Szepes to her brothers, the sons of *Johannes comes*. However, it was on condition that the mentioned brothers would help her daughter's marriage with a sum of 10 mark in the future.¹⁹

¹⁷ Codex Diplomaticus X/7. 74. The Szapolyai-possession: DL 71 177.

¹⁸ *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. 1301–1387. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. Praeside Julio Kristó. Adiuvantibus Tiburtio Almási, Ladislao Blazovich, Geisa Érszegi, Francisco Makk, Francisco Piti. I–XV. (1301–1331), XVII. (1333), XIX–XX. (1335–1336), XXII–XXVII. (1338–1343). Ed. T. Almási–L. Blazovich–L. Gécz–T. Köfalvi–F. Piti–F. Sebők–I. Tóth. Budapest–Szeged, 1990–2007. I. 280., 281., 730. In 1317 the possessions located in Patak were inherited by their relatives. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* IV. 400.

¹⁹ *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* VI. 441.; DL 57 232., DL 57 233.

Another useful record to demonstrate the townspeople's good social situation is about a *iudex* of Patak named *Beke*, whose brother was the parish priest. The fact that this church was in a very distinguished situation – having an *exempt* status and high incomes from its ecclesiastical district – shows that this family must have been more “aristocratic” than any having a modest town dweller background.²⁰

Nobles probably moved into the settlement from the neighbouring villages. Because Patak was important city in the age of the Angevin kings, it must have been an attractive place to live. In 1337 two brothers arrived to Patak from Nagysemjén, the sons of *Kozma*, *Demeter* and *Nicolaus*, who bought a building-site (*fundus*) in this year for 13 marks. Afterwards their properties were being mentioned again and again. In 1342, for instance, they exchanged their vineyard for another one, paying 20 marks extra payment. By 1350 *Demeter* had died and his relatives entered into a suit at the court of Patak in order to achieve these properties. In the related records *Demeter*'s house, a cellar, vineyards and a curia (in other words *pallatium*) were listed. Some of the family members were evidently in a noble status, thus, it is to be seen that later (in 1358) the king intervened in the long-lasting case and obliged the council of Patak to come to a decision.²¹ This shows that *Demeter* in fact lived in the standards of living of the nobility.

The records testify the existence of this elite in the fifteenth century. Some families appear in the sources from time to time during a relatively long period. If we suppose that the townspeople who had the same „surname” were related to each other, we are also able to construct primitive family trees. Applying this principle we can find long-term family connections between the market-town inhabitants. Most of the examples come from Újhely. There must have been some family relationship amongst persons of named *Zakol*. *Stephanus Zakol* was *iuratus* in 1415 and *iudex* in 1435. *Mathias Zakol* was one of the council-members in 1449, and *Simon Zakal* was an office-holder (*iuratus*) in the council in 1477.²² The members of the family held offices at least five times in an interval of 60 years.

Fabianus Bary, similarly from Újhely was *iudex* in 1414. His descendant of the same name appeared in the records between 1468 and 1479, holding the rank of *iudex* and that of *iuratus* twice.²³ Most probably, there was a family relationship between *Ladislaus Zarvas* (*iudex* in 1386 and 1389), *Jacobus Zarvas* (*iuratus* in 1414 and mayor in 1426) and *Simon Sarwas* (jurist in 1479).²⁴ It is remarkable that the family was being represented in the council in a period of

²⁰ DL 76 598. and DL 76 627. (1339 and 1341).

²¹ The date of moving to Patak is shown in the mentioned charter, issued in 1337. The origin of the brothers is „*de Semyen, nunc vero nostri concives*” – DL 76 553. Additional documents: DL 76 664. (1342), DL 76 988. (1350) and DL 77 244. (1358).

²² DL 10 413., DL 12 793., DL 14 317., DL 18 005.

²³ DL 8797., DL 10 294., DL 10 871., DL 17 631., DL 17 632., DL 17 633., DL 18 005., DL 18 299.

²⁴ DL 7194., DL 7542., DL 10 294., DL 11 888., DL 18 299.

over 90 years. We also have two characteristic examples from the neighbouring Szikszó. *Ladislaus Hennengh* (*iuratus* in 1406 and *iudex* in 1408) was one of the predecessors of *Johannes Dyak Hennengh*, who was the member of the council in 1484. It can be assumed that there was a connection between *Petrus Chany* (*iuratus* in 1414) and *Gregorius Czani* (on another occasion addressed as *Chani*) who occupied the same position in 1482 and 1484.²⁵

A most excellent example underlying a long-lasting family influence in a market-town is from Újhely, where the *Beke* relatives were playing a significant role in the council both in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, in a period of 110 (!) years. The first known member, perhaps the „founder” of the family was *Beke dictus Liztes* (mentioned in 1367) or, addressed as *Beke filius Mikus* (recorded as *iuratus* in 1355 and 1367). One of them was the father of *Thomas filius Beke iudex* (documented in 1375 and 1391). In the following period of about 70 years four additional family members can be found in the settlement: *Matheus Beke* (*iuratus* in 1389), *Valentinus Beke* (1420), *David Beke* (*iudex* in 1454) and, lastly *Egidius Beke* (recorded in 1465).²⁶ It is not unique that from the fourteenth century onwards these elite families managed to keep up their influence in the market-towns. It is possible to find analogies for this type of market-town elite in the neighbouring Telkibánya as well, a prosperous mining town in the fourteenth century. There is a family who were able to maintain and prolong their influence over a span of a hundred years. In 1367 *Georgius Kroprer urburarius* and his brother, named *Konch urburarius* (or on another occasion addressed as *comes et urburarius*) achieved a license from Louis the Great to found and build a hospital in Telkibánya. The grant was also confirmed by the bishop of Eger two years later. They were probably members of a typical *Ringbürger*-family. This terminological expression of medieval social history refers to a wealthy contractor in the mining-industry. After opening the mine, these contractors occupied the positions of the city council from generation to generation.²⁷ The social status of these brothers is also testified by the fact that *Georgius Kroprer* was the mayor of Telkibánya in 1369. By the mid-fifteenth century, when the mines started to be exhausted in the town, Telkibánya was addressed in the sources as a simple *oppidum*. Nevertheless, the *Kroprer* family preserved their leading role. In 1438 one of their descendants, perhaps the son or the grandson of *Georgius Kroprer*, bearing the same name, still had the hospital under control, and owned great properties. A document shows he had a village or lordship, called *Chechuz*, as well as a mill and a vineyard in

²⁵ Hennengh and Dyak Hennengh – DL 9159., DL 10 258. and DF 215 070. The latter is mentioned in Bácskai, Mezővárosi önkormányzat, 16-17. Chany – DL 10 258., DL 18 694. and DF 215 070.

²⁶ In the same order: DL 5634; DL DL 4554., DL 5550., DL 5634; DL 6258., DL 7194., DL 7723; DL 7542; DL 8826; DL 14 898., DL 17114; and DL 16 163.

²⁷ In general: Paulinyi, Oszkár, “Tulajdon és társadalom a Garam-vidéki bányavárosokban”, *Történelmi Szemle* 5 (1962) 173–188.

Szántó. In that year all of these possessions were bequeathed to the Monastery of Virgin Mary in Gönc. In 1444 in his last will, accredited by the town council all of his properties were bequeathed to the St. Katherine hospital, though his stepson, *Mathias*, a priest was left in control of the hospital. The personality of *Mathias* justifies the influence and the outstanding role of the *Kroprer* family. On the one hand, he also had considerable possessions (lordships, a vineyard, a mill and mill-places, building-sites, meadows and so on), on the other hand, he was the parish priest of the town in 1479.²⁸

The *Kropers* were similar to the leading families of Angevin-period Patak. The fourteenth-century elite were probably able to maintain their influence in the long run. It is certain that they were one of the groups which provided the leaders of the society in late medieval market-towns. At the same time, nonetheless, it should be mentioned that in the fifteenth century these old-type leaders can be shown in a lesser proportion in the leadership of the towns. The other and much more important basis for the prominent presence of late medieval elite in the Hegyalja market-towns was mainly wine.

THE ELITE AND THE COUNCIL

From the point of view of their interests, the town council was the most important place for this elite. Participation in the council offered a lot of advantage, for example exemption from tithe (in other words *decima*) and sometimes from other taxes. Moreover, market-towns council members received a fee if issued a document. This is the reason why the townspeople made efforts to become the member of the council, which was in fact a meeting place of the richest town dwellers only.

Elemér Mályusz and Vera Bácskai proved that the office-holder families were permanently represented in the leadership of the market-town.²⁹ To find the reasons why the major offices were concentrated in the hands of the leading families, it is to be stated that some of the elite held an office for a long time and for several occasions as well as managed to have themselves re-elected. For instance, in Újhely *Stephanus filius Blasii* was a council member at least five times, *Johannes Vas*, *Stephanus filius Boda*, *Ladislaus Farkas* and *Stephanus Colbas* held the councillor office four times.³⁰ In Patak *Pethew filius Jacobi* and *Vid filius Erney* were elected mayors five and four times. *Thomas filius Mathie* and *Johannes filius*

²⁸ The documents, concerning the Kroprer family are: Bándi: Pálosok oklevelei, 582–583., 589–591., 593. és 595., and DL 13 819. (1444).

²⁹ Look 3. footnote.

³⁰ DL 8826., DL 7734., DL 8115., DL 8611., DL 7194., DL 7542., DL 8687., DL 10 412., DL 10 871., DL 10 044., DL 11 888., DL 14 317., DL 14 453., DL 14 898., DL 15 141., DL 15 141., DL 17 631., DL 18 590.

Pauli were councillors on several occasions.³¹ The neighbouring market-towns also provide examples for this phenomenon: e.g. in Szikszó (*Lucas Zathmar*) and Tolcsva (*Johannes Faggyas*).³² On certain occasions the careers lasted for decades, for example, there is a time span of 37 years between the first and the last councillorship of a *Stephanus filius Blasii* of Újhely (1389–1426). The time-span in the case of *Stephanus Colbas* is 30, in that of *Johannes Vas* 19 years (1451–1481 and 1400–1419, respectively).³³ This is not surprising. Basically, these settlements were not as populous as the free royal cities, thus, the local power relations did not change a lot, which was also true in the long run.

Office-holders in the Hegyalja region

<i>Name</i>	<i>Oppidum</i>	<i>Iudex</i>	<i>Iuratus</i>	<i>Dates / Appearance in the council</i>	
Pethew filius Jacobi	Patak	1334, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1345		1334–1345	11
Dionisius filius Johannis	Újhely	1383, 1384, 1391	1375, 1383	1375–1391	16
Johannes Vas	Újhely	1400, 1401, 1415, 1419.		1400–1419	19
Vid filius Erne/Erney	Patak	1348, 1350, 1351, 1356		1348–1356	8
Johannes filius Pauli	Patak	1359, 1360, 1361	1356	1356–1361	5
Anthonius Approd	Újhely	1420, 1427	1419, 1420	1419–1427	8
Thomas filius Mathie	Patak		1354, 1356, 1359, 1360	1354–1360	6
Stephanus filius Blasii	Újhely		1389, 1400, 1413, 1426	1389–1426	37
Ladislaus Farkas	Újhely		1449, 1451, 1454, 1457	1449–1457	8
Stephanus Colbas	Újhely		1451, 1457, 1474, 1481	1451–1481	30

³¹ DL 3289., DL 76 494., DL 76 598., DL 76 627., DL 76 757.; DL 76 896., DL 76 988., DF 219 468.; DL 51 842., DL 77 082., DL 77 277., DF 219 468.; DL 47 939., DL 51 842., DL 51 936., DL 77 277., DF 219 468., DF 219 478.

³² Both were office-holder on three occasions. DL 18 694., DL 17 342., DL 17 345., DL 17 346., DL 17 347., DF 215 070., DF 270 458.; DF 217 486., DF 229 261., DF 229 262., DF 229 629.

³³ For the connected sources look 30. footnote.

Another important feature is that the council members were sometimes elected to the position of *iuratus* before holding the office of *iudex*, which could significantly help in achieving an adequate official experience necessary to oversee the affairs of the whole community. Let me have some examples here. In Újhely *Antonius Aprod* was *iuratus* in 1419 and *iudex* in 1420, *Stephanus Zakal* (1415 and 1435) and *Ladislaus filius Thivodori* (1353 and 1362); in Patak *Johannes filius Pauli* (1356 and 1359), in Telkibánya *Johannes Windel* (1428 and 1444), in Tolcsva *Johannes Faggyas* (1505 and 1515) and lastly, in Szikszó *Lucas Zathmar* (1472 and 1482).³⁴ Some leaders were able to re-elect themselves for the next year in office: see for example in Újhely, besides *Antonius Aprod* seen above, *Paulus de Zemlyn* (1354–1355); in Patak *Beke filius Nicolai* (1337–1338), *Nicolaus filius Barnabe magni* (1345–1346) and in Lízka *Lazarus Koch* (1483–1484).³⁵

In the long run, the same families were represented in the town hall. Frequently close relatives were elected to council, also, occasionally, at the same time. The best examples are from Újhely. Let me have two families addressed by a special surname, the *Chok* and the *Sarkan*. *Jacobus Chok* was *iuratus* in 1457, *Paulus Chok* the same in 1477 and *Nicolaus Chok* held the office of the mayor about 50 years later (1509). The last family member in our documents is *Benedictus Chok (iuratus)* in 1515. *Dominicus Sarkan* appeared in the council in 1457. He was one of the jurist in that year, as well as *Jacobus Chok*. *Adam* and *Abraham Sarkan* were in the same position, in 1505 and 1506.³⁶

Besides the family relationship, social connections provide another important factor in gaining offices. In 1457 the council members of Újhely were *Michael Soos iudex*, and *Stephanus Baynok*, *Johannes Warro*, *Mathias Thot* (all of them *iuratus*). Interestingly enough, 18 years later, the same persons held the same offices in the market town.³⁷ It was not by chance. I find these townspeople formed a „party”, constructing a „common front” and in this way managed to win the council election again and again. On the grounds of these data, it is beyond doubt that the elite families shared the council positions with one another. One leader family followed another, and in this distribution of power, they were able to avoid any conflict.

³⁴ The data from Újhely: DL 10 871. and DL 8826.; DL 10 413., DL 12 793.; DL 4329., DL 5151. From Patak: DF 219 468. and DL 51 842. From Telkibánya DL 11 976. and DL 13 819. And from Tolcsva and Szikszó DF 229 261., DF 217 486.; DL 18 694.

³⁵ DL 4430., DL 4554.; DL 76 553., DL 76 584.; DL 76 757., DL 51 371.; DF 272 257. and DF 264 536.

³⁶ DL 15 141., DL 18 005., DL 21 935., DF 217 474. and DL 15 141., DL 35 797., DF 216 809.

³⁷ DL 14 453. and DL 17 750.

VINEYARD-OWNERSHIP AND WINE-TRADE

The most important families, e.g. the *Peteu* from Újhely in the fourteenth century, had considerable landed properties. In her overview, Vera Bácskai published valuable information on the *Peteu* relatives. *Matheus filius Peteu* was a jurist in 1395. He and his brother owned three vineyards altogether, a *fundus* and some cultivated and uncultivated lands.³⁸ To complete these pieces of information, we should add that in 1353 Petow and his son sold 4 acres (*iugerum*) of land for a sum of 4 *fertos*. In 1362 *Antonius filius Peteu* bought the sixth part of a mill for 2 florins. Besides, in 1391 a citizen named *Michael filius Johannis filii Petheu* had a vineyard in *mons Phekethe*. Probably, they were related to one another. In this case the „founder”, or the person whose name became the family surname denomination was *Petew dictus Orrus* that was first testified in 1349.³⁹

It is to illustrate the wealth of the elite that *Johannes Vas*, who was *iudex* in Újhely four times, had great properties. In 1383 he owned two vineyards in the territory of Újhely, (the *Banyehége*) and two others in *Feketheheg* in 1420. Some of his properties (a *fundus* and a vineyard) were obtained through marriage. His wife, *Lucia* was a widow and inherited these estates from her husband, the late *Johannes Usuras*. This was a simplest way to rise to the elite in medieval market-towns.⁴⁰

The *Nemes* from Tolcsva might have originated from a noble kindred, though unfortunately, it is not supported by documentary evidence. It seems that they were one of the most influential families in their locality. *Georgius Nemes* – *iudex* in 1505 – had two sons, *Petrus* and *Adam*. In this year they sold a house and a landed estate to the community of Eperjes (Prešov, Slovakia) for 5 florins. By 1510 *Georgius* had died and his widow sold another *fundus* (with two houses) and landed estates for 7 and a half florins.⁴¹ *Johannes Chontos* from Szikszó was the mayor in 1471. He died before 1484, and his family inherited at least a part of a house and three vineyards.⁴²

In other cases, it is documented that the properties owned by the citizens were very valuable. In Újhely in 1426 *Bartolomeus filius Stanislai*, a council member in 1427 and 1435, bought a vineyard for a huge amount of money, 150 florins. It is very important that sometimes the citizens owned great amounts of money.⁴³ In 1520 *Scholastica* – a wife of a wealthy citizen (*Georgius Gara*) in Tolcsva, and his half-brother, *Michael* was the local parish priest – sold her vineyard for 180

³⁸ Bácskai, Mezővárosi önkormányzat, 15.

³⁹ DL 4329., DL 5151., DL 7734., DL 4026.

⁴⁰ DL 8826., DL 10 886.

⁴¹ DF 229 261., DF 229 262., DF 229 381., DF 229 629.

⁴² DL 17 342., DL 17345., DL 17 346., DL 17 347., DF 215 070., DF 270 458.

⁴³ DL 11 900., DL 12 793., DL 11 888.

florins.⁴⁴ In 1484 *Georgius Swytho* from Liszka sold his vineyard for 100 florins to his landlord, *Caspar prepositus*.⁴⁵ In 1408 *Martinius* vine-dresser sold three vineyards, one for 100 florins.⁴⁶

It seems that the citizens made efforts to buy vineyards not only in their localities but also in the neighbouring settlements, and became *extraneus* possessors in other market-towns as well. This type of ownership sometimes resulted in marriages with locals and created new family relationships. The presence in some other market-towns at the same time must have most probably increased the influence of the family. The phenomenon is to be demonstrated through examples. At the end of the Middle Ages the *Perey*-family lived in Liszka, Tállya and Szántó (1484–1521). *Gregorius Barthalyws*, who lived in Liszka must have also been related to *Barabas Barthalyws* from Tolcsva. *Scholastica* from Tolcsva, mentioned above had a younger sister, *Cristina*, whose husband, *Thomas Thoth* was from Olaszi.⁴⁷

A significant part of the leading families traded with wine. For instance, *Gregorius Rochmann* from Újhely, *iudex* in 1518 was trading with Bártfa. Since the price of the wine had not been paid to him, he appealed to the city. The litigation was successful. By 1521 the council of Bártfa had made a decision that the debtor had to pay him 14 florins.⁴⁸ Besides, the case of *Paulus Rezik* from Gönc should be mentioned. The council of his market-town also appealed to Bártfa in 1514, in order to make them to pay the price of the wine Rezik sold there. The social relations of Rezik's can be clearly shown by the fact that the following day *Nicolaus Kapi*, a castellan of Szárd, sent another letter to the council in the same matter.⁴⁹ A great number of corresponding evidence can be found from other neighbouring market-towns. The influence of the market-town elite in later medieval Hegyalja is based on their possessions, mainly in vineyards.

⁴⁴ DF 229 629.

⁴⁵ DF 264 539.

⁴⁶ DL 9452

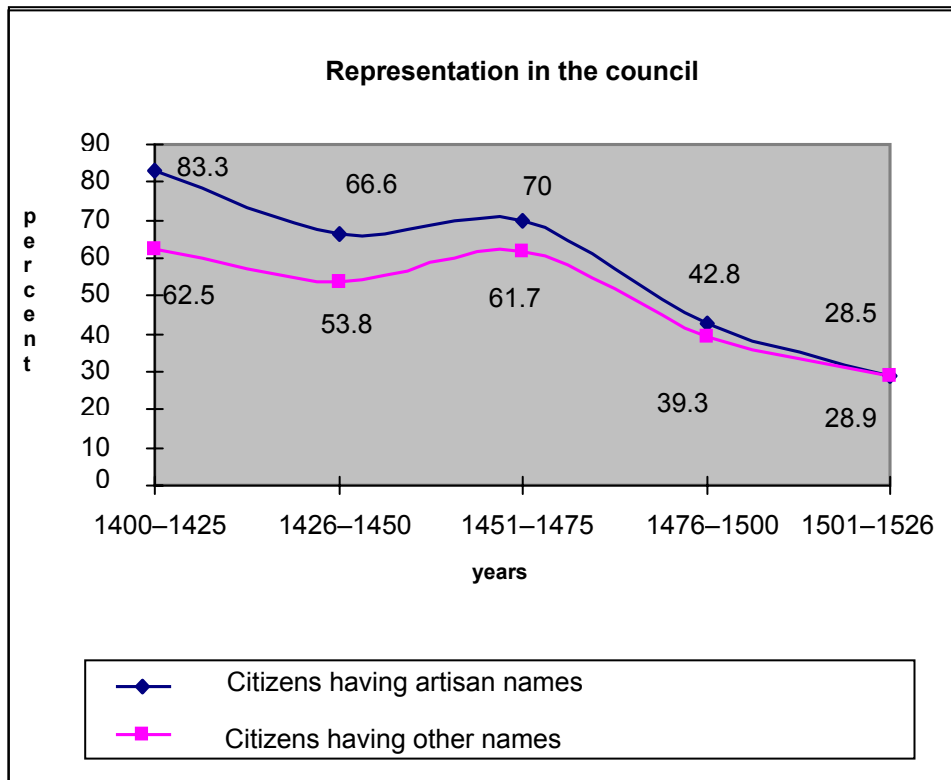
⁴⁷ The *Pereys*: DF 217 915., DF 217 941., DF 264 539. The *Barthalyws*-relatives: DL 31 964.; DF 229 261. *Scholastica* – DF 229 629.

⁴⁸ DF 217 669. and DF 217 937.

⁴⁹ DF 217 431. and DF 217 882.

THE ELITE AND THE CRAFTSMANSHIP

It is widely accepted in Hungarian historical scholarship that the personal names created from artisan's denominations go back to the real occupation. This is due to the fact that we do not have adequate sources to investigate the situation of craftsmanship in medieval market-towns. This is a basic problem, not only of the historians but linguists. The most important question is whether the personal names, about the end of the fifteenth century, turned into inheritable names or not. At the beginning they did not testify the real profession of a person. There are a sufficient number of this kind of names in the documents issued by the market-towns. Therefore, the connection between artisan names and the membership of the council can be investigated.



Craftsmanship and council offices in the Hegyalja

We chose to investigate 140 charters from the related sources, containing 1342 personal names of altogether 875 male townspeople, of which 695 are from the period after 1390.⁵⁰ In this period the proportion of people having personal names created from artisan names is about 12%, i.e. 82 persons. It can be concluded that townspeople having artisan names were represented in councils in a greater proportion than within the entire population. While it was only 40 per cent of an ordinary townspeople that obtained council offices, it was almost 50 per cent in the case of those having personal names of craft denomination origins. This is an important result, since scholarship has already proved that craftsmen were generally wealthier than ordinary townspeople, and thus they were more frequently able to acquire council positions.⁵¹ On the grounds of this it seems that they were craftsmen in fact.

Another important conclusion is that this difference was continuously decreasing during the fifteenth century. At the end of the Middle Ages townspeople addressed by artisan names were represented in the council in a lesser proportion than the average. It is related to a basic linguistic change. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, artisan names in most of the most cases had turned into inheritable surnames and did not give any clue to the occupation in fact.

To sum up, craftsmanship was in a way connected with council membership. It can be observed that an artisan had better chances to become council member than an everyday town dweller. However, in the Hegyalja region it seems it was easier to earn councillorship with owning vineyards and trading with wine.

THE SELF-RESPECT OF THE ELITE

The charters issued by the townspeople demonstrate that there was a kind of a self-respect in the case of the leading families as well as in terms of their relationship with their landlords. As opposed to a simple village, market towns possessed legal personality⁵² (*persona authentica*), that is, their townspeople were able to defend their rights together, as a community and in legal terms. The community of Patak took definite steps to protect their inhabitants. In 1363 and 1389 Patak townspeople were charged with the violation of the law, and the council evidently tried to defend them. In the fourteenth century a town dweller

⁵⁰ The details of this examination are published in Gulyás, László Szabolcs, "Középkori mezővárosi foglalkozásneveink forrásértékéről", *Századok* 142 (2008) 437–462. The article also summarizes the most important achievements in the field of historiography and linguistics. The personal names used are published in Gulyás, László Szabolcs, "Mezővárosi személynevek a középkori Északkelet-Magyarországról", *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 45 (2007) 151–187.

⁵¹ Mainly Vera Bácskai and György Granasztói. Gulyás, Mezővárosi foglalkozásneveink, 440–441.

⁵² Ladányi, *Az oppidum fogalom*, 5.

could only be summoned and sued at the court of his own locality, the council was able to protect him by hindering the investigation.⁵³

It seems obvious that the inhabitants of market-towns had a strong self-respect, and they were absolutely aware of their rights. There were three reasons for this self-awareness. Firstly, they considered themselves as real citizens, similar to that of the chartered royal free cities of Kassa, Bártfa or Eperjes. It is made clear in the terminology used in the documents issued by market-towns. In these sources the clerks of the settlements regularly used the following words, concerning the structure of the council, the town or the citizenship: *civitas*, *circumspectus*, *consul*, *pretor*, *scabinus*, *communitas*, and mainly: *cohors*.⁵⁴ The use of these terms is parallel with the practice of the free royal cities.

The other important origin of their identity was based on the local customary law used in the sale of property. It was consciously made use of by the members of the council, and was mentioned again and again in the charters.⁵⁵ In 1358 Patak wrote a letter to Louis the Great in order to protest against a civil case versus their citizen. The leaders bravely complained about the intervention to a family succession.⁵⁶

Perhaps the third basis of their self-respect was the person of their landlord. The lord usually did not intervene in the affairs and customs of the community, as he would not be able to understand them. They intervened only in case when peace and order was threatened. In 1419 László Perényi sent his delegate, the parish priest of Patak to Újhely in order to solve a prolonged case.⁵⁷ On some other occasions the landlord tried to defend the town or improve the way of life of the inhabitants. In 1409 the Perényis protested at the king, because the tax-collectors wanted to levy *lucrum camararum* on the inhabitants of Patak, and they

⁵³ In the first occasion, the council answered to the charge in the following way: „*ipsi in premissis ... innocentes essent penitus et immunes, neque scirent qui de civitate predicta hec perpetrassent.*” *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára*. Vol. I–XII. Eds. Nagy Imre–Nagy Iván–Véghely Dezső–Kammerer Ernő–Lukcsics Pál. Pest. Budapest, 1871–1931. III. 155. The second case – Zichy IV. 338.; 350.; 340. The document testifies that the council of Patak „*super predictis rebus nullum iudicium seu iustitiam inpendere curassent*” and, however they were cited to a royal court, „*coram nobis expectati non venerunt, nec miserunt*”.

⁵⁴ Examples in the same order: DL 68 674., DF 218 040., DL 17 342., DL 8826., DF 221 294., DL 76 452., DL 21 935., DF 219 468.

⁵⁵ We have numerous instances, e.g. „*more et consuetudine nostre civitatis*” – DL 9159., „*iuxta ritum seu libertatem nostre civitatis ab antico approbatam*” – DF 219 563., „*iuxta morem et consuetudinem ac robur et vigorem loci eiusdem, prout inibi moris est*” – DF 215 141., „*extra consuetudinem nostram antiquam*” – DL 21 935.

⁵⁶ The inhabitants of Patak asked the king that „*in eadem libertate nostra, nos conservare velitis, ne in fungendo ipsam libertatem vestram, civitas plus minuat, et nos grande preiudicium et dampna per hoc patiamur*”. – DL 77 244. It was also mentioned at Mályusz, Mezővárosi fejlődés, 150.

⁵⁷ DL 10 872.

succeeded.⁵⁸ Sometimes the townspeople also expected the lord to support them. In 1487, inhabitants of Liszka asked their landlord, the *prepositus* of Szepes 25 florins. As they wrote, they had become poor and were not able to pay the royal tax.⁵⁹ The data from the Hegyalja region show that the former assumption that the main aim of the landlord was to decrease the privileges of market-towns is not true.⁶⁰ In 1515 a town dweller from Újhely sold wine to an inhabitant of Bártfa, and the price was not paid off, the council appealed to the city. At the end of the letter the members of the council mentioned that their landlord would absolutely support them in getting back the money.⁶¹ It seems that inhabitants of medieval market-towns saw the lord as a real defender of their rights, highly appreciating this support.

In 1522 the council of Gönc wrote a letter to Bártfa in a similar case, and one of their townspeople was addressed as *concivis* and *iobagio* of their landlord.⁶² It is not by chance. The council tried to threaten the debtor with their lords' position. This status was an important element of their self-respect. The more influential was the landowner, the more courageous they became. They thought their situation had two sides. They were the villains of their „good” lord and, at the same time, *concivis* members of the community of their market-towns. The main condition of being a real „citizen” was the agreement and good connection between the inhabitants and the lord. We should interpret the phrase „*civis*” of a market-town in that way.

⁵⁸ ZsO. II. 6928.

⁵⁹ The citizens „*per presentem taxam regietatis dietim veximus, quia unde a nobis solvere fieri possit, inhabemus multi ex nobis qui dicati sunt metere se ad alias possessiones alienaverit propter ipsarum inopias*”. They tried to describe the seriousness of their situation: „*ut a fauce draconis nos deliberare valemus... quia neminem preter Deus adiutorem, protectorem ac defensorem habemus*”. – DF 264 546.

⁶⁰ Bácskai, Mezővárosi önkormányzat, 10.

⁶¹ The money might have been received by the will of the lord: „*nam alias, ex mandato patroni ac domini nostri magnifici, nos id, quod nostrum est, quoquomodo poterimus*”. – DF 217 474.

⁶² „*nostro concivi oppidi iam predicti ac jobagioni domini nostri Wayvode Transsilvaniensis justitia administrare velitis*”. – DF 218 040.

ZSOLT SIMON

**THE TRADE OF HUNGARY WITH WALLACHIA
AND MOLDAVIA DURING THE REIGN
OF MATTHIAS CORVINUS**

In the late Middle Ages Hungary had intense commercial relations with his Eastern and South-Eastern neighbours, i.e. Moldavia and Wallachia. These contacts gained importance from the middle of fourteenth century on and by the end of fifteenth century these two countries had become significant trading partners of Hungary.¹

¹ For the history of medieval commercial relations between Hungary and Moldavia and Wallachia, see: Horváth, Jenő, *Az erdélyi szászok közgazdasági viszonyai a nemzeti fejedelemség megalakulásáig* [The Economic Situation of the Transylvanian Saxons until the Formation of the National Principality]. Gyula, 1905. (Művelődéstörténeti értekezések, 15) 44–73. Nistor, Ioan, *Die auswärtige Handelbeziehungen der Moldau im XIV, XV, und XVI Jahrhundert*. Gotha, 1911. 89–171. Nistor, Ioan, *Handel und Wandel in der Moldau bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Cernăuți, 1912. Jickeli, Otto Fritz, „Der Handel der Siebenbürger Sachsen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung”, *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. Neue Folge 39 (1913) 58–65. 77–81. Metes, Ștefan, *Relațiile comerciale ale Țării-Românești cu Ardealul până în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Sighișoara, 1920. 11–120. Iorga, Nicolae, *Istoria comerțului românesc. Epoca veche*. București, 1925. Pascu, Ștefan, „Relațiile economice dintre Moldova și Transilvania în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare” [The Economic Relations between Moldavia and Transylvania in the Time of Stephen the Great], In: *Studii privind Ștefan cel Mare*. [Studies about Stephen the Great]. Bucharest, 1956. 203–217. esp. 207–216. Manolescu, Radu, „Relațiile comerciale ale Țării Românești cu Sibiul la începutul veacului al XVI-lea”, *Analele Universității C. I Parhon. Seria Științelor Sociale (Istorie)* 5 (1956) 207–260. Manolescu, Radu, *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei cu Brașovul (secolele XIV–XVI)*. București, 1965. especially 18–42. Pach, Zsigmond Pál, „A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonal a 15–16. század fordulóján”, *Századok* 112 (1978) 1005–1038. Papacostea, Șerban, „Începuturile politicii comerciale a Țării Românești și Moldovei (secolele XIV–XVI). Drum și stat” [The Beginnings of Walachia and Moldavia’s Comercial Politics (14th–16th centuries). Road and State], In: Idem, *Geneza statului în evul mediu românesc. Studii critice*. Cluj–Napoca, 1988. 151–204. Gonța, Alexandru I, *Legăturile economice dintre Moldova și Transilvania în secolele XIII–XVII* Ediție, prefață, bibliografie și indice I Caproșu. București, 1989. 46–115. Pakucs-Willcocks, Mária, *Sibiu – Hermannstadt. Oriental Trade in Sixteenth Century Transylvania*. Köln, 2007. (Städteforschung, Reihe A: Darstellungen, 73) 6–33. Teke, Zsuzsanna, „Economics and Politics: The Relations between the Transylvanian Saxon Cities and Stephen III of Moldavia (1457–1490)”, In: *Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus and their Time. In Memoriam Virgil Cândea et András Kubinyi*. Eds. László Koszta, Ovidiu Mureșan, Alexandru Simon. Cluj–Napoca, 2007. (Mélanges d’Histoire Générale. Nouvelle Série I., Section I., Between Worlds, 1) 161–168. For the importance of these commercial links, see: Papacostea, Șerban, „Comerț, alianțe și acțiune militară în politica lui Ștefan cel Mare la începuturile domniei (1457–1462)”, In: *Ștefan cel*

A serious difficulty in the study of the medieval trade between Hungary and Moldavia and Wallachia is that only a few statistical records were being kept. From the reign of Matthias Corvinus only one customs register survived, that of Braşov from 1480–1481, which was studied by Radu Manolescu and Gernot Nussbächer.² On the other hand, charters testifying these commercial contacts survived in a much greater number, but despite their relative richness, in a comprehensive way they have not been examined systematically. These charters are kept almost exclusively in the archives of those three Transylvanian merchant-towns located near the border of Hungary and the two Romanian principalities where the twentieth-offices (*vigesima*; customs-offices of external trade) functioned:³ Braşov, Sibiu, Bistriţa (in Hungarian/German: Brassó/Kronstadt, Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt and Beszterce/Bistritz or Nösen).⁴ Most of the documents refer to trade through Braşov, probably because of its significance. Since the charters are almost exclusively of legal and administrative character and contain

Mare şi Sfânt. Atlet al credinţei creştine. Putna, 2004. 445–447. 450–454. For the value of the trade between medieval Hungary and each of his trading partners around 1500. see: Fügedi Erik, „Magyarország külkereskedelme a XVI század elején”, In: Idem, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról.* Budapest, 1981. 366–368. Simon Zsolt, „A baricsi és kölpényi harmincadok a 16. század elején”, *Századok* 140 (2006) 823.; Goldenberg, S[amuel], „Despre vama (vigesima) Sibiului în secolul al XVI-lea”, *Acta Musei Napocensis* 2 (1965) 673–674.

² Manolescu, 1965. passim. Nussbächer, Gernot: „Un document privind comerţul Braşovului cu Moldova la sfârşitul secolului XV (I–IV)”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” din Iaşi* 21 (1984) 425–437. 22 (1985) 667–678. 23 (1986) 325–342. 25 (1988) 319–330. (With the edition and the Romanian translation of this customs register). There survived only two of sources like this, both from the beginning of the sixteenth century, analyzed in Manolescu, 1956. and Manolescu, 1965.

³ There was also a fourth customs-office in Caransebeş (Karánsebes), which, most probably, not only Hungarian-Ottoman/Serbian, but also Hungarian-Wallachian trade was going through, but I have not yet found any data referring to this in the Matthias-period. For a list (and the geographical location) of customs-offices of later medieval Hungary see: Simon, 2008. 816–820.

⁴ Most of these charters are published, the ones issued before 1486 in *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6. Ed. Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer, Konrad G. Gündisch. Bucureşti, 1981. [hereinafter: *Ub*, Vol. 6.] and *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7. Ed. Gündisch, Gustav, Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer, Konrad G. Gündisch. Bucureşti, 1991. [hereinafter: *Ub*, Vol. 7] Those issued in Old Slavonic are published in Bogdan, Ioan, *Documente şi regeste privitoare la relaţia Țării Româneşti cu Braşovul şi cu Ungaria în secolele XV. şi XVI* [Documents and Regests Regarding the Relation of Wallachia with Braşov and Hungary in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries] Bucureşti, 1902. Idem, *Documente privitoare la relaţia Țării Româneşti cu Braşovul şi cu Țara Ungurească în secolele XV. şi XVI* [Documents Regarding the Relation of Wallachia with Braşov and Hungary in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries] Bucureşti, 1905.; Dragomir, Silviu, *Documente nouă privitoare la relaţiile Țării Româneşti cu Sibiul în secolii XV–XVI* Cluj, [1927]. Tocilescu, Grigore G., *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească şi Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul (1346–1603)*. Bucureşti, 1931. (I used a slightly shorter version of this last book: *527 documente istorice slavo-române din Țara-Românească şi Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Braşovul 1346–1574. Tipărite la Viena în 1905–1906 în atelierile Adolf Holzhausen.* Bucureşti, 1931.)

few records of purely economic character, the paper will largely focus on legal and administrative aspects. Since the Hungarian and Wallachian-Moldavian commercial links are discussed mainly chronologically in historical research, the paper will concentrate on its structural aspects.

As far as the historical background is concerned, in the period under investigation the Romanian Voivods were all balancing between stronger neighbours, the Ottoman Empire, Hungary and Poland, who rivalled to dominate them, though it is to be stated that Poland did not play a considerable role in Wallachian affairs. The situation was much more instable in Wallachia, characterized by relatively frequent, and in most cases violent changes in power. Moldavia enjoyed a much more stable policy as Stephen the Great's position on the throne was relatively firm.⁵ As a consequence, the rapidly changing political situation was much affecting the development of external trade.

Firstly, I will give a short overview of the legal framework of external commerce, starting with the stimulating factors. The sources most frequently mention the right of free trade granted by Romanian rulers to Hungarian subjects. During the period under investigation the earliest evidence of this liberty in Wallachia can be found in a charter of March 1470 issued by Voivod Radu III the Handsome, which was repeatedly reconfirmed afterwards. Radu III, stating that although the inhabitants of Braşov did not suffer any trouble since he ascended the throne (i.e. in 1462), the people of Braşov took away his subjects' goods, announced that he would make an arrangement with Matthias' envoy, according to

⁵ For the political relations of the two Romanian states with Hungary during the reign of Matthias, see: Conduratu, Grigore C., *Relaţiunile Țării-Româneşti și Moldovei cu Ungaria pînă la anul 1526*. Bucureşti, 1898. 151–206. 388–434.; Pârvan, Vasile, „Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Ungaria” [The Relations between Stephen the Great and Hungary] In: Idem, *Studii de istorie medie și modernă* [Studies of Medieval and Modern History]. Ed. Lucian Nastasă. Cuvânt înainte și studiu introductiv de Al. Zub. Bucharest, 1905. 1990². 129–206. Elekes, Lajos, *Nagy István moldvai vajda politikája és Mátyás király* [The Politics of Stephen, Voivode of Moldavia, and King Matthias]. Budapest, 1937. Sabău, Ioan, “Relațiile politice dintre Moldova și Transilvania în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare” [The Political Relations between Moldavia and Transylvania in the Time of Stephen the Great] In: *Studii privind Ștefan cel Mare*. [Studies about Stephen the Great] Bucharest, 1956. 219–241. Șimanschi, Leon–Agache, Dumitru, „Un deceniu de ostilitate moldo-ungară (1460–1469)”, In: *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt 1504–2004. Portret în legendă*. Putna, 2003. 334–366. Pop, Ioan-Aurel, „Relațiile între Transilvania și Moldova în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare”, In: *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt 1504–2004*. 2003. 419–433. Pop, Ioan-Aurel, „Relations between Stephen the Great and Transylvania”, In: *Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus and their Time*, 2007. 125–136. Edroiu, Nicolae, „An Aspect of the Political and Private Relations between Matthias Corvinus and Stephen the Great: The Transylvanian Estates of the Rulers of Moldavia”, In: *Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus and their Time*, 2007. 151–160. Șerban, Constantin, „Relațiile lui Vlad Țepeș cu Transilvania și Ungaria”, *Revista de Istorie* 29 (1976) 1697–1720. Mitea, Daniela, „Relațiile Țării Românești cu Transilvania în timpul domniilor lui Basarab IV cel Tânăr (Țepeluș)” [Wallachia's Relations with Transylvania during the Reigns of Basarab IV the Younger (Țepeluș)] *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca. Series Historica* 46 (2007) 285–302.

which the trade would be mutually free. In the same letter the Voivod privileged the burghers of Braşov to practise free trade in Wallachia, with the exception of fox, lynx and stone marten furs, which they had to transport to the Treasury. Finally Radu III requested the council of Braşov to provide in 25 days a written security for his subjects, containing that his subjects could travel until Oradea (Nagyvárad/Großwardein) and that they could deposit their goods in Braşov.⁶ However, a charter of Radu III dated between 1464 and 1470 seems to contradict his affirmation, according to which the people of Braşov did not suffer any trouble between 1462 and 1470. Testified by this document, Radu III did not grant the liberty of free trade for the inhabitants of Braşov unless they would pay the 11,000 florins of the Wallachians subjects back which remained in Braşov.⁷ The contradiction can be resolved if the second record was dated at a later time, i.e. after March 1470. It seems certain that Radu III, in 1468 the latest, introduced a staple right in Wallachia, as opposed to the merchants of Braşov. The details of this staple right can not be seen from the available documentation, in the historical literature it was only linked to the privilege given to Braşov and the Barcaság (Țara Bârsei/Burzenland) district in September 1468 in which Matthias Corvinus obliged the Moldavian and Wallachian traders to deposit and sell their wares in Braşov.⁸ With the end of the reign of Radu III the staple right was annulled, and the next Voivod, Basarab III the Old or Basarab Laiotă in a charter issued after March 1474 re-confirmed the arrangements of his predecessors with Braşov and granted the inhabitants of Braşov the liberty of free trade in Wallachia.⁹ In July 1475 Basarab Laiotă renewed the commercial privileges given by his father, Dan and by other „ancient rulers” to the inhabitants of Braşov. Without discussing the text of these charters in detail, it is to be pointed out that one of the major assets of the grant was that in case of any disagreement the burghers were licensed to appeal directly to the Voivod.¹⁰ Before January 1476 Basarab Laiotă confirmed to the council of Sibiu that the both his subjects and the inhabitants of Sibiu could travel freely to and fro Wallachia and Transylvania.¹¹ In October 1476 Vlad III the Impaler, a pretender of Wallachia, guaranteed free trade in the coun-

⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 77. I would like to mention that in 1456. after ascending unto the throne for the first time and in 1457 Vlad the Impaler also granted the liberty of free trade to the merchants of Braşov; though in a few years’ time their relationship worsened. See below. For the dating of the document of 1457 see: *Ub*, Vol. 5. Nr. 3093.

⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3349.

⁸ Papacostea, 1988. 172–178. The charter of Matthias: *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3647. In 1369 Braşov received a staple-right for the cloths imported by German, Polish and „other foreign” traders, and in 1395. for the wares transported to Wallachia. Manolescu, 1965. 24. 43–44. Pach, 1975. 4–8. Pakucs, 2007. 10–14.

⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 81. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 3992.

¹⁰ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4059. Tocilescu, 1931. 88. Other sources mentioning free trade: Tocilescu, 1931. 92., 94–95. 128.

¹¹ Dragomir, [1927]. 14.

try.¹² Ascending on to the throne, he kept his promise and announced already in November that the „Lord made the routes free everywhere” (particularly mentioning those of Rucăr, Prahova, Teleajen and Buzău) for the inhabitants of Braşov and told them that they could freely pass everywhere in Wallachia.¹³

Relatively large number of documents referring to the free trade have survived that were issued by the following Voivod, Basarab IV the Young or Țepeluş. Accordingly, sometime before 12 March 1477 he made a treaty with Sibiu to make possible for both parties to move freely in one another’s territories. Parallely, the treasurer wrote to the council of Sibiu that the king had found this agreement useful and that the people of Sibiu had not done anything wrong.¹⁴ In a charter dated after November 1477 Basarab Țepeluş guaranteed free trade for the inhabitants of Braşov, also highlighting that they had been enjoying this liberty until that time, and asked the same for his subjects in the Barcaság district.¹⁵ In a document dated between 1477 and 1482 Basarab IV ensured again the free trade for the inhabitants of Braşov, and promised that in case of any damage of theirs he would make up for the loss. The Voivod asked again the privilege of free trade for his subjects in the Barcaság and requested also a letter of credence from the council of Braşov, which would guarantee the Wallachians would trade freely during war-times as well.¹⁶ In another document, issued after 9 January 1478 Basarab Țepeluş stated that he had formerly licensed free trade for the inhabitants of Braşov and asked from their council a letter to guarantee the same liberty for the Wallachians in Braşov.¹⁷ Between May and October 1479 the ruler, at the request of the Transylvanian Voivod István Báthori, gave the liberty of free trade for all Transylvanian merchants in Wallachia and also ensured a free return journey for them. In turn, Basarab Țepeluş requested a license of free trade for his subjects in the whole of Transylvania and asked the Voivod not to let his enemies through Transylvania.¹⁸ At about 27 October 1479 he announced that he also re-guaranteed the free movement of the envoys and traders of Braşov in Wallachia. He also declared that he wished to keep all of their agreements (though he did not mention the content of them).¹⁹ On 27 October and also sometime around this date Basarab IV wrote to the council of Braşov to let their merchants to trade freely in Wallachia.²⁰ Between August 1481 and March/April 1482 the Voivod informed the council of Braşov that according to the content of

¹² Tocilescu, 1931. 96.

¹³ Tocilescu, 1931. 98.

¹⁴ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4178.

¹⁵ Tocilescu, 1931. 106.

¹⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 119–120.

¹⁷ Tocilescu, 1931. 106–107.

¹⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 110.

¹⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 112.

²⁰ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4319. Tocilescu, 1931. 118.

his treaty with Matthias Corvinus both parties were licensed to trade freely.²¹ After 23 March 1482 the next Voivod, Vlad IV the Monk granted the merchants of Braşov free trade ranging up to the line of the Danube, i.e. in the whole country, but he stated that the traders of Wallachia were similarly licensed to trade freely in the territories of Braşov.²² In July 1482 or 1483 the ruler denied that he had allowed the merchants of Braşov to come only until Târgşor, but re-confirmed that the merchants of Braşov were permitted to move freely up to the Danube.²³ The earliest exact record referring to the grant of free trade is from 15 November 1482²⁴, followed by a number of mentions, e.g. charters issued between 1484 and 1486 and between 1482 and 1490, in tell that the prince opened all the routes through Wallachia for the merchants of Braşov, so they could move up to Brăila, Floci and the harbours of the Danube.²⁵

In Matthias' reign the ruler of Moldavia, Stephen the Great, issued guarantees for free trade for the inhabitants of Braşov in his principality for the first time in March 1458.²⁶ It was followed in January 1472 by another privilege extending the liberty to all kind of wares.²⁷ Matthias Corvinus, possibly in exchange for the aforementioned privilege, in January 1473 announced that the Romanians from Moldavia can trade freely under his special protection and gave them a *salvus conductus*.²⁸ Stephen the Great confirmed the liberty for the third time in a charter issued on 10 July 1473 or 1474, extended over for all Hungarian subjects, in time of peace and in time of war as well.²⁹ If this document was issued 1475, as it had been formerly believed, it is to be linked to the oath Stephen the Great took to King Matthias, as the oath-letter of 12 July 1475 states that the merchants of the two countries could not be arrested, but every trader should seek his justice at his ordinary judge and that they should be free and safe.³⁰

In one or two cases special measures were taken to assure free traffic. According to the „peace” made between Braşov and Stephen the Great, mentioned in a

²¹ Tocilescu, 1931. 126.

²² Tocilescu, 1931. 154.

²³ Tocilescu, 1931. 150.

²⁴ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Ţara Românească*, Vol. 1. (1247–1500). Eds. P. P. Panaitescu, Damaschin Mioc, Bucharest, 1966. 295.

²⁵ Tocilescu, 1931. 155. 159.

²⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 506.

²⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3905.

²⁸ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3940.

²⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 514–515. The datation: Drăgan, Ioan, „Un român ardelean în solie la Ştefan cel Mare la 1475”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași* 24/2 (1987), apud Pop, 2003. 421., 421. note 12. The most recent editor of this document was not sure whether the year of issue, unstated in the document, is 1475. and formerly, N. Stoicescu had dated the charter to the years 1457–1458. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4058.

³⁰ Kiss, András, „Mi sérti az önérzetet? Ştefan cel Mare oklevele Mátyás királlyal való hűbéri viszonyáról”, In: Idem, *Más források – más értelmezések*. Marosvásárhely, 2003. (Erdély Emlekezete) 225.

letter sent from Braşov to Vaslui on 27 May 1460, the Moldavians were not to hinder or arrest the inhabitants of Braşov in Moldavia, nor to take their goods away, especially not for the debts of others; and, if some of them would have a difference with a citizen of Braşov, he should seek his justice in front of the council of Braşov. According to this decision, similar liberties were assured for Moldavian citizens as well.³¹ In 1481 Cazan, the great *vornic* (palatine) of Wallachia ordered the boyars Mihăilă, Bârcă and Oprea to allow the traders of Braşov to return along the routes through Prahova and Teleajen as well as let the citizens of both countries pass free and not harm the Saxons.³² After 23 March 1482 *jupan* Dragomir Udrişte asked Braşov to intervene to make free all the routes, because, as he explained, only if the traffic was open, could they transmit news about the Ottomans easily and quickly.³³ Although this action had a political purpose, it should have had led to the same results in terms of commerce as the two measures described above.

From time to time the Romanian rulers asked for an exemption from paying customs duties for the wares which they intended to buy in Braşov. For example, Radu III appealed in this regard after 15 August 1462,³⁴ then, repeatedly in 1475 and 1476 as well as Basarab Laiotă after 16 January 1476 (on behalf of one of his servants),³⁵ furthermore Stephen the Great in 1482.³⁶ As Basarab Laiotă, in a letter dated in 1475/1476, asserted that he had never paid customs fees in Braşov,³⁷ it seems probable that the rulers did not usually pay external customs fees. Between 1482 and 1492 even *jupan* Dragomir Udrişte asked the same exemption for his wares, and although for the first time he was promised exemption, later on this was rejected.³⁸ On 30 October 1467 Matthias exempted all peoples „of whichever language” coming from “external parts” from all customs up to the time of the next fair – 1 November – in Braşov and in the same way, all citizens of Braşov going from this fair everywhere.³⁹ It is highly probable that the king with this act intended to favour only the merchants of Braşov.

Obviously, there were factors that hindered the external trade in this region as well. Most of the complaints regarding the commerce referred to the unjust confiscation of wares. The first of these measures, which was also the harshest one, was taken by Vlad the Impaler, who in 1459 did not only confiscate the goods of the merchants and envoys of Braşov and of the Barcaság district, staying in

³¹ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3216.

³² *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Ţara Românească*, Vol. 1. 1966. 285–286.

³³ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4462.

³⁴ Tocilescu, 1931. 75.

³⁵ Tocilescu, 1931. 92. 85. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4117.

³⁶ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4491.

³⁷ Tocilescu, 1931. 92.

³⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 406–407.

³⁹ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3559.

peace-time in Wallachia, but also had them impaled, and according to Dan, the pretender of Wallachia, burned 300 or more persons of Braşov and the Barcaság district, staying in Wallachia.⁴⁰ This was the culmination of the conflict between Vlad the Impaler and the Transylvanian Saxon towns, dating back to 1457.⁴¹ In 1459 and 1460 the above-mentioned Dan seized the goods of the Wallachian subjects deposited in Braşov and used the money to obtain the throne of Wallachia.⁴² In 1468, for an unknown reason, the goods of Kyrka Wolachus were confiscated in Sibiu.⁴³ In September 1468 the inhabitants of Braşov complained that the chamberlains of Bran (Törösvár/Törzburg) hindered all traders coming and going to and fro Wallachia and unjustly took their wares away, even their arms, i.e. hand-bows. In return, the Voivod of Wallachia permitted his subjects to do similar and even greater damage for the Braşov citizens.⁴⁴ In March 1470 Radu III stated that the burghers of Braşov took off his subjects' goods, and ordered to do the same to the inhabitants of Braşov.⁴⁵ In 1476 Basarab Laiotă sent a message to the leaders of Braşov that if they did not return the confiscated wares of two subjects of him, he would neither let the inhabitants of Braşov and Wallachia come to Wallachia, nor to go to Braşov and he would seize double the confiscated wares of the Transylvanians' wealths.⁴⁶ In 1479 Basarab Laiotă, for the time being an exiled Voivod, threatened the council of Braşov that if they did not return confiscated goods of some of his *familiars*, there would be no peace and „union” with Wallachia.⁴⁷ Between 1482 and 1495 a person in Săcele (near Braşov) took away 16 florins from a man of Buzău and two other persons of unknown origin, because, as he stated, he was robbed of his 50 florins in Gherghiţa (however, his accusation was not confirmed by the jurors of Gherghiţa, moreover, they said that this person of Săcele had harmed them).⁴⁸ In the period mentioned above the Wallachian Voivod intended to confiscate five or more horses from the inhabitants of Braşov, if the council did not return a horse, for which a subject of his had already paid the customs.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3177. Cf. *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3206.

⁴¹ Gündisch, Gustav, „Cu privire la relațiile lui Vlad Țepeş cu Transilvania în anii 1456–1458”, *Studii* 16 (1963) 681–693. Idem, „Vlad Țepeş und die sächsischen Selbstverwaltungsgebiete Siebenbürgens”, *Revue Roumaine d' Histoire* 8 (1969) 981–992. Stoicescu, N., *Vlad Țepeş*. Bucureşti, 1976. 65–79. Andreescu, Ştefan, *Vlad Țepeş (Dracula). Între legendă și adevăr istoric*. Bucureşti, 1998. 72–81.

⁴² *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3206. Earlier in 1459 he donated these goods to the people of Braşov to compensate them for their losses suffered from Vlad the Impaler, described above. *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3177.

⁴³ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3663. It is true that in 1468 these goods were given back to Kyrka.

⁴⁴ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3641.

⁴⁵ Tocilescu, 1931. 77.

⁴⁶ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4121.

⁴⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4314.

⁴⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 164.

⁴⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 150–151.

As these examples show, it was a common measure to reprise and make up for the unjustly suffered losses and damages with the same methods.⁵⁰ Let me have some further cases for instance. In 1469 Stephen the Great announced that he would keep in captivity some person from Prejmer (Prázsmár/Tartlau) until Paulus Pinguis of Braşov did not pay his debt of 460 florins.⁵¹ Between 1480 and 1485 Stephen the Great informed the council of Braşov that if they did not pay back the unjust customs levied in their town to a servant of the treasurers and the customs-officers of Moldavia, they would take it back from the traders of Braşov.⁵² Between 1486 and 1488 a certain Iancău and a servant of Bran took 3,670 akce away from a servant of Vlad the Monk, as one can assume on the basis of the charter, to compensate Iancău for his losses suffered from the part of some Wallachians.⁵³

Apart from these common cases, other events or measures, which disturbed the commerce are very rarely to be found in the sources. In 1464 the inhabitants of Braşov and the Barcaság district complained that when they had been travelling in Moldavia with their articles or when they had been bringing some from there, the Székelys of the seats Sepsi, Kézdi, Orbai and Csík claimed unusual fees from them and impeded them in various ways.⁵⁴ In 1468 the royal judge of Sibiu, though he was appealed many times in the regard, did not yet pay back his debts to a certain Ivan, his relatives and friends, probably all from Râmnicu Vâlcea.⁵⁵ According to a letter of 1475 a Wallachian merchant in Sibiu sold some pepper falsified with bogus grains to a trader from Cluj (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg).⁵⁶ Between 1480 and 1485 unjust customs were being levied in Braşov on some Moldavians.⁵⁷ In 1481 the Transylvanian Voivod, István Báthori, ordered the council of Sibiu to arrest all the Wallachian merchants staying in Sibiu and be cautious that they would betray him, because he was informed that Ali bey intended to occupy Sibiu or Braşov with the help of them.⁵⁸ Between August 1481 and March/April 1482 Basarab Țepeluş complained that the persons dispatched to Braşov to buy some wares gave his money to his opponent claimant, Vlad the

⁵⁰ For the history of this custom in medieval Hungary, see: Holub József, „Magyar vonatkozású represszáliák: adalékok a nemzetközi jog történetéhez”, *Történeti Szemle* 8 (1919) 52–78.

⁵¹ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3678.

⁵² Tocilescu, 1931. 535.

⁵³ Tocilescu, 1931. 332–333. In 1460 Dan, the pretender of Wallachia prohibited to the Wallachians to practise the reprisal against the inhabitants of Barcaság, as a response to the confiscation of the goods deposited by some Wallachians in Braşov. *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3206.

⁵⁴ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3363. In 1462 the same complaint referring to the demand of unusual fees was denied by the leaders of seat Kézdi. *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3300.

⁵⁵ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3630.

⁵⁶ *piper cum quibusdam granis adulterinis falsificata*. (The correct form is: *falsificatum*.) *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4049.

⁵⁷ Tocilescu, 1931. 535.

⁵⁸ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4388.

Monk.⁵⁹ Between 1486 and 1487 a gang of robbers plundering in the Transylvanian parts of the South-Carpathians (one of them was from Râşnov/Barcarozsnyó/Rosenau) disturbed the traffic between Transylvania and Wallachia, even murdered two „Turks”, for which the Voivod had to pay 1,000 florins.⁶⁰

Sometimes the export of certain articles from Hungary to Wallachia or Moldavia was prohibited. In most of the cases this touched weapons and certain raw materials of arms, i.e. iron and steel. It was because of political-military nature: Hungary wanted to avoid arming his enemies. In 1459 Matthias Corvinus learnt that several inhabitants of Braşov and the Barcaság district sold or „transferred” quivers, shields and other weapons (*alia arma bellica*) “by other means” to Wallachia. He wished to return to the methods applied by Sigismund of Luxemburg, therefore prohibited the export of these weapons.⁶¹ In 1462 the Székelys of the seat Kézdi asserted that Matthias and „his predecessors” ordered them to impede the export of iron and steel, weapons and other *bellicosa ingenia*.⁶² In 1475 the export of sickles, iron and steel was prohibited from Transylvania, iron and steel.⁶³ On the basis of the fact that in 1476 Stephen the Great asked Braşov to let him buy swords and other non-specified weapons, and he explained that he needed them to fight the „pagans”,⁶⁴ and taking into account that Basarab Laiotă requested to send the weapons in peace and in quiet what an unnamed protégé (*cliens*) of his needed,⁶⁵ it seems that the export of these items at that time was prohibited. In 1481 István Báthori, the Transylvanian Voivod, prohibited to export arrows, lances (*pila*), iron, weapons and „other war-things” to Wallachia, and criticized the Transylvanians that they had already enriched his enemies of the whole Christianity with these articles.⁶⁶ In a charter of 1484 Matthias Corvinus, stating that he had previously prohibited the citizens of Sibiu and Braşov to export iron, hemp and weapons to Wallachia, which did much harm to the two towns, and in accordance with the ancient customs of theirs, licensed them to export iron, steel and one piece of weaponry per person.⁶⁷ In a charter of 1484–1486 Vlad the Monk asked the council of Braşov to allow to export bows, arrows, swords, shields and iron for weapons for his use.⁶⁸ Consequently, I suppose that at that time the export of these items was prohibited. In December 1486

⁵⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 126.

⁶⁰ Vlad the Monk, when asked the town of Braşov to expel these robbers, explained his request saying that in this way his subjects could transport freely in Barcaság and that the merchants of Braşov could run until Brăila and Floci in the whole Wallachia. Tocilescu, 1931. 157–158.

⁶¹ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3178.

⁶² *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3300.

⁶³ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4057.; Tocilescu, 1931. 92.

⁶⁴ Tocilescu, 1931. 509.

⁶⁵ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4105.

⁶⁶ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4411.

⁶⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4549.

⁶⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 155.

Voivod István Báthori, according to the king's will, allowed the export of all kinds of iron- and steel-ware, „big and small” and all kinds of animals from Braşov to Wallachia. However, he stated that unless the council of Braşov did not send someone to him – probably to discuss (also) the issue of the export licenses – he forbade the export of horses, ewes and weapons, but allowed to carry for one's own need a sword, a bow or a shield and eight or nine arrows (*tela*).⁶⁹ The problem was not resolved in the next months, because a letter from October 1487 informs us that the Transylvanian customs officers had previously permitted several wares to be transported from Transylvania to Wallachia, the export of which, „among others steel and horses”, was now prohibited. Matthias again forbade the export of steel, horses, ewes, but allowed iron, rams and „other similar” articles to be transported.⁷⁰ Because in November 1488 Matthias granted a license for Stephen the Great to buy weapons from Sibiu, it is probable that at that time the export of weapons was to be prohibited again.⁷¹

In two cases non-Hungarians tried to hinder the export of strategically important wares to Wallachia. The reasons were again of political and military character. In 1474 the enemies of Basarab Laiotă asked the council of Braşov not to send weapons for him.⁷² In June 1476 (i.e. when the Ottomans were already on the road to attack Moldavia) Stephen the Great requested Braşov not to export corn and other foods to Wallachia, because, as he explained, these would be transported further to the Ottomans, which would damage him and the whole Christendom.⁷³

At some other occasions Matthias prohibited the export and import of certain wares in order to protect some groups of his subjects economically. This was the case in 1466 when at the complaint of Péter Geréb of Veresmart, mayor of Sibiu and Ladislaus Henlyn, juror of Sibiu, made in the name of the Transylvanian Saxons, the king annulled the export license of hide, which was to be repeated in 1489.⁷⁴ In 1466

⁶⁹ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4681.

⁷⁰ Arhivele Naţionale, Direcţia Judeţeană Braşov, Primăria Municipiului Braşov, Colecţia Privilegiilor, Nr. 235. (Its photograph: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (hereinafter: DF), Nr. 247059), edited incompletely in: *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians] Vol. 15. part 1. *Acte şi scrisori din arhivele oraşelor ardelene (Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiu) 1358–1600* [Documents and Letters from the Archives of the Transylvanian Cities Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiu.] Ed. Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1911. 127.

⁷¹ *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, Vol. 15. part 1. 1911. 130.

⁷² *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4013.

⁷³ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4120.

⁷⁴ *crudas cutes animalium scilicet per labores artificium non paratas et non laboratas ... in curribus et per equos pondera ... in magna quantitate deferrent. Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3464. *pelles et cutes crudas per artificium scilicet nondum laboratas seu politas pro se emerent et in curribus ac equis onerariis ... in magna quantitate deferrent. Arhivele Naţionale, Direcţia Judeţeană Braşov, Primăria Municipiului Braşov, Colecţia Documente, II 468. (DF 245112. edited in: *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, Vol. 15. part 1. 1911. 130–131.)*

Saxons argued that in spite of the fact that their old privileges prohibited the export of hides from Transylvania, several merchants from Hungary, Moldavia and Wallachia exported these wares in great quantity with cars and horses, which resulted in a shortage in Transylvanian towns. In 1470 Matthias, since the export of wheat, millet, oat and „other grains” to Wallachia caused shortage in the Seven Seats, forbade their transport to Wallachia.⁷⁵ In July 1489 because the citizens of Bistrița lamented that the Moldavian traders, as opposed to the liberties granted to the tailors of Bistrița, imported *joppat* and other pieces of clothing, Matthias ordered the Transylvanian Voivod, to the judges, jurors and officials in the nearby to hinder the Moldavians to import clothing, because this was to hurt the concerns of the tailors.⁷⁶ In 1490 Matthias ordered Thomas Altemberger, count of the Saxons not to let the export of hemp ropes in Turkey, arguing that they should be sold for the mines, since they were especially sought after in mine-works.⁷⁷ It seems that this protectionist attitude also existed on a local level. Between 1482 and 1495 the merchants of Brașov forbade a master working in the service of the Wallachian Voivod to buy certain things necessary for his work.⁷⁸

As one of the above mentioned charters of 1486 shows, in some cases the Transylvanian Voivod could also put obstacles in the export of some wares.⁷⁹ In the case mentioned above the Voivod’s decision was valid until the council of Brașov will send to him an envoy, thus it seems that in the matter of prohibition the leaders of Brașov had also a word to say – although it is possible that the council provided only information and it did not have any influence on the Voivod’s final resolution. However, at least in this story, the town of Brașov could hope the assistance of the Voivod, because Báthori wrote himself in the quoted letter that he intends to help the council in all their affairs and to protect it.

There were, of course, several other factors which determined the external trade, but the surviving sources do not make it possible to throw light on them. However, to illustrate the complexity of the factors which influenced the commerce, I would like to quote here a testimony of the transactions held between the Wallachian traders and the leaders of Brașov that fortunately survived. This is a letter dated between 1475 and 1500. Here the merchants of Târgoviște wrote to the council of Brașov that if the council gave them a letter, in the following two weeks they would not sell their stuffs in Sibiu, but only in Brașov. In this case they could not agree in the price – the letter did not give any clue what the price

⁷⁵ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3782.

⁷⁶ Szádeczky Lajos, *A céhek történetéről Magyarországon*, Vol. 2. Budapest, 1890. 20–21. Arhivele Naționale, Direcția Județeană Brașov, Primăria Municipiului Brașov, Colecția Documente, Nr. 162. (DF 247396.)

⁷⁷ Arhivele Naționale, Direcția Județeană Brașov, Primăria Municipiului Brașov, Colecția Documente, II 471. (DF 245115.)

⁷⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 172.

⁷⁹ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4681.

was –, the merchants then asked to sell their wares to other merchants visiting the fair of Braşov, too, like those coming from Moldavia or Sibiu. The other merchants of Wallachia did not by all means share the same opinion, because the letter stated that other Wallachian traders would do whatever they found right. Finally, the writers requested a protection letter for the merchants of Târgovişte and a certain Dragotă of Curtea de Argeş.⁸⁰

In the second part of my paper I am going to present the wares transported between these three countries. The sources testify the export of animals, hides, food, cloth, iron, weapons and different handicrafts from Transylvania.⁸¹ Between 1482 and 1495 a Wallachian citizen bought a horse in Hungary.⁸² Between 1486 and 1488 a servant of Vlad the Monk intended to buy mares though failed.⁸³ Between 1480 and 1492 a certain Neag, seemingly an inhabitant of Braşov, stated that he had sold a ram for *jupan* Dragomir.⁸⁴ In 1468 it was mentioned that someone (or some persons) bought 100 hides of sable from a man of Braşov.⁸⁵ In March 1470 Radu III issued the order that the people of Braşov, in case they imported furs of fox, lynx and stone marten, they would have to transport them to the Treasury.⁸⁶ In 1473 Matthias Corvinus licensed the monks of Cozia to buy food and „other wares” for their own needs in Transylvania.⁸⁷ In 1476 Vlad the Impaler invited the inhabitants from Braşov to come in his country with bread and wares.⁸⁸ In 1476 Basarab Laiotă wanted to buy corn,⁸⁹ but in the same year Stephen the Great, on the contrary, asked Braşov not to let the export of corn and other foodstuffs to Wallachia.⁹⁰ In 1482 the latter intended to purchase oil and cloth from Braşov,⁹¹ and before 1476 he also wished to get cloth from some Wallachians.⁹²

Regarding Braşov, in 1470 it was mentioned that Moldavians bought weapons;⁹³ in 1475 Basarab Laiotă and his subjects intended to buy shields, bows, iron and weapons;⁹⁴ sometime before 16 January 1476 some subjects of the latter

⁸⁰ Tocilescu, 1931. 452.

⁸¹ In 1458 Stephen the Great, confirming the privilege given by Alexander I to Braşov, mentioned the customs tariff of cloth (naming it separately from that of Cologne, Louvain, Buda and Bohemia), linen, oxen, cattle and horses, which were also transported probably through Transylvania. Tocilescu, 1931. 506.

⁸² Tocilescu, 1931. 150.

⁸³ Tocilescu, 1931. 332.

⁸⁴ Tocilescu, 1931. 390.

⁸⁵ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3633.

⁸⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 76.

⁸⁷ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Ţara Românească*, Vol. 1. 1966. 240.

⁸⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 97.

⁸⁹ *victualia, videlicet fruges. Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4117.

⁹⁰ *tritium vel alia comestibilia. Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4120.

⁹¹ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4491.

⁹² Tocilescu, 1931. 85.

⁹³ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3822.

⁹⁴ Tocilescu, 1931. 92. 95.

wanted to buy bows, shields and „one and other” what the Voivod „needed”.⁹⁵ After 1476 a servant of this Voivod wished to buy shields and bows.⁹⁶ In 1476, on two occasions, Basarab Laiotă wanted to buy weapons.⁹⁷ Stephen the Great wished to have swords and other weapons from Transylvania.⁹⁸ In 1481 the inhabitants of Braşov exported arrows, iron, weapons and „other war-things”, lances (*pila*) to Wallachia.⁹⁹ In 1488 Matthias permitted Sibiu to import as many weapons for Stephen the Great as he wanted.¹⁰⁰ Between 1478 and 1481 Basarab Țepeluş requested the council of Braşov to send him two big and beautiful cradles and ten round tables,¹⁰¹ and in 1482 Vlad the Monk asked to send him a cradle as well.¹⁰² In 1480 Basarab Țepeluş, to fulfil, in order to preserve the peace, the claims of the sultan, sent an envoy in Braşov to buy bridles for 40 horses.¹⁰³ In 1480/1481 hats were exported through this town (see *Table 1*). According to a letter dated between August 1481 and March/April 1482 the envoys of Basarab Țepeluş had previously bought silk wares, silver cups and „other silver wares” for 60,000 akce in Braşov.¹⁰⁴ In 1470 Stephen the Great donated a silver thurible, probable made in a Transylvanian workshop to the monastery of Putna.¹⁰⁵ Archaeological and art historical evidence testifies the export of stove tiles from Transylvania to Moldavia.¹⁰⁶

In Transylvania certain kinds of livestock, fish, hides and skins, food, wine, spices, salt, wax, wool, alum, dyestuffs, textiles and textile objects were imported (see *Table 1*). In 1479 the council of Braşov confiscated horses and sheep transported by some Wallachians.¹⁰⁷ In 1475 Basarab Laiotă mentioned that the inhabitants of Braşov purchased fish, wax, pepper, silk, „Turkish wares” and „all kind of wares coming from Turkey” from Wallachia.¹⁰⁸ In a charter issued in

⁹⁵ Dragomir, [1927]. 14.

⁹⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 85.

⁹⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4105. 4117.

⁹⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 509.

⁹⁹ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4411.

¹⁰⁰ *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, Vol. 15. part 1. 1911. 130.

¹⁰¹ Tocilescu, 1931. 140.

¹⁰² Tocilescu, 1931. 153.

¹⁰³ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4380.

¹⁰⁴ Tocilescu, 1931. 126.

¹⁰⁵ Nicolescu, Corina, „Arta epocii lui Ștefan cel Mare. Relații cu lumea occidentală”, In: *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt 1504–2004. Portret în istorie*. Putna, 2003. 268.

¹⁰⁶ Rusu, Adrian Andrei, „Ștefan cel Mare și Transilvania. Un inventar critic, date nevalorificate și interpretări noi”, *Analele Putnei* 1 Nr. 2 (2005) 91–122. For the stove-tiles of Gothic style found in Moldavia see: Nicolescu, 2003. 266–268.

¹⁰⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4314. This affair is probably mentioned in another letter from 1479. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4313. Between 1482 and 1492 a boyar’s servant took his master’s stolen three horses and some „tools” in Braşov. Tocilescu, 1931. 165.

¹⁰⁸ Tocilescu, 1931. 92. 94–95.

1482 and in a document dated between 1484 and 1486 Vlad the Monk, securing the free trade in Wallachia, mentioned that he had allowed to buy fish and wine, too.¹⁰⁹ In another charter dated between 1482 and 1490 the same ruler asked when the merchants of Braşov went down to Brăila and Floci and everywhere along the Danube to buy fish.¹¹⁰ In 1473 some traders of Bistriţa,¹¹¹ and in 1483 some merchants of Sighişoara (Segesvár/Schäßburg) bought fish from Moldavia.¹¹² In 1486 the customs tariff of wine transported from Wallachia to Braşov was recorded.¹¹³ Pepper is mentioned in 1470 in Braşov and in 1475 in a trial of Sibiu between traders from Cluj and Wallachia¹¹⁴ – most certainly this was imported from the south. Between 1480 and 1492 *jupan* Dragomir deposited pepper in Braşov¹¹⁵ and between 1482 and 1492 in a letter sent to the council of Braşov he wrote about his pepper and the *bogasia* linen sent (or intended to be sent) there.¹¹⁶ In 1476 Vlad the Impaler, pretender of Wallachia, when granted the free trade in Wallachia, licensed the traffic of wax as well.¹¹⁷ Between 1474 and 1476 two Wallachian traders transported 200 pieces of *bogasia* linen near Bran.¹¹⁸

Table 1. *The traffic of the debtors involved in Hungarian-Moldavian commerce through Braşov, May 1480 – March 1481*¹¹⁹

Wares	Quantity			Value (akce/%)	
	Nussbächer	Manolescu		Manolescu	
Fish					
Carp	836.5	930.5	horse-loads	111,660	27.4
Pike	225.0	280.0	horse-loads	22,400	5.5
Waller	710.5	685.5	horse-loads	54,840	13.5
Beluga or European sturgeon	357.0	365.0	horse-loads	58,400	14.3

¹⁰⁹ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Ţara Românească*, Vol. 1. 1966. 295.

¹¹⁰ Tocilescu, 1931. 158.

¹¹¹ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3598.

¹¹² The document is not unambiguous: it contains only the complaint of the council of Sighişoara according to which the twentieth-officers of Braşov confiscated some fish of „some men” in the fair of Sighişoara. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4530.

¹¹³ More exactly, the Transylvanian voivod, István Báthori ordered the chamberlains of Bran not to impose more than eight akce or four pints, *hoc est eyithel*, upon a barrel of wine transported from Wallachia. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4681.

¹¹⁴ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3793. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4049.

¹¹⁵ Tocilescu, 1931. 389–390.

¹¹⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 406–407.

¹¹⁷ Tocilescu, 1931. 96.

¹¹⁸ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 3996.

¹¹⁹ Based on: Manolescu, 1965. 112. 117. 122. 123–124. 128. 158. Nussbächer, 1986. 328–341. For the used units of measurements, see: Manolescu, 1965. 305–306. Nussbächer, 1986. 336. 337. 339. 340. Pakucs-Willcocks, 2007. 182–184.

Table 1. (cont.)

Wares	Quantity			Value (akce/%)	
	IMPORT	Nussbächer	Manolescu	Manolescu	
Beluga or European sturgeon	circa 10.5		horse-loads		
„Fish”	18.5		horse-loads		
Mixed fish	10.0		horse-loads		
Mixed fish		29.5	horse-loads	2,340	0.6
Beluga roe		4.5	horse-loads	720	0.2
Roe	3.5		horse-loads		
Beluga roe	2.0		barrels		
Animals					
Oxes	687.0	690.0		67,950	16.7
Porks	182.0	173.0		6,005	1.5
Leather and fur, hide and skin					
Sheep and ram leather		44.5	horse-loads	3,560	0.9
Sheep leather		40.0		64	0.0
Sheep leather	67.0		horse-loads		
Horned cattle leather	20.5	26.0	horse-loads	3,640	0.9
Horned cattle leather	34.0	4.0		40	0.0
Fox fur	354.0	353.0		2,824	0.7
Wolf fur ¹²⁰	107.0	7.0		70	0.0
Marten fur	26.0	26.0		260	0.1
Otter fur	4.0	5.0		150	0.0
Otter fur	1.0		horse-loads		
„Leather or fur”	¹²¹				
Wool		9.0	horse-loads	720	0.2
Wax		circa 82.5	quintals?	33,010	8.1
	12.0		horse-loads		
	55.0		sacks		
	18.5		quintals		
	36.0		barrels		
Salt	258.0		pounds	¹²²	
„Transit wares”				21,510	5.3
Spices					
Pepper	1.0		quintal		
Incense	10.0		pounds		

¹²⁰ The value is counted on the basis of sixteenth-century data. Nussbächer, 1986. 337. note 15.

¹²¹ Nussbächer did not give any quantity. Nussbächer, 1986. 338.

¹²² The value can not be calculated exactly. Cf. Nussbächer, 1984. 427. 428. Nussbächer, 1986. 329. 330. 339. 342.

Table 1. (cont.) The traffic of debtors involved in Hungarian-Moldavian commerce through Braşov, May 1480 – March 1481

Wares	Quantity			Value (in akce)	
	Nussbächer	Manolescu		Manolescu	
Food					
Lemon	64.0		barrels		
Fig					
Rice	1.0		horse-load		
	5.0		quintals		
Buckwheat	15.5		horse-loads		
Alum and dyestuff					
Alum	1.0		quintal		
„green dye” (<i>Farbgrin</i>)	undefined				
Textiles and textile objects					
Linen	8.0				
<i>Kamith</i> (a certain silk?)	8.0				
Carpit	10.0				
Cotton	13.0		quintals		
Cotton	26.0		pounds		
Silk <i>thablei</i>			<i>litter</i>		
Cotton cloth	8.0				
Headkerchief	4.0				
Pillow case/slip	2.0				
Turkish hat	11.0				
Turkish towel	5.0				
Blue linen	2.0				
<i>Wayl</i> (?)	2.0		horse-loads		
EXPORT					
Textile objects					
Hats				1,000	0.2
Unspecified export-wares				16,405	4.0
TOTAL				407,568	100.0

The volume and the structure of the trade can not be said as only the customs register of Braşov has survived from the period between May 1480 and March 1481, which contains only the traffic of the debtors implicated in the trade with Moldavia (see *Table 1*).¹²³ In this source, with the exception of hats (which represented 0.2% of the total value of trade), the export articles were not nominated. For this reason the structure of the exports can not be calculated, but the percentage of the Transylvanian export only, which was very little (4.2%). The import (95.8%) consisted mainly of fish (61.5%), followed by animals (18.2%), wax (8.1%) and spices, food, *Wayl* (unidentified), dies, textiles and textile objects (altogether 5.3%; Manolescu counted only the sum of the value of these articles, labelled by him as „transit wares”). The share of the leathers and furs (2.6%), of wool (0.2%) and of salt¹²⁴ was insignificant. This customs register shows that Hungary imported mainly agricultural products from Moldavia and Levantine articles in a much smaller proportion.

Finally, I will give an outline of the geographical origins of the traders. Besides Braşov, Sibiu and Bistriţa, in Wallachia and Moldavia merchants from Sighişoara traded one of the most important Transylvanian cities and some smaller towns in the neighbourhood of Braşov, along the commercial roads, such as Săcele, Prejmer, Breţcu (Bereck), Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) and Râşnov. In 1460 the goods of a certain Stephanus from Prejmer, in 1469 Georgius Kutura from Prejmer were arrested as a reprisal in Moldavia.¹²⁵ Between 1482 and 1495 Iancău Husar of Săcele claimed that some money of his was taken away from him in Gherghiţa.¹²⁶ In 1483 some merchants of Sighişoara seemingly trade in Moldavia.¹²⁷ Andreas Suttor and Michael of Râşnov, Stephanus Zekel of Sfântu Gheorghe and the parish priest of Breţcu are listed in the register of 1480–1481.¹²⁸

In the Transylvanian commerce we are also to find merchants from smaller Moldavian-Wallachian settlements, mainly towns along the major trade routes through Braşov (Crasna (village), Trotuş, Buzău, Gherghiţa, Măgureni (village) and Târgovişte), through Sibiu (Râmnicu Vâlcea) through both Transylvanian cities (Curtea de Argeş) also traded with both Transylvanian cities. After 1464 a certain Coie/Coico wrote from Sibiu to a merchant of Braşov in matter of trade: he requested from Petrus Rewel a quick response regarding to his price offer referring to a ware-transport. As Coie asked the response to be sent in Târgovişte, he was probably from this town.¹²⁹ In 1468 the father of Radu, Voivod of Walla-

¹²³ A detailed presentation of the trade reflected in this source can be found in Nussbächer, 1986.

¹²⁴ As mentioned above, the value of the transported salt can not be calculated, consequently, its share neither, but on the basis of its small quantity (258 pounds), salt played an insignificant role in the trade.

¹²⁵ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3216. 3678.

¹²⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 164.

¹²⁷ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3598. *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4530.

¹²⁸ Nussbächer, 1988. 328.

¹²⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 459.

chia and the council of Râmnicu Vâlcea requested repeatedly the mayor of Sibiu to make Ladislaus Hann, the royal judge of Sibiu pay his debts toward Ivan, their friend and relative, and toward the relatives and friends of Ivan. This Ivan, together with his relatives and his friends were for sure from Râmnicu Vâlcea, and the debts were resulting probably from trade.¹³⁰ The transactions of the merchants of Târgoviște with the council of Brașov between 1475 and 1500 have been seen in detail above.¹³¹ Dragotă of Curtea de Argeș, for whom in the same period a protection letter was requested from the council of Brașov, was probably a merchant as well.¹³² In 1476 in Brașov the wares of a man of Gherghîța, Dimitrie of his unnamed partner were confiscated.¹³³ Between November 1477 and March/April 1482 the wares of a Petrița from Târgoviște were deposited at an inhabitant's of Brașov.¹³⁴ Between 1482 and 1495 in Săcele 16 florins were taken away from Ilie of Buzău and from Popa Vlaicul and Dușman, whose origins are not known.¹³⁵ After June 1482 Neagoe of Măgureni bought wares in Brașov.¹³⁶ According to the register of 1480–1481 Bartholomeus and Fraencz of Trotuș, Matheus and the judge of Crasna were trading in Brașov.¹³⁷

In the period under investigation there were direct contacts between the Transylvanian and Ottoman merchants as well, of which we have four cases. For the first time between 1462 and 1472 a merchant of Sibiu, Martin Remser bought some wares from a „Turk”, i.e. an Ottoman subject, and two citizens of Târgoviște, Ciurca and Dumitru stood surety for Remser.¹³⁸ Between 1468 and 1487 two „Turks” were murdered in the Transylvanian parts of the Southern Carpathians.¹³⁹ The charter does not say what they were doing in the region, but I assume that they could not do anything but trade. (If they were envoys, the charter would have explicitly mentioned it.) Between 1474 and 1476 Basarab Laiotă invited all traders from Brașov to come to Bucharest to make business with an Ottoman merchant, who was a good acquaintance of him and who intended to come with many and good wares to Wallachia.¹⁴⁰ In 1487 a person of Sibiu bought some unspecified wares from Turkey.¹⁴¹

¹³⁰ *Ub*, Vol. 6. Nr. 3630.

¹³¹ Tocilescu, 1931. 452.

¹³² Tocilescu, 1931. 452.

¹³³ *socius suus. Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 4121.

¹³⁴ Tocilescu, 1931. 139. Among the goods of Petriți/Petrița – who had died in the meantime – remained in Brașov are mentioned 300 florins and some non-specified tools. Tocilescu, 1931. 138.

¹³⁵ Tocilescu, 1931. 164.

¹³⁶ Tocilescu, 1931. 411.

¹³⁷ Nussbächer, 1988. 326.

¹³⁸ Dragomir, [1927]. 13.

¹³⁹ Tocilescu, 1931. 157.

¹⁴⁰ *Ub*, Vol. 7. Nr. 3993.

¹⁴¹ Arhivele Naționale, Direcția Județeană Brașov, Primăria Municipiului Brașov, Colecția Fronius I 62. (DF 246505. edited in: *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, Vol. 15. part 1. 1911. 126.)

Part IV

CLERICS AND COURTIERS

ISTVÁN BITSKEY

**KAPITEL AUS DEM NACHLEBEN
DES CORVINIANISCHEN HUMANISMUS:
CELIO CALCAGNINI IN UNGARN**

Im August 1487 kam Ippolito d'Este, ein Mitglied der berühmten Familie aus Ferrara, mit einem ganzen Heer italienischer Hofleute zu Gran an. Der Siebenjährige ließ sich vom König Matthias Corvinus zum Graner Erzbischöfamt erheben.¹ Es ist bekannt, dass alles auf den Wunsch der Königin Beatrice geschah, die mit den Aristokraten von Ferrara verwandt war. Die einstige Residenz von Johannes Vitéz füllte sich wieder mit Künstlern, Meistern, italienischen Hofleute, und das erzbischöfliche Hof war von Steinhauer und Maler, Tischler und Zimmermänner, Schneider und Köche bevölkert. Nach dem Tode des Königs Matthias zog sich Königin Beatrice ihrem Neffen zu, und sie konnte mit seiner Karriere wirklich zufrieden sein. Das ist eine andere Frage, dass – wie Erik Fügedi mit der Analyse der Rechnungsbücher, bekannt als „Hippolit-Kodizes“, oder „Kodizes von Modena“ demonstrierte – der junge hohe Kleriker trotz der grossen erzbischöflichen Einnahmen zwang sich Kredite aufzunehmen, um die Kosten seiner Representation zu decken.² Die Vermutungen, die in der jüngsten Fachliteratur formuliert wurden, dürfen sicherlich gerecht sein, dass der Graner erzbischöfliche Hof mit seiner italienischen Dominanz mit der Jagellonenhof in Ofen rivalisieren sollte, oder erstrebte sich eine Art „kultureller Alternative“ dagegen zu bieten.³

¹ Morselli, Alfonso, *Ippolito I d'Este e il suo primo viaggio. in Ungheria (1487)*, Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Modena, Atti e memorie, Serie V, Vol. XV, Modena, 1957. 240; Laczlavik, György, *Estei Hippolit* (Ippolito d'Este) In: *Esztergomi érsekek 1001–2003* (Die Erzbischöfe von Gran 1001–2003), Hrsg. von Margit Beke, Budapest, 2003. 224; Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Everyday Life in tzhе Court of a Borgia Prince*. Woodstock, Overlook Press, 2005. 286. Diese Studie wurde mit der Unterstützung der OTKA Nr. K 73139 fertiggestellt. Die kürzere Version siehe in: *Memoria rerum. Tanulmányok Bán Péter tiszteletére* (Memoria rerum. Studien zu den Ehren von Péter Bán), Hrsg. Teréz Oborni und László Á. Varga, Eger, 2008. 63–71.

² Fügedi, Erik, „Az esztergomi érsekség gazdálkodása a XV. század végén“ (Die Wirtschaftsführung des Graner Erzbistums am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts) *Századok* (1960) 545–550.

³ Mikó, Árpád, *Beatrix királyné* (Königin Beatrice). In: *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király. Hagymány és megújulás a királyi udvarban 1458–1490* (König Matthias Corvinus. Tradition und Erneuerung in dem Königshof 1458–1490), Budapest, 2008. 253.

IM DIENSTE VON IPPOLITO D'ESTE

Aber die ausgelassene Lebensführung des jungen Primas dauerte sich nicht zu lange; mit dem Tode Königs Matthias schwächerte sich die Position von Ippolito, und infolge des Handels kirchlicher und weltlicher Mächte musste er seine Graner Residenz mit dem Bistum von Erlau vertauschen. Papst Alexander VI. (Rodrigo de Borgia) empfing seinen Rücktritt auf das Erzbistum, und in der gleichen Zeit bestellte Ippolit als Bischof von Erlau. König Vladislaus II. bestätigte in seiner Urkunde am 20. Februar 1498. diesen Tausch, und ließ dem bisher zum Kardinal gemachten jungen Prinzen von Ferrara sich in Italien zu enthalten.⁴ In Folge dieses Zugeständnisses verbrachte der italienische Aristokrat auf seiner Erlauer Residenz nur wenige Zeit; Ippolito war ziemlich jung, als er auf die erzbischöfliche Würde gehoben wurde.⁵ Laut der heute bekannten Daten aber war diese vereinzelte Anwesenheit des Bischofs genug dazu, dass im Zentrum der Erlauer Diözese italienische Intellektuellen erscheinen könnten, und die Stadt darf dadurch einen wichtigen Platz auf die geistige Karte des europäischen Humanismus einnehmen.⁶ Eine der bekanntesten Figuren dieses italianisierenden bischöflichen Hofes ist Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541) gewesen, der renommierte Philosoph aus Ferrara, der auch nach seinen astronomischen, medizinischen und mathematischen Büchern in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte bekannt ist.⁷ Alles könne im rechten Maße begründen, dass wir diesen Moment der Kulturgeschichte der nordöstlichen Region Ungarns vor einem halben Jahrtausend aufleben lassen, und versuchen diese farbige Episode des Zeitalters der Renaissance mit der Hilfe der jüngsten Fachliteratur einen skizzenhaften Abriss zu skizzieren.

Ippolito d'Este kam – nach einigen Daten – 1507 zum ersten Mal in Erlau an,⁸ es scheint aber viel wahrscheinlicher, dass es nur am Ende 1512 oder am Anfang 1513 geschah.⁹ Die wirtschaftlichen Sachen seiner bischöflichen Hofhaltung in

⁴ Fraknói, Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szent-székkal* (Die kirchlichen und politischen Verbindungen Ungarns mit dem römischen Heiligen Stuhl), II, Budapest, 1903. 255–256.

⁵ Sugár, István, *Az egri püspökök története* (Die Geschichte der Bischöfe von Erlau), Budapest, 1984. 201–210.

⁶ Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes, „Erasmus und die ungarischen Intellektuellen des XVI. Jahrhunderts“, In: *Erasmus und Europa: Vorträge*, Hg. August Buck, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 1988. 112–114. (Wolfenbütteler Renaissanceforschung, 7). Neben den Gelehrten kamen zahlreiche italienische Abenteurer und Taugenichtse in Ungarn mit der Unterstützung von Ippolito. Darüber siehe: E. Kovács, Péter, „Léhütök Egerben. Mindennapi élet Estei Hippolit egri püspök udvarában“, (Taugenichtse in Erlau. Alltägliches Leben in dem Erlauer Bischofshof von Ippolito d'Este), In: *Memoria rerum* (wie Anm. 1) 157–177.

⁷ *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Vol. XVI, Roma, 1973. 492–498.

⁸ Sugár (wie Anm. 5) 206.

⁹ E. Kovács, Péter, „A kis primás, Estei Hippolit“ (Der kleine Primas, Ippolito d'Este), *Rubicon* (1991) 6: 25.

Erlau wurde von der Fachliteratur schon in mehreren Gesichtspunkten untersucht,¹⁰ wir wissen, dass seine wirtschaftlichen Verweser schickten jährlich eine beträchtliche Geldsumme dem jungen Aristokraten nach Ferrara, der grosse Lebensführung betrieb.¹¹ Es ist allbekannt, dass Ippolito wichtige Pontifikaleinkünfte besaß, erhielt die Erzpriesterwürde von Mailand, und die Bischöfswürden von Capua, Modena und Ferrara auch. Er befand sich mehrmals in dem französischen Königshof, in Paris und Fontainebleau, war ein großzügiger Mäzen der Künste, Lodovico Ariosto widmete ihm den *Orlando furioso*. Darüber erfahren wir sehr viel aus der internationalen Fachliteratur, dagegen wurde die kulturelle Wirkung der Position von Ippolito in Ungarn, die Folgen seiner Repräsentationsansprüche in geringem Maße berücksichtigt; die letztere verdient eine ermäßigte Aufmerksamkeit, weil um Calcagnini, der in seiner Gefolge ankam, ein ganzes Netzwerk humanistischer Verbindungen sich herausbildete. Über die ungarische Tätigkeit des namhaften Gelehrten teilte bisher József Huszti lediglich eine Studie mit, seine Angaben aber – besonders mit Bezug auf Erlau – ergänzbar und korrigierbar sind.¹²

Der gelehrte Humanist von Ferrara bekam einen Platz in der glanzvollen erzpriesterlichen Gefolgschaft des Bischofes Ippolito d'Este, während seinem zweiten Besuch in Ungarn. Am 4. Dezember 1517. kamen sie Ofen an, woher die grosse Gesandtschaft in Bälde nach Erlau reiste, die am Anfang des nächsten Jahres nach Polen auf die Trauung des polnischen Königs Sigismunds und Bona Sforza abreiste. Nach dem prunkvollen Fest in Krakau konnte Ippolito nicht heimkehren, auf das Verlangen der ungarischen Stände musste er im Ofen an dem palatinwahlandenden Landtag teilnehmen. Calcagnini blieb dann in der bischöflichen Residenz, und stand in einem verbreiteten Briefwechsel mit seinem humanistischen Mitgelehrten. Die ganze Sammlung seiner Schriften ließ sich von dem bekannten Typographen von Basel, Frobenius herausgegeben, und in dem dicken Band befinden sich sowohl staatstheoretische, theologische, rhetorische, als auch ethische Traktaten.¹³ Darin bildet sich eine selbstständige Einheit seine

¹⁰ E. Kovács, Péter, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadaskönyvei 1500–1508* (Die Erlauer Rechnungsbücher des Bischofes Ippolito d'Este 1500–1508), Eger, 1992. (A Heves Megyei Levéltár forráskiadványai); Sugár, István, „Estei Hippolit bíboros egri püspök udvarának lovai, lótartása és gyógyítása (1501–1508)“, (Die Pferde und Pferdehaltung des Kardinals Ippolito d'Este, Bischof von Erlau, und ihre Heilung), *Állategészségügyi és Takarmányozási Közlemények* (Mitteilungen im Bereich des Veterinärwesens und Fütterung) (1985/3).

¹¹ Kovács, Béla, *Az egri egyházmegye története 1596-ig* (Die Geschichte der Erlauer Diözese bis 1596), Eger, 1987. 154–155.

¹² Huszti, József, „Celio Calcagnini in Ungheria“, *Corvina* (1922) 3: 57–71.; (1923) 6: 60–69.

¹³ *Caelii Calcagnini protonotarii ferrarensis Apostolici opera aliquot*, per H. Frobenium et N. Episcopium, Basileae, 1544; ein Exemplar des Bandes befindet sich in der Universitätsbibliothek von Sevilla, unter der Nummer: A Res. 42/1/09. der Text ist erreichbar in: Fondos Digitalizados de la Universidad Sevilla. Die Registration der Exemplare: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár III. Pótlások I.* (Alte Ungarische Bibliothek III. Anhänge I), Bp. 1990. 105. No. 5201.

Briefsammlung, von dieser Sammlung teilt Jenő Ábel und István Hegedűs eine Auswahl mit.¹⁴ Über diese Briefe schrieb Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay gerechtfertigt: „Zwischen Erlau und Ofen wanderten Handschriften (daneben auch Corvinen), aus Italien in zwei Monate angekommene neue Bücher und astronomische Geräte. Aus Erlau leiteten intellektuelle Fäden im Lande anderswohin.“¹⁵ Aber das wurde von der lokalgeschichtlichen Fachliteratur noch nicht im rechten Maße erforscht, obwohl dieses geistige Verhältnissystem ist nicht nur ein Farbfleck der Geschichte Erlaus, sondern der Region auch, es ist berechtigt, dass wir diesem Mangel mindestens nur teilweise abhelfen zu versuchen.

DER POLYHISTOR VON FERRARA

Calcagnini wurde als einer der bedeutendsten Wissenschaftler seiner Epoche betrachtet: in seiner Jugend bekam er humanistische Erziehung in Ferrara, wo früher ein solch ausgezeichneter Humanist Vorlesungen hielt, wie *Gases Theodoros* (1400–1476), einer der Pioniere der Einführung der griechischen Kultur in Italien.¹⁶ Calcagnini erwarb Doktorat für Kirchenrecht, später wurde er an der Universität seiner Stadt zum Professor der Rhetorik ernannt, und trat in Dienst der Familie d'Este. Er wurde der Historiker und künstlicher Inspektor des herzoglichen Hofes, und erhielt den Titel des apostolischen Protonotars.¹⁷ Er setzte sich schon früh mit den ausgezeichnetesten Gelehrten und Künstlern seiner Zeit, Erasmus, Ariosto, Raffaello in Verbindung. Die neuere Forschung beweist, dass Ariosto im Laufe der Schöpfung des *Orlando furioso* die handschriftlichen Geschichtswerke von Calcagnini (*Historia Ferrariensis*, *Varia fragmenta historica*) als Quellen benutzte.¹⁸

Der vielseitige Gelehrte besorgte wichtige diplomatische Aufträge auch, er war der Gesandte von Ferrara beim Papst Paul III. und nahm an der Debatte um die Frage der Heirat des englischen Königs teil. Er hielt die Grabrede der Witwe

¹⁴ *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, edd. Eugenius Ábel, Stephanus Hegedűs, Budapest, 1903. 76–98.

¹⁵ Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes (wie Anm. 6.) 112–113.

¹⁶ Monfasani, John, „L' insegnamento di Teodoro Gaza a Ferrara“, In: *Alla corte degli Estensi: filosofia, arte e cultura a Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Ferrara, 5–7 marzo 1992. a cura di Marco Bertozzi, Ferrara, Università degli Studi, 1994. 5–17.

¹⁷ Lazzari, Alfonso, „Un enciclopedia del secolo XVI, Celio Calcagnini“, In: *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 30. Ferrara, 1936. 83–164; Moreschini, Claudia, *Per una storia dell'umanesimo latino a Ferrara*, In: *La rinascita del sapere: Libri e maestri degli studio ferrarese*, a cura di Patrizia Castelli, Venezia, 1991. 168–188; Idem, *Aspetti dell'attività letteraria di Celio Calcagnini*, In: *"In suprema dignitatis ...". Per la storia dell'Università di Ferrara 1391–1991*. a cura di Patrizia Castelli, Firenze, 1995. 155–172.

¹⁸ Fortini, Laura, *Ariosto lettore di storie ferraresi*, In: *Testimoni del vero. Su alcuni libri in biblioteche d'autore*, a cura di Emilio Russo, Roma, 2000. 147–170. hier: 163 sqq.

des Königs Matthias, bei ihrem Tode 1508.¹⁹ Außerdem teilte er zahlreiche Abhandlungen in verschiedenen Wissenschaftsgebieten mit. Seine Thesen enthalten sehr bemerkenswerte sprachgeschichtliche und sprachphilosophische Beobachtungen in Verbindung mit der Imitation, darüber debattierte er mit den hervorragendsten Gelehrten seiner Zeit.²⁰ Calcagnini beklagte sich in seiner Abhandlung über die Herrschaft der Solezismen und Barbarismen in der lateinischen Sprache, das bedroht besonders die Leute neolateinischer Muttersprachen. Nach einiger Daten untersuchte er die astronomischen Kodizes der Bibliotheca Corviniiana zu Ofen. Die Fachliteratur betrachtet sein Werk am wichtigsten, das die kopernikanischen These vorbereitet (*Quod coelum stet, terra autem moveatur*, 1520), welches die Bewegungslosigkeit des Himmels und die Erddrehung bekennt. Dieses Werk entstand in Ungarn 1518/19, wahrscheinlich in Erlau.²¹

Als er in Erlau ankam, der italienischer Polyhistor erfuhr die Zustände nach dem Tode Königs Wladislaus II. betroffen, den politische Hader, das wütende Machtkampf der verschiedenen Adelsgruppen. In dieser Zeit schrieb er seine Studie über das Einverständnis (*De concordia commentatio Caelii Calcagnini ad Pannonios*), in dem die Ungarn darauf aufmerksam gemacht wurden, dass wegen der äußeren Gefahr, der Annäherung der Türken die Vereinigung eine Existenzfrage sein sollte, und das ist nicht bloß das Interesse der Ungarn, sondern das Interesse des christlichen Europas auch.²² Mit der Hilfe einer ganzen Reihe von Beispiele aus der griechischen und römischen Geschichte illustriert er, dass keine Naturkatastrophe – Seuche, Hochwasser, Erdbeben – einem Lande grösseren Schade anrichten könnte, als der Haß (*intestina discorsia*), die Heimtücke (*simultas*) und die eigene Gewinnsucht (*commoda privata*).²³ In einem Male hielt er in der Kathedrale von Erlau eine offene Rede über die Theologie des Altarsakramentes.²⁴

Es scheint zweckmäßig, in folgenden diejenigen Gelehrten in Betracht zu ziehen, mit denen Calcagnini in Erlau in möglichst intensiven Korrespondenz stand, pflegte die geistigen Verbindungen, und dadurch wurde die bischöfliche Residenz für eine Weile das Zentrum der humanistischen Intelligenz in Ungarn.

¹⁹ Caelii Calcagnini in funere Beatricis Pannoniarum Reginae oratio, *Opera aliquot*, op. cit., 503–504.

²⁰ Jankovits, László, *Accessus ad Janum. A műértelmezés hagyományai Janus Pannonius költészetében* (Accessus ad Janum. Die Traditionen der Werkauslegung in der Poetik von Janus Pannonius), Budapest, 2002. 62 (Humanizmus és reformáció, 27).

²¹ Lazzari (wie Anm. 17.) 80–95.

²² „Nec vero Pannoniae tantum hoc votum, sed Italiam, Germaniam, Galliam, Hispaniam, ceterasque Christi provincias hoc a vobis efflagitare cogitate.” *Opera aliquot*, op. cit., 409–415.; Jászay Magda, *Párhuzamok és kereszteződések. A magyar–olasz kapcsolatok történetéből* (Aus der Geschichte der ungarisch-italienischen Verbindungen), Budapest, 1982. 210–211.

²³ „Non enim hostes aut pestilentiae, aut aquarum illuviones, aut terraemotus, plures urbis absumpsere, quam discordia et intestina simultas: quae tunc maximae solet accidere, quom non publicae utilitatis, sed privati commodi, ratio habetur.” *Opera aliquot*, op. cit. 411.

²⁴ In Sacramentum Eucharistiae Sermo tumultuarius Caelii Calcagnini, per eum in Cathedrali ecclesia Agriensi publice habitus, *Opera aliquot*, op. cit. 494.

BRIEFWECHSEL AUS ERLAU

Einer der häufigsten Adressaten der Erlauer Briefe des italienischen Wissenschaftlers war die hervorragende Persönlichkeit der damaligen Medizin, *Giovanni Manardo* (1462–1536), dessen kaum nach einige Jahre später ediertes Briefbuch (*Epistolae medicinales*, Paris, 1528), das ärztliche Räte besagt, wurde überall in Europa mit Anerkennung zitiert.²⁵ Er war der Anreger der humanistischer Heilkunde, die sich in Ferrara entwickelte.²⁶ Zwischen 1513–1518 war Manardo zuerst der Hofarzt der Könige Wladislaus II. und Ludwig II. in Ofen, inzwischen bereiste er das ganze Karpatenbecken und untersuchte seiner Flora und Fauna. Er bäumte sich gegen den Aberglauben auf, lehnte die medizinische Anwendung der Astrologie ab und machte zutreffende Bestimmungen über die Prävention einiger Seuchen (Lepra, Syphilis). In seinem Brief aus Raab, aus der Hauptstadt von „Pannonia superior“ am 14. Juli 1518. verurteilte er die ständige Appellation auf die tausendjährige medizinische Tradition, die „zauberspruchartige“ alte „Heilverfahren“, und statt deren betonte er die Wichtigkeit der empirischen Beobachtungen und der Anwendung der Erfahrungen.²⁷ Manardo und Calcagnini schlossen Freundschaft miteinander, in ihren liebenswürdigen Briefe diskutierten über naturwissenschaftlichen Problemen.

Zu den Adressaten mehreren Briefe aus Erlau gehörte ein anderer humanistischer Arzt, *Nicolaus Leonicensus* (*Nicoló Lonigo*, 1428–1524) auch. Die Fachliteratur merkt sich dem Doktor von Ferrara einer der prominenten Forscher des Syphilis. Sein Verdienst war die lateinische Übersetzung der antiken Klassiker der Heilwissenschaft aus dem Griechischen und Arabischen und erregte auf den Unterschied des Originaltextes von Galenos und seine arabische Version die Aufmerksamkeit. Damit setzte er die Debatte in Bewegung, die davon handelt, dass es über eine Fälschung, oder den fruchtbringende Weitergedanke der galenisch-hippokratischen Tradition im Œuvre der islamischen Wissenschaftler geht.²⁸

Der italienische Wissenschaftler wechselte zahlreiche Briefe mit dem Astronomen und anerkannten Kartographen von Landau *Jakob Ziegler* (um 1470–1549), der in Ofen die Corvinen mit astronomischem Gehalt untersuchte. Er war die Möglichkeit vorhanden, weil Ziegler im Dienste des Bischofes von Waitzen

²⁵ Herczeg, Árpád, *Manardus János (1462–1536) magyar udvari főorvos élete és művei* (Johannes Manardus [1462–1536] ungarischer Hofhauptarzt – sein Leben und seine Werke), Budapest, 1929. 1–69; Kemenes, Pál, „Manardus János, II. Ulászló főorvosa“, (Johannes Manardus, der Hauptarzt von Wladislaw II.), *Orvosi Hetilap* (Ärztliche Wochenblätter) 132 (1991) 28: 1543–1544.

²⁶ Natton, Vivian, „The rise of medical humanism, Ferrara 1464–1555“, *Renaissance Studies* 11 (1997) 2–19.

²⁷ Die Einführung der Briefsammlung von Giovanni Manardo siehe in: *A táguló világ magyarországi hírmondói. XV–XVII. század* (Die ungarischen Vorboten der sich erweiternde Welt), Hrsg. von Margit Waczulik, Budapest, 1984. 71–73.

²⁸ Klein-Franke, Felix, Felix, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Darmstadt, 1980. 5 sqq.

und des königlichen Kanzlers, László Szalkai stand und wurde mit der Aufsicht der Corvinen aufgetragen. Anfang 1519 bat Calcagnini um die Entleihung eines griechischen Ptolemaeus-Kodexes aus Ofen, diesen erhielt er aber nur später, durch die Hilfe von Ziegler.²⁹ Wie eine neue Fachstudie darauf anweist, Ziegler schickte ein Holzgerät für geographische Ortung, ein Meteoroskopium nach Erlau, und schrieb in seinem Brief, dass „die Ofener Meister mögen aus Metall ein genaueres Instrument anfertigen.“³⁰ Also die Astronomie hatte in Erlau schon am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts einen Platz, es ist eine andere Frage, dass um der Nachrichten über die Annäherung der Türken und der innenpolitischen Zwietrachten willen solche Initiativen keine Fortsetzung haben könnten und der Fall Belgrads (1521) schreckten die ausländische Wissenschaftler von den ungarischen Unternehmungen zurück.

Calcagnini stand in stetiger Korrespondenz mit *László Szalkai* auch, der in dieser Zeit, 1518, der Bischof von Waitzen war, wohnte er aber in Ofen und dort speicherte seine Schätze auch. Als Erzkanzler spielte Szalkai in der Diplomatie des Zeitalters der Jagellonen eine wichtige Rolle.³¹ Ihm widmete Calcagnini seit dem 1. Juni 1519. seine Schrift mit dem Titel: *Encomium pulicis*, d. h. „Das Lob der Flohe“.³² Wie wir wissen, die erotischen Epigramme über den Floh waren in der humanistischen Dichtung sehr oft, wurden nach antikem Muster geschrieben und dieses spielerisches Dichtungsthema erlaubte den schäkernde, grobe Ton bei den Freunden auch,³³ und wir vermuten, dass es eine solche Beziehung zwischen dem italienischen Gelehrten und dem Bischof von Waitzen entstand. Es war charakteristisch auf die Beziehungsbildende und anregende Persönlichkeit Calcagninis, dass er mehrmals Einführungsschreiben für Erzpriester schrieb und trug seine Dienste unter anderen dem Bischof Csanád an, und buhlte um Gunst des Bischofes von Fünfkirchen, *György Szatmári*, der in dem Ruf eines bekannten Mäzens stand. Der oben erwähnte Traktat Calcagninis, die *Concordia* ließ sich dem Bischof gewidmet.³⁴

²⁹ E. Kovács, Péter, „Egy középkori utazás emlékei. Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon“, (Erinnerungen einer mittelalterlichen Reise. Letzte Fahrt von Ippolito d'Este in Ungarn) *Történelmi Szemle* (1990) 1–2: 117.

³⁰ Bartha, Lajos, „Reneszánsz csillagászati műszerek Magyarországon“, In: *Die Homepage des Ungarischen Astronomischen Vereins*: www.csillagaszattortenet.csillagaszat.hu

³¹ Varga Lajos, „Szalkai László“ (László Szalkai), In: *Esztergomi érsekek* (wie Anm. 1.) 235.

³² Ábel, *Analecta* (wie Anm. 14.) 87.

³³ Szentmártoni Szabó, Géza–Virágh, László, „Megzenésített magyar szitkozódás és a pozsonyi bolhák egy Lassus-motettában“, (Vertonte ungarische Schimpferei und die Pressburger Flohe in einer Lassus Motette) *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* (Literaturgeschichtliche Mitteilungen), (2001) 3–4: 346.; Jankovits, László, „La caccia "al pulce": gli epigrammi lascivi di Giano Pannonio“, In: *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*, a cura di Sante Graciotti e Amedeo Di Francesco, Roma, 2001. 311–324. (Media et Orientalis Europa, 2).

³⁴ Ábel, *Analecta* (wie Anm. 14.) 89. 97; Farbaký, Péter, *Szatmári György, a mecénás* (György Szatmári, der Mäzen), Budapest, 2002. 27–28 (Művészettörténeti Füzetek, 27).

Der berühmte Philologe *Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus* (*Giraldi Giglio Gregorio*, 1479–1552), apostolischer Protonotar gehörte unter den Adressaten seiner Briefe auch, er war der Pflegling der Guarino-Schule von Ferrara, mit seinem Traktat über die Musen begann seine humanistische schriftstellerische Laufbahn. Bereits in dieser Zeit arbeitete er an seinem Hauptwerk, an einer mythologischen Synthese, die die damals zeitgemäß betrachtete Kenntnisse über die Herkunft der Götter, ihre Namen und Darstellungen fasste zusammen.³⁵

Unter den Adressaten seiner Briefe fehlt nicht der Erzieher Königs Ludwig II., der einflussreiche Diplomat *Girolamo Balbi* (Hieronymus Balbus, 1460–1530) auch, der seit 1514 als Erlauer Domherr wirkte, dann wurde er Propst in Pressburg, ein Mitglied der *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana*. Es ist bekannt, dass früher, während seiner Pariser Jahren eine bedeutende, doch umstrittene dichterische Tätigkeit entfaltete, sein Prestige war aber am Ofener Königshof unbestreitbar.³⁶ Es ist verständnisvoll, dass Calcagnini den Kontakt mit ihm aufnahm.

ERLAU UND WARDEIN

In besonders enger Verbindung stand Calcagnini mit den humanistischer Kreise des Bistums von Wardein. Überwiegend mit dem jungen Bischof *Ferenc Perényi*, dem er als ein Vater Räte gab, schätzte sein Interesse für die antiken Literatur hoch. Vince Bunyitay betonte, dass der humanistische Geist, der in Wardein von János Vitéz eingebürgert worden war, wurde im Kreis seiner erzpriesterlichen Nachfolgen eine Tradition, dass sie sich mit Gelehrten und Wissenschaftlern umgaben und deren Lehre wurde von der lokalen Kapitelschule verwendet.³⁷

³⁵ Gyraldus, Lilius Gregorius, *De Deis Gentium libri sive syntagma XVII, quibus varia et multiplex Deorum Gentium Historia, Imagines ac Cognomina plurimaque simul multis hactenus ignota explicantur, clarissimeque tractantur*, Basel, Oporinus, 1548.

³⁶ Tournoy, Gilbert, „The Literary Production of Hieronymus Balbus at Paris“, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1978) 70–77.; Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes, „*Nympha super ripam Danubii*“. *Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* („*Nympha super ripam Danubii*“. Studien aus dem Bereich der ungarischen Bildung im 15–16. Jahrhundert), Budapest, 2002. 138–139 (Humanizmus és reformáció 28); Csehy Zoltán, „Janus vagy Ovidius? Girolamo Balbi költészetének énformalási stratégiái“, In: *Humanizmus, religió, identitástudat. Tanulmányok a kora újkori Magyarország művelődéstörténetéről* (Humanismus, Religion, Identitätsbewusstsein. Studien über die Kulturgeschichte des frühneuzeitlichen Ungarns). Hrsg. von István Bitskey und Gergely Tamás Fazakas, Debrecen, 2007. 32–42 (Studia Litteraria XLV).

³⁷ Bunyitay Vince, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* (Die Geschichte der Diözese von Wardein von der Gründung bis zur Gegenwart), Nagyvárad, 1883. I. 370–372. II. 54–55. Die neue Forschungsergebnisse über die humanistische kirchliche Intelligenz in Wardein siehe bei: Kristóf, Ilona, „A váradi káptalan a Szatmári–Thurzó–Perényi korszakban (1502–1526)“, (Das Kapitel von Wardein in der Szatmári–Thurzó–Perényi-Epoche, 1502–1526), In: *Emlékkötet Szatmári György tiszteletére* (Festschrift zu Ehren von György Szatmári). Hrsg. von Tamás Fedeles, Budapest–Pécs, 2007. 51–67. besonders 63–65.

In dieser Atmosphäre fügte sich der Drang von Perényi von der Befreiung der kirchlichen Gebundenheiten, die er dem in Erlau verweilenden italienischen Humanisten vertraulich zugestand. Calcagnini schickte ihm Bücher: obwohl er den gebetene Livius nicht erwerben konnte, aber die Werke von Diodoros Siculus, Seneca, Synesius, eines christianisierten Neoplatonisten, und Erasmus wurden zugeschickt.³⁸ Doch Perényi schätzte die Poesie des Vergil am meisten, seine Werke erhielt er durch seinen italienischen Gönner.

Außer dem Bischof gehörten anderen Wardeiner zum Beziehungssystem des italienischen Wissenschaftlers, unter anderen *Sebestyén Magyi*, Stiftsherr von Wardein, der an der Universität von Bologna studierte. Magyi war der Herausgeber des Guarino-Panegyricus von Janus Pannonius, er wurde zum Erzieher des jungen Perényi bestellt, und unter seiner Inspektion stand die Domschule. Calcagnini korrespondierte außerdem mit *Giovanni Bonzagno*, Propst von Wardein, der früher der Güterverwalter des Erlauer Bischofs, Ippolito d'Este war.³⁹ Der Erzdechant von Wardein, Philippus Albaregalius war ebenfalls der Adressat mehrere Briefe, der früher mit Sebestyén Matyi in Bologna studierte. Daraus ist zu entnehmen, dass Calcagnini die Beziehung so gut wie allen Mitgliedern der kirchlichen Gebildeten-schicht der Bischofsstadt suchte. Die Orientation nach Wardein darf kein Zufall sein: die Tätigkeit von János Vitéz begründete den Ruf der bischöflichen Residenz in den Kreisen der humanistischen Intelligenz der breiteren Region, und die von ihm herausgebildeten persönlichen und Familienverbindungen trugen zur Befestigung der dortigen humanistischen Gebildeten-élite während der Jagellonenzeit bei.⁴⁰

Nach seiner Heimkehr nach Ferrara sind die ungarischen Verbindungen von Calcagnini nicht untergebrochen: aus den Jahren zwischen 1523 und 1525 sind zwei Briefe von ihm bekannt, die er Gáspár Serédy, einem Magnaten aus der Reihe des niederen Geistlichkeit, einem Vertrauten Königs Ferdinand und dem späteren Bischof von Siebenbürgen schickte, doch verlor er die Fühlung mit Ziegler und dem Bischof von Fünfkirchen auch in weiteren nicht.⁴¹

³⁸ „Caeterum animi mei erga te observantissimi testes mitto ad te Diodorum Siculum de gestis Philippi regis; Senecae opusculum, si modo Senecae est, de morte Claudii; Synesii de laude calvicii; et Erasmi Moriam cum commentariolis non omnino aspernandis“ Ábel, *Analecta* (wie Anm. 14.) 84.

³⁹ Ábel, *Analecta* (wie Anm. 14.) 86–87.

⁴⁰ Kristóf, Ilona, *Személyes kapcsolatok Váradon (1440–1526)* (Persönliche Beziehungen in Wardein, 1440–1526), In: *Fons VIII*, 2001/1. 67–84. und dieselbe.: *A váradi káptalan méltóságviselői 1440–1526 között* (Die Würdenträger des Wardeiner Kapitels zwischen 1440–1526), In: *Turul*, 2004/1–2. 10–19.

⁴¹ Ábel, *Analecta* (wie Anm. 14.) 96–97.

STUDIUM ET AMICITIA

Die vornehme Namenliste seiner Briefpartner und der liebenswürdige Ton beweisen, dass im Mittelpunkt der Lebensanschauung des italienischen Polyhistor die *studia humanitatis* stand. Kurz nach seiner Ankunft in Ungarn – aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dem ovidschen Topos – schrieb er seinem Freund *Camillo Vistrino*, der in Ferrara geblieben war, dass seine Heimat und die italienische geistige Umwelt ihm fehle („...ego procul a patria, procul a studiis meis...“),⁴² in einem seiner Gedichte geht es über sein „Exil“ in „Szythien“, und erwähnte – nach der Ovid-Legende – die Schreibfeder des Schriftstellers auch, die in Ungarn bewahren wurde, damit ließ er sich die Parallele zu eingeben.⁴³ Trotz dieser topischen Klagen nahm er fast gleich den Ausbau wissenschaftlicher Beziehungen auf seinem neuen Aufenthaltsort in Angriff, in seinen Briefen steht häufig der Begriff der Freundschaft (*amicitia*). Aus seinen Schriften leuchtet hervor, dass Calcagnini sich in der Gefolgschaft seines Bischofes an den allbeliebten höfischen Unterhaltungen, Karnevalen, imitierten Ritterspielen, Jagden und Ballspielen nicht teilnehmen zu bestrebe, sondern er widmete sich den Büchern und Gedankenaustauschen. In Krakau wurde seine Aufmerksamkeit nicht von der Hochzeit, sondern von der Suche der Gesellschaft der Humanisten gefesselt. Er schrieb über Ungarn fast immer begeistert, einmal bezeichnete Ungarn als zweite Athen wegen der gutgebildeten Humanisten.⁴⁴ Calcagnini rühmte immer die Erudition, den lateinischen Stil und die Bildung seiner Briefpartner in der antiken Literatur.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass die Anwesenheit von Celio Calcagnini in der bischöflichen Residenz kein vernachlässigbares Moment der Kulturgeschichte von Erlau und der Region war: in seiner Person wohnte und arbeitete hier einer der prominenten Repräsentanten des europäischen Humanismus, und sein geistiges Beziehungssystem zog die Stadt und ihre Umgebung zu der internationalen humanistischen geistigen Kreislauf für eine Weile heran. Seine Tätigkeit in Ungarn illustrierte das, dass die Ergebnisse der humanistischen Kultur des Zeitalters Königs Matthias, der *umanesimo corviniano* mit dem Tode des Königs nicht vernichtet wurden, es gilt gerade das Gegenteil: in der Jagellonenzeit setzte sich die Verbreitung des humanistischen Geistes und der italienischen Bildung in den einzelnen Regionen des Karpatenbeckens fort, besonders in den erzpriesterlichen und hochadeligen Residenzen. Tibor Klaniczay sagte mit Recht über „das hohe geistige Niveau“ dieser Zentren,⁴⁵ deren Schaffung trugen die Wissenschaftler und Gelehrten aus Italien in bedeutendem Maße bei, unter anderen Celio Calcagnini, der Polyhistor von Ferrara.

⁴² Ebenda 80.

⁴³ Csehy (wie Anm. 36.) 38.

⁴⁴ Huszti (wie Anm. 12.) 68–69.

⁴⁵ Klaniczay, Tibor, *Hagyományok ébresztése* (Das Erwecken der Traditionen), Budapest, 1976. 196.

ISTVÁN PUSKÁS

**AURELIO LIPPO BRANDOLINI.
A FLORENTINE HUMANIST IN MATTHIAS CORVINUS'
COURT**

In the exhibition entitled '*The Era of the Medici*' organized in the Museum of Fine Arts of Budapest, a codex of modest size (20 x 13,5 cm) was on display which contains a text of very unfortunate author, a dialogue in Latin of the Florentine Aurelio Lippo Brandolini entitled *De Comparatione Reipublicae et Regni*. It is available in only two manuscripts (both of which are in Florence: one copy can be found in the Laurenziana Library, the other is in the Riccardiana Library). The dialogue takes place at the court of King Matthias in Buda where – in a year not yet specified, but during the period of the Saturnalia Carnival – the king, his illegitimate son, John Corvinus and a guest of the court, a Florentine knight, Domenico Giugno are having a discussion about the perfect state. It is an artistic piece of n unfortunate history, because according to the evaluation of subsequent, modern scholarship – e.g. most recently of Professor James Jenkins from Harvard University – it is a treatise about a considerable political topic that faces the question of the political systems of the republic and the kingdom (monarchy) in the form of humanist dialogue, in which Brandolini with high erudition and expertise, efficient rhetoric elaborates a true apology of the monarchy. The text in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could have been timely (like one of its successors, the treatise of Machiavelli was), or at least worth discussing, following, imitating, a text that could have been able to have notable influence on the discourse about European absolutism.

However, it remained unknown outside of the 'humanae literae' discourse, because it was hidden in the private libraries of Florence and Rome; the two manuscripts never had a printed edition, only in the nineteenth century: the Hungarian scholar, Jenő Abel was to publish it in printed form. A forgotten literary text that was written by an author who – perhaps exactly because of the sad fate of his work – had the same luck. A person who was not lucky enough to stay in the public consciousness of European culture, or in the process of the canonization and the changing of the common memory of the European (first of all Italian and Hungarian) culture. He was constrained to retreat further and further on the list of the 'names to remember', until he became a simple entry in the encyclopaedias to whom only a few lines are dedicated in the volumes

dealing with the history of Italian and Hungarian literature. The story of its reception is a perfect example of the phenomenon described by Assman: the process of the European (and general) cultural memory which establishes the theory of an evolution or rather a selection of cultural products (with their producers, certainly) of which – as time goes by – we preserve less and less; so as the cultural memory moves off from the present towards the past it retains in memory gradually less and less dates, information.

This way the poor Aurelio Brandolini (who, as we will see, did not live a happy life) was destined to move step by step towards the cultural horizon. There have been scholars recently who discussed his name, his personality, his work and it means that his art was not useless. Modern scholarly discourse played a very important role in his rediscovery, as it is trying to find unknown, new and consequently marginal subject, fishing in the common garbage of cultural memory. Yet in Brandolini's case there is justification for it: he is a really interesting author with really interesting texts that are also very important for learning more about fifteenth and sixteenth century Italy and Hungary, not to mention the adventurous traits of his stories, (adventurous not in the sense that in his life there were adventurous moments, but because of the particular fate his works had throughout the centuries to come).

Girolamo Tiraboschi, the Jesuit historiographer of Italian literature, in the 9th volume of his *The History of Italian Literature* published in 1783 dedicates a whole chapter to Aurelio Brandolini, which up to the present day is the most detailed biography of the excellent Florentine humanist. From his subjective tone it becomes evident that the narrator remains absolutely fascinated by Brandolini's character; it is not really that Brandolini's works raise his interest, but rather his the life and personality.

„Ma non v'ebbe torse chi in tal pregio potesse paragonarsi ad Aurelio Brandolini uno de' più rari uomini di questo secolo, e di cui perciò vuoi ragione che trattiam qui con qualche particolar diligenza, benché già ne abbia assai esattamente parlato il co. Mazzucchelli.”

We can have a better look at Brandolini from the distance of the eighteenth century – even if it was rather his personality that was interesting for Tiraboschi and not his literary works. The dialogue that takes place at the Hungarian court is mentioned, but without any interest.

Let us have a look at his character. What can we know about him from the distance of half a thousand years? Aurelio was born in a noble Florentine family, he was the son of Giorgio Brandolini. The exact date of his is unknown. Tiraboschi – from the first sources where his name appears – dates his birth around 1440. If we accept his reasons, we have to correct the widespread date of 1454 used in Hungarian historiography and modify Pál Angyal's hypothesis as well,

who puts his birth to the years 1448–49. He got his nickname because he had already lost (totally or partially) his eyesight in his childhood, as he himself mentions, and as Tiraboschi quotes some of his contemporaries. In spite of this disability, he became a teacher of rhetoric and the fame of his extraordinary skill in delivering speeches spread over the walls of his city. As he indicated in the preface of the *De comparatione*, he spent over 20 years outside of Florence (probably in Rome, from where he arrived in Hungary), even if he was also (or primarily) bound to abandon his native town because of economic reasons. The King of Hungary, Matthias invited him to his court from Rome offering him the chair of rhetoric at the Histropolensis University. We do not know the exact date of his arrival in Hungary; though it seems certain that in 1481 he was still in Italy and took part at the commemorative programs of the *Platina*. The only information that seems authentic is the one given by the dialogue itself: Aurelio, the narrator says that he spent the winter of 1489–90 in Hungary, at Matthias' court.

The invitation, the commission of the of the Hungarian King perfectly matches his politics, and not just culturally; the activity, the work of the Italian humanists in Hungary in the Corvinian period reflects a precise strategy: to create and communicate the image of the sovereign with the means of the 'humanae litterae', to create the character of the good prince, or, moreover, that of the perfect prince, enhancing in this way the consolidation of his power. The task always was to serve the actual intentions and aims. From this point of view the texts of this kind can be classified in this way: works dedicated to the figure of the king: Ludovico Carbone: *Dialogus de laudibus rebusque gestis Mathiae Corvinusi* (1475); Alessandro Cortese: *De virtutibus Mathiae Corvinusi*; Naldo Naldi: *De laudibus augustae bibliothecae* (1485). Works were also dedicated to the consort, Beatrice d'Aragona (which intended to publicize and celebrate their marriage): Antonio Bonfini: *Symposion* – (1486), Aurelio Brandolini: *De humanae vitae conditione et toleranda corporis valetudine* (148?). In the end, there were texts dedicated to the education of the stepson, János, which beyond their educational value, certainly was to assure the position of the heir-to-the-throne: Galeotto Marzio: *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae* (1485); Antonio Bonfini: *Genealogia* (1486) ed Aurelio Brandolini: *De comparatione reipublicae et regni* (148?–1497).

These texts often appear in a mixed form, like in the case of Galeotto Marzio's famous text or in Brandolini's case. It is exactly Brandolini's dialogue which is to demonstrate that Matthias (a bit before his death, perhaps feeling that it is approaching) started to use the power of the pen also in internal politics in which his duty, the most worrying anguish of the final years was certainly the question of succession. It was not just the literary production, but the physical presence of Italians around the king at the court full of intrigues, being a major theatre of political struggles and clashes between the competing groups, rivals, could contribute, give emphasis to the political intentions. The humanists, who

accepted the invitation and dropped in this serious game had to take their positions, decide on which side to stand. The two most obvious possibilities were: either the ‘party’ of the queen, or that of John Corvinus – always against the Hungarian barons who were not absolutely satisfied. What is more, they were against the constant presence of the foreigners. The king needed their presence both because the circle of the Hungarian courtiers was not too large and because their bad experience (like the conspiracy of Janus Pannonius and János Vitéz) made them to favour the people who arrived from outside.

The story of Aurelio Brandolini is an excellent proof of the situation. Lippo arrived in Hungary as a rhetoric professor, but during his stay at the court he was leading the life of a courtier. In order to introduce himself, he wrote a short literary work: *De humanae vitae conditione et toleranda corporis valetudine* dedicated both to the king and the queen. It is the typical behaviour of a guest to make himself accepted and would like to fit in the community of the Hungarian court without having a profound knowledge of the reality around him. The reason of his first noble gesture is evident: he turned also to the Neapolitan Queen beside the king with this ‘captatio benevolentiae’. But later on, out of the two he chooses the king: he enters into alliance with the Corvinian ‘party’ and not with the Aragonese. He was belonging to the narrow, confidential circle around the king which can be demonstrated by the fact that it was him – the excellent, if not the most excellent orator of the court – who held the funeral oration of the dead sovereign. In his position, considering the political role he played in the life of the king, we can suppose that he was right to retreat in Italy after the death of the Matthias, with the atmosphere becoming hostile after losing his protector, and what is more, getting somewhat dangerous for the widow as well (or at least she was not welcome anymore).

After the tragic event (that he profoundly felt on his own skin) he preferred to go back to Italy, this time exactly to Florence, where he joined the Augustinian order (in the convent of Santa Maria a San Gallo) and had a career as an orator – preacher. In spite of his ecclesiastical activity – following the more and more proficient ways of the humanists – he did not abandon the princely court in Florence and his duties as a courtier. Beyond his fame as an orator, a skilful preacher, he was well-known for his excellence in improvising verses, which he himself accompanied with zither music. Various documents prove his extraordinary memory and his ability to compose, to improvise orations or to sing verses. Aurelio was known and appreciated throughout Italy. Both cities like Verona and the sovereigns like Pope Sixtus IV and Julius II or the Aragonese King Ferdinand invited him.

From the various documents collected by Mazzucchelli, Tiraboschi quotes the letter (translated by the historiographer himself into Italian) of Canon Matteo Borro written to the Paduan citizen Girolamo Campagnola who really praises him, elevating his extraordinary art that he must have practised on a very high

level already in Hungary or before arriving there, because exactly this oratorical ability had to be the main reason of his invitation.

„Abbiám qui in Verona udito di fresco profetare dal pergamo Lippo fiorentino religioso dell'Ordine dei Romitani di s. Agostino, e cieco quasi fin dalla nascita, con si grande ammirazione de' magistrati della città e degli uomini eruditi, che non è possibile parlando, o scrivendo, spiegarlo abbastanza. Egli ama singolarmente la sacra Scrittura, e la maneggià e la tratta con sommadestrezza. Ei possiede sì bene quell'antica filosofia, grave, soda ed ornata, che eie stata tramandata da' Greci, e che ora nelle nostre scuole non è più in uso, che quando di essa ragiona, non ci sembra già di udire un Burleo, un Paolo Veneto, uno Strodo, ma Pia monumenti di tutte le stori, e quanto v'ha nei poeti, negli oratori di più grande e sublime, le quali cose ha egli in tal modo presenti, che sembra averle non già apprese, ma portate seco fino dal nascere. Nel toccare la cetra, se mi è lecito il dirlo, supera Apolline ed Anfumé. E a' più famosi poeti ancora ei va innanzi perciò, che que' versi eh' essi facevano con lungo studio, egli ali' improvviso li compone e li canta. Nel che ei da a vedere una sì pronta, sì fertile, e si ferma memoria, e una sì grande felicità d'ingegno e di stile, che appena, o mio Campagnola, tu puoi immaginarla. Io non mi ricordo di 'aver mai o veduta, o letta tal cosa in altri. Di Ciro raccontasi che nominò di seguito tutti i soldati del suo esercito; di Cineia, che venuto a Roma ambasciatore di Pirro, il secondo giorno appellò coi nomi lor proprj i senatori e i cavalieri tutti di quella città di Mitridate, eh' essendo signore di ventidue nazioni, a tutti parlava nella lor lingua, e grandi cose ancora si narrano della memoria a Seneca. Ma il nostro Lippo in una grande assemblea di nobilissimi ed eruditissimi personaggi, e innanzi al podestà medesimo, qualunque cosa gli fu da essi proposta, presa in mano la cetra, l'espose tosto in ogni sorta di poetico metro. Invirato per ultimo ad improvvisare sugli uomini illustri che aveano avuta Verona per patria, egli senza trattenersi punto a pensare, e senza mai esitare, o interrompere il canto, celebrò con nobilissimi versi Catullo, Cornelio Nipote, Plinio il vecchio, ornamento e splendore della nostra città. Ma ciò ch'è più ammirabile, si è eh' egli espose ali' improvviso in elegantissimi versi tutta la Storia naturale di Plinio divisa in trentasette libri scorrendone ciaschedun capo, e non tralasciando cosa che degna fosse d'osservazione.”

In his testimony he created an image of the cultured humanist of himself who possessed the fundamental virtues of his culture (the treasures of knowledge which he always carried with him and the capacity of being able to utilize them with the device of skilful and immediate speaking), a virtue that is part of the ideal man, the idealized image of a refined, valuable person. Brandolini led this vagabond life till the October of 1497 when in Rome he was stricken by plague.

He died as a renowned and recognized orator. His orations were collected and printed in Rome in 1735 and were added to his treatise, *De ratione scribendi* which was, according to Tiraboschi, Brandolini's absolute masterpiece. He was remembered and known as a rhetor, as an expert in the appraisal of saints and as the author of a rhetorical treatise both by his contemporaries and his successors. He was also regarded as a thinker – though as a political writer he was renowned but not recognized. His stay in Hungary was ignored by his contemporaries (by the humanist community) because with the death of Matthias the fertile atmosphere, which was very friendly for those who a few years before raised a great curiosity and interest for it, disappeared.

As a result of these facts, the efforts of Matthias to make his court and state (and his politics) recognized abroad, in Italy, and also to create the image of the perfect prince of himself were not sufficient, maybe because of the lack of time or because of the intensity, the strength of his communication was not enough to make himself heard and seen from the distance. And we cannot forget the fact that the text was not of importance in Brandolini's life and when after his death his brother, Raffaele finished it and handed it over to Giovanni Medici, the manuscript was to be closed in the – at that time private – library of the Cardinal, of the family.

The researcher of the past can base his research only on facts, though the sources he is able to find must have moved his fantasies, and automatically raised the question: 'why did this work which – at least now – seems really interesting, remained hidden in the library? Probably we will never find the answer, but it is not the researcher who cannot free himself from the various hypotheses (jokes of his fantasy). The first explanation is that the small literary work was practically ignored and forgotten in a corner of a collection of precious masterpieces. The fact that the codex was lent or given as a gift to Cardinal Verallo by Giovanni Medici seems to contradict this hypothesis, as in this way the work must have been known and present, and what is more, it had to have a role in the communication, in the discourse of the Italian intellectual elite of the first part of the sixteenth century. It was appreciated, considered as an object of a certain value, importance, at least if we can believe the words of the Cardinal's brother (who had the same occupation) and who in 1567 gave the volume back to its original proprietors, to the Medici family). These words can be read on the last page of the same codex (which in this way serves as a proof of authenticity), saying that the dialogue (entitled *Il Principe!*) was appreciated by its first reader, proprietor, Giovanni Medici. Can we think that it was too precious and important for him to take it before a larger public? Can it be that it was kept as a 'Secretum Secretorum', as an occult work which contains the secrets of power: how to use the art of politics. Or, perhaps could it have unveiled the intentions of the Medici in a political situation when they did not want to play with open cards?

The missing recognition of the '*De comparatione*' dialogue from Tiraboschi's part can also be explained: in the eighteenth century, after the flourishing of the absolutism, in a critical era and a very different cultural situation – where the results of the humanist culture arrived through the filter of the Baroque and where Counter-Reformation had created a very different paradigm culture – the reasoning, the debate between the two great political systems of Aurelio expressed in the form of dialogue were not considered timely, valid (and perhaps not even thoughts). The eighteenth century spoke a different language and had a very different reasoning, with the vision of life of a different world in which the thoughts of Aurelio could not have interesting contributions to the cultural, literary and political discourse.

LÁSZLÓ SOLYMOSI

KÖNIG MATTHIAS CORVINUS UND DER UNGARISCHE HOHE KLERUS

*In memoriam Andreae Kubinyi
(1929–2007)*

Die Forschung wandelt in den Spuren der Vorgänger, obwohl sie auf neue Wege gerät. Dieser Aufsatz wäre ohne die Tätigkeit der grossen Vorläufer, wie Vilmos Fraknói, Elemér Mályusz, Erik Fügedi und vor allem András Kubinyi, der im Herbst 2007 gestorben ist, nicht entstanden.¹

Klausenburg und Wien. Matthias Hunyadi wurde am 23. Februar 1443. in der hauptsächlich von Ungarn und Sachsen bevölkerten Stadt geboren und war in der Burg der kaiserlichen Residenzstadt gestorben, die von ihm erobert wurde, als König von Ungarn und Böhmen. Er lebte insgesamt nur 47 Jahre, davon aber 32 als Herrscher. Während dieser karg bemessenen, doch grosszügigen Lebensbahn verwirklichte er Kammer-, Kanzlei- und Gerichtsreformen. Er brauchte ein ständiges Heer. Matthias kämpfte gegen die Türken, Deutschen, Polen und den Woiwode von Moldau, eroberte Gebiete. Er gründete eine berühmte Bibliothek. Die *Bibliotheca Corviniana* bestand aus 2000–2500 Bände. Er benutzte die zeitgenössische Erfindung, den Buchdruck für propagandistische Zwecke. Während seiner Regierung entfaltete sich der Humanismus im Karpatenbecken voll, und die Renaissance gewann an Boden außerhalb Italiens auch.²

¹ Fundamentales Werk zu diesem Thema: Kubinyi, András, „Mátyás király és a magyar püspökök.” [König Matthias und die ungarischen Bischöfe] In: Draskóczy, István (ed.), *Scripta manent. Ünnepi tanulmányok a 60. életévét betöltött Gericz József professzor tiszteletére*. [Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von József Gericz] Budapest, 1994. 147–164. Neudruck In: Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. [Prälaten, kirchliche Institutionen und Gläubigkeit im mittelalterlichen Ungarn] Budapest, 1999. (METEM Könyvek 22) 69–86. In diesem Werk benutzte und korrigierte András Kubinyi die Sammlung von Daten der Pionierarbeit von Erik Fügedi, „A XV. századi magyar püspökök” [Die ungarischen Bischöfe im 15. Jahrhundert], *Történelmi Szemle* 8 (1965) 486–491. Die englische Version und die ungarische Neudruck dieser Abhandlungen haben keine Sammlung von Daten. Fügedi, Erik, „Hungarian Bishops in the Fifteenth Century”, *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricarum*. Bd. 11. Budapest, 1965. 375–391, Idem, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. [Bettelmönche, Bürger, Adelligen. Abhandlungen über das ungarische Mittelalter.] Budapest, 1981. 89–113.

² Kubinyi, András, *Mátyás király* [König Matthias]. Budapest, 2001. Englische Version: Idem, *Matthias rex*. Budapest, 2008.

Matthias Corvinus stützte sich – ähnlich seiner Vorläufer – auf die Prälaten, Baronen, und nötigenfalls die Adeligen. Der wichtigste Regierungsanstalt, der Königsrat bestand aus Prälaten und Baronen (*praelati et barones*), neben ihnen nahmen an dem Landestag auch die Adeligen teil. Die politische Rolle der ca. vierzig Magnatenfamilien wurde mit der Hilfe ihrer Burgdomänen unterstützt.³ Ihr Einfluß wurde damit erhöht, dass wegen der Familiarität der bedeutende Teil des Adels sich an ihnen binden ließ.⁴ Die Stelle der geistlichen Würdenträger war aber ganz anders.⁵

Die ungarische Kirchenorganisation bestand von der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts bis zur Zeit von Königin Maria Theresia (1740–1780) aus 14 Diözesen.⁶ In den Diözesen und Kirchenprovinzen von Gran und Kalocsa wurde die Regierung von den Erzbischöfen, in den anderen Diözesen von den Bischöfen geführt. Das Haupt der ungarischen Teilkirche war der Primas, der Erzbischof von Gran. Die 14 Prälaten besaßen 5 Prozent des Besitzstandes Ungarns, und 10 Prozent der Bürger, insgesamt 38 Bürger und 3 Schlösser waren in ihrem Eigentum.⁷ Das

³ Kubinyi, András, „Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében” [Barone im Königsrat in der Zeit von Matthias und Wladislaw II], *Századok* 122 (1988)148–152, Idem, „A magyar országgyűlések tárgyalási rendje 1445–1526” [Die Verhandlungsweise der ungarischen Reichstage], *Jogtörténeti Szemle* 2006. Nr. 2. 3–11, Idem, „Társadalom és rendiség a késő-középkorban különös tekintettel az egyházi személyek politikai lehetőségeire”. In: Füzes, Ádám–Legeza, László (ed.), *Memoriae tradere. Tanulmányok és írások Török József hatvanadik születésnapjára*. [Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von József Török] Budapest. 2006. 189–206.

⁴ Kubinyi, András, „A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik (szervitoraik)” [Die Szapolyais und ihre Familiaren], In: Bessenyei, József–Horváth, Zita–Tóth, Péter (ed.), *Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről*. [Ahanglungen über János Szapolyai und das frühneuzeitliche Siebenbürgen] Miskolc, 2004. (Studia Miskolcinsia 5) 169–194.

⁵ Laut der Abfassung von König Matthias in 1464: „Prelati regni huius in rebus spiritualibus presides ac directores religionis sunt, in temporalibus vero maxima pars roboris et firmamenti publici”. Fraknói, Vilmos (ed.), *Mátyás király levelei. Külügyi osztály* [Briefe des Königs Matthias. Abteilung für Auslandsbeziehungen]. Bd. I–II. Budapest, 1893–1895. (im weiteren MKL) Bd. I. 92. Zitiert von Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 69, 87. – Fraknói Werk erschien in einem Neudruck: *Mátyás király levelei. Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae exterae*. Fraknói Vilmos munkáját sajtó alá rendezte és az Utószót írta Mayer Gyula. [Das Werk von Vilmos Fraknói redigiert und das Nachwort geschrieben von Gyula Mayer] Budapest, 2008.

⁶ Solymosi, László, „Chartes archiépiscopales et épiscopales en Hongrie avant 1250”, In: Christoph Haidacher–Werner Köfler (ed.), *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*. Innsbruck, 1995. 159, 168, Mályusz, Elemér, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Kirchliche Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Ungarn] Budapest, 1971. 180–181, E. Kovács, Péter, „A leggazdagabb magyarok 1472-ben” [Die reichsten Ungarn im Jahre 1472], *Századok* 139 (2005) 425–428.

⁷ Engel, Pál, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London–New York, 2001. 334, Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 69, 87, 219–220.

Zehenteinnahmen war viel bedeutsamer, als das Einkommen von den Gütern, das bestand hauptsächlich aus Getreidesorten und Wein.⁸

Das Einkommen der Prälaten war sehr unterschiedlich. Sie verfügten einerseits über verschiedenen Güterstand, andererseits die Ausdehnung und Naturgegebenheiten der Diözesen waren sehr abwechslungsreich, jedoch wurde das Zehenteinnahmen dadurch entscheidend bestimmt. Die Grösse der Einkommen und die Hierarchie der Pontifikaleinkünfte werden von dem 20. Gesetzartikel vom Jahre 1498 genauer veranschaulicht, als die verschiedene Einschätzungen.⁹ Dieser Artikel legte fest, wieviel Reiter von einem Prälaten herausgestellt werden müssen.¹⁰ Im Falle der Mobilisierung musste der Erzbischof von Gran und der Bischof von Erlau je eins zwei Banderien, also 800 Reitersmänner herausstellen, der Erzbischof von Kalocsa und die Bischöfe von Siebenbürgen, Fünfkirchen, Wardein und Agram 400 Reiter, die Bischöfe von Raab, Waitzen und Wesprim 200 Reiter, der Bischof von Csanád 100, die Prälaten von Neutra und Syrmien einzeln 50 Reiter. Der 14. Prälat, der Bischof von Bosnien (Diakóvár/Đakovo) kam in dieser Liste nicht vor, weil seine Einkünfte wegen der Zerstörung der Türken auch für die Aufstellung eines kleinen Kontingents ungenügend war. Die 11 Banderien, die von den Prälaten erfordert wurden, also eine Ritterarmee von 4400 Soldaten waren überaus kostspielig. Die Besoldung eines Reiters war 3 Forinte pro Monat.¹¹ Diese Geldsumme sicherte ihm sein Auskommen, sogar damit konnte er auch sein Pferd alimentieren. Wir können das mit dem Preis eines Ochsen vergleichen, der betrug 2 bzw. 5 Forinte.¹²

Die Prälaten waren Grundherren und Bannerherren. Sie waren in dieser Sache mit den Magnaten ähnlich. Aber sie unterschieden sich wesentlich von ihnen. Sie waren vor allem gebildete Leute. Außer ihrer Muttersprache konnten sie Latein, sie verstanden die Sprache der Liturgie, Literatur, Wissenschaft der internationalen Verbindung. Einen beträchtlichen Teil von ihnen vermehrten ihre Kenntnisse nach der heimischen Bildung im Ausland. Sie studierten in Italien, Wien oder Krakau, sie verschafften sich zeithafter Bildung, bildeten Beziehungen heraus, und ein Teil von ihnen kam nicht nur mit weiterem Gesichtskreis, sondern mit einem akademischen Grad nach Hause. Die Lage der geistlichen Würdenträ-

⁸ Holub, József, „Egy dunántúli egyházi nagybirtok élete a középkor végén“ [Leben eines transdanubischen kirchlichen Großbesitzes am Ende des Mittelalters], *Pannonia* 7 (1941–1942) 302, Fügedi, Erik, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek*, 123, 147, Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények*, 88.

⁹ Fügedi, Erik, „A XV. századi magyar püspökök“, 483–484, Mályusz, Elemér. *Egyházi társadalom*, 180–181, E. Kovács, Péter, „A leggazdagabb magyarok“, 425–426, Kubinyi, András, „Társadalom és rendiség“ 190–191.

¹⁰ Márkus, Dezső (ed.), *Magyar törvénytár. Corpus juris Hungarici*. Bd. I. Budapest, 1899. 606.

¹¹ Kubinyi, András, *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig. A Mátyás- és a Jagelló-kor haditörténete*. [Von Nándorfehérvár bis Mohács. Kriegsgeschichte der Zeit von Matthias und Jagellonen] Budapest, 2007. 214–215.

¹² Kubinyi, András, *Matthias rex*. 38.

ger wurde von ihrer doppelten Verbindung eigenartig gemacht. Sie waren einerseits die Prälaten der von dem römischen Papst regierten Universal- und ihrer ungarischen Teilkirche, andererseits waren die Untertanen des ungarischen Königs.

Die Interessen der Kirche, die über eine transzendente Mission, eigene Sprache, Rechtssystem und Gerichtswesen verfügte und eine supranationale – über den Nationen stehende – Institution war und die Interessen des ungarischen Herrschers waren nicht unbedingt im Einklang. Die Gegensätze kulminierten in der Designation der geistlichen Würdenträger. Das Wesen des Problems ist einfach zu begreifen. Wer hat eine entscheidende Rolle in der Auswahl des Prälaten? Der Papst oder der König? Die Frage war deswegen besonders wichtig, weil die Ernennung bis zum Tode des Prälaten gültig war. Es kam außerordentlich selten vor, dass der hohe Geistliche bei einem kirchlichen Gerichtsverfahren seines Amtes entheben wurde. Von der nicht geeigneten Person konnte man nicht Versetzung befreit werden. Die Versetzung diente nicht diesem Zwecke, sondern der Belohnung des Prälaten. In diesem Fall wurde eine Wahl mit der Bitte der Enthebung durchgeführt (*postulatio*), die bei der päpstlichen Bestätigung damit verbunden war, dass der Prälat von einer Diözese in eine andere geriet, sein erzpriesterlicher Stuhl wurde mit einem anderen vertauscht. Er erhielt manchmal eine reichere Pfründe, grösseres Einkommen.

Sigmund ungarischer König und deutscher Kaiser wollte die Interessen des ungarischen Herrschers an dem Konstanzer Konzil sichern, das wegen der Aufhebung des Schismas einberufen wurde. 1417 bewog er die 21 anwesenden Kardinäle, um die Konstanzer Bulle zu erlassen. Darin versprachen die Kardinäle – mit Rücksicht darauf, dass Ungarn im Kampf gegen die Türken das Bollwerk und der Schild des Christentums (*propugnaculum et clipeus Christianitatis*) war –, sie werden dafür sorgen, dass der erwählende Papst und seine Nachfolger nur solche Geistlichen an die Spitze der Erzbistümer, Bistümer und Äbte ernennen lassen, in deren Interesse die ungarischen Könige ein Gesuch (*supplicatio*) einreichen. Sie nahmen über sich das auch, dass der apostolische Stuhl sich nicht in die Schenkung der Pründen Ungarns und der Satellitenländer nicht einmischen.¹³ Obwohl das Versprechen der Kardinäle sich nicht verwirklichte, denn kein Papst ratifizierte die sog. Konstanzer Bulle, die ungarischen Könige bildeten darauf ihr Patronatsherrenrecht. Der Gouverneur Ungarns, János Hunyadi schrieb 1450 dem Papst, dass die Schenkung aller Pfründen und die Verfügung über sie seit Menschengedanken zu den Privilegien der Krone gehörte.¹⁴

Die Designation der Erzbischöfe und Bischöfe fasste drei Elemente in sich: die Auswahl der geeigneten Person (*electio*), ihre Presentation (*praesentatio*) und ihre

¹³ Mályusz, Elemér, *Das Konstanzer Konzil und das königliche Patronatsrecht in Ungarn*. Budapest 1959. (Studia Hungarica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 18) 8–9. Vgl. Erdő, Péter, *Egyházjog a középkori Magyarországon* [Kirchenrecht im mittelalterlichen Ungarn]. Budapest, 2001. 200–213.

¹⁴ Fraknói, Vilmos, *A magyar királyi kegyúri jog Szent Istvántól Mária Teréziáig* [Das Patronatsrecht der ungarischen Könige von Stefan dem Heiligen bis Maria Theresia]. Budapest, 1895. 170–171.

Befestigung (*confirmatio*).¹⁵ Der ungarische König behielt sich selbst – aufgrund des Patronatsherrenrechtes – das Recht der Auswahl und der Presentation vor. Obwohl er dem Papst das Recht der Bestätigung ließ, er stellte ihn vor ein *Fait accompli* damit, dass der König seinem Kandidaten vor der päpstlichen Befestigung, der Ablegung des Treueides und der Bischofsweihe danach die Bürger und Güter übergab. Der Kandidat gelang damit in den Besitz der Regierung der Diözese und des Genusses der Pfründe.¹⁶ Der Papst konnte dieses Verfahren, das mit dem Kanonrecht gegensätzlich war, nicht verhindern.¹⁷ Der König war innerhalb des Gutes. Der Papst konnte nichts anders tun, als über diese Regelwidrigkeit hinwegsehen und die Kandidaten des Königs zu bestätigen, sogar er musste manchmal nachlassen. Ein klassisches Beispiel darauf ist der Fall des Bistums von Modrus.¹⁸

Die kroatische Kirchenorganisation war von der ungarischen Teilkirche unabhängig, aber nicht von dem ungarischen Herrscher. Der König von Ungarn war zugleich seit 1102 der König von Kroatien auch, und er machte sein Patronatsherrenrecht in Kroatien geltend, besonders bei der Besetzung der Bistümer von Modrus, Knin und Zengg.¹⁹

1480 ließ Christoph von Ragusa von dem Papst in den vakant gewordene Bischofsstuhl von Modrus ernannt. König Matthias bestimmte aber den Dominikanermönch und den Beichvater der Königin Beatrice, Anton von Zadar zum Bischof. Als er sich von der päpstlichen Designation unterrichtete, er nahm tatkräftig in Schutz seines Patronatsherrenrechtes. Er betrachtete die Entscheidung für ungültig, denn er schlug den Kandidat in seinem Brief dem Papst regelmäßig vor, er präsentierte seinen Erwählte wegen Bestätigung. Matthias argumentierte – auf die zwei Heidenaufstände des 11. Jahrhunderts – so, dass die Ungarn würden sich lieber bis ins dritte Glied von der katholischen Glaube lossagen und sich an die Ungläubigen schliessen, als erlauben, dass der Heilige Stuhl die Besitztümer des Landes ohne königliche Wahl und Präsentation (*absque electione et presentatione regum*) schenke.²⁰ Er brachte dem Papst in gebieterischem Tone zur Kenntnis, er kann sicher sein, dass jedermann zur Erlangung dieser Kirche strebe, kann das

¹⁵ Vgl. Galla, Ferenc, „Mátyás király és a Szentszék“. [König Matthias und der Heilige Stuhl] In: Lukinich, Imre (ed.), *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulójára*. [Gedächtnisbuch anlässlich fünfhundertjähriger Wende des Geburtstags von König Matthias] Bd. I. Budapest, [1940.] 112, 166 (Anm. 36).

¹⁶ Fügedi, Erik, „A XV. századi magyar püspökök“, 478, Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 71.

¹⁷ Erdő, Péter, *Egyházjog*, 203–204, 209.

¹⁸ Fraknoi, Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-székkal* [Ungarns kirchliche und politische Beziehungen zum Heiligen Stuhl in Rom]. Bd. I–III. Budapest, 1901–1903. Bd. II. 227–229.

¹⁹ Wir beschäftigen uns hier mit den Bischöfen dieser Bistümer nicht.

²⁰ Die Ungarn „antequam beneficia huius regni apud sedem apostolicam absque electione et presentatione regum suorum conferri paterentur, mallent potius tertio fidem catholicam postponere atque infidelium numero et societati adherere“. MKL Bd. II. 40.

nicht erwerben, selbst dann wenn diese Kirche ohne Oberhirt bleiben solle.²¹ Er brachte seine Empörung gleichzeitig dem Kardinalkollegium zum Ausdruck. Matthias rief das Angstbild des Anschlusses der byzantinischen Kirche hervor und sagte, dass die ungarische Nation würde lieber das Doppelkreuz in ihrem Wappen in Dreierkreuz verändern, als erlauben, dass der apostolische Stuhl jene Pfründe und erzpriesterliche Stellen schenke, die zum Rechte der Krone gehören.²² Der Auftritt des Königs Matthias war von Erfolg begleitet, Anton von Zadar ließ sich endlich von dem Papst zum Bischof von Modrus ernannt. Der ungarische König hatte kein Problem mit der Person von Christoph von Ragusa, denn er unterstützte später seine Designation zum Bischofsstuhl, sondern er konnte dieses Unrecht gegen das Recht des Königs und die Freiheit des Landes nicht annehmen.²³

König Matthias brachte sein Patronatsherrenrecht weitgehend zur Geltung. Er wollte es auch auf den eroberten Gebieten üben.²⁴ König Matthias war nicht kompromissbereit, er wollte dem Beispiel des Kaisers Friedrich III. nicht folgen, er wollte gar kein Konkordat schließen.²⁵ Der Papst behielt sich selbst nach der alten Praxis das Recht der Designation (*reservatio*) in vollem Maße vor, als der Prälat in päpstlichen Hof gestorben war (*beneficia in curia vacantia*). Kardinal Johann von Aragonien, Erzbischof von Gran und Kardinal Gabriel von Verona, Bischof von Erlau schieden in Rom dahin. Der König von Ungarn ließ aber nicht, dass dieses eigene Recht des Papstes zur Geltung gelange. Er ging so vor wie sonst. Er ließ sich seine Kandidaten ohne besonderem Widerstand angenommen und vom Papst designiert. So wurde Hippolyt von Este zum Erzbischof von Gran und Orbán Nagylucei zum Bischof von Erlau.²⁶

Während der Herrschaft von Matthias wissen wir von der Tätigkeit von insgesamt 41 Prälate in 14 ungarischen Diözesen. Elf von ihnen erhielten ihre hohe

²¹ „... certa sit, quod quicumque alius preterquam is, quem nos eligimus, pro dicta ecclesia laboret, nunquam tamen assequatur, etiamsi oppoteret ecclesiam illam proprio absque presulo remanere”. MKL Bd. II. 41

²² „Et ut sanctitas sua aperte cognoscat, certa esse debeat, dupplicatam illam crucem, quod regni nostri insigne est, gentem Hungaram libentius triplicare, quam id consentire, ut beneficia et prelature ad ius corone spectantes apud sedem apostolicam conferantur.” MKL Bd. II. 47.

²³ Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 77.

²⁴ Vgl. Kalous, Antonín, „Spor o biskupství olomoucké v letech 1482–1497” [The Disputed Bishopric of Olomouc] *Český časopis historický* 105 (2007) 1–39. Auf diese Abhandlungen hat mich freundlicherweise der Verfasser aufmerksam gemacht. Ich danke ihm für seine Hilfe.

²⁵ Vgl. Meyer, Andreas, „Das Wiener Konkordat von 1448. Eine erfolgreiche Reform des Spätmittelalters” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 66 (1986) 108–152, Koller, Heinrich, „Zur Reichsreform beim Regierungsantritt Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493)”. In: Petersohn, Jürgen (ed.), *Mediaevalia Augiensia. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*. Stuttgart, 2001. (Vorträge und Forschungen 54) 354, Diederich, Toni, „Ad maiorem cautelam. Zur Kumulation von Beglaubigungsmitteln in einer Urkunde des Kölner Domkapitels von 1480”, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 52 (2006) 158–190.

²⁶ Mályusz, Elemér, *Das Konstanzer Konzil*, 100–101.

geistliche Würde noch vor 1458.²⁷ Sie waren das Erbe. Zu dieser Gruppe gehörten die Bischöfe János Vitéz von Wardein, Albert Vetési von Wesprim und István Várdai Erzbischof von Kalocsa. Elf Prälaten unter der Führung von Dénes Szécsi, Erzbischof von Gran unterstützten die Königswahl von Matthias einheitlich. Der Papst und der päpstliche Gesandte in Ungarn setzten grosse Hoffnungen auf den neue König. Sie glaubten, dass Matthias die türkenfeindliche Politik seines Vaters, des Helden János Hunyadi fortsetzen könne.²⁸ Dénes Szécsi stand bei dem neuen König, zwar seine Familie zum Lager der politischen Gegner der Familie Hunyadi gehörte.²⁹ Er tat so gleich nach ein Jahr später, als es zur Entscheidung kam.

*Erzbischöfe und Bischöfe in Ungarn
1458–1490*

Aragonia, Johann von	Bakócz, Tamás
Bárius, Miklós	Bátori, Miklós
Beckensloer, Johann	Csezmicei, János
Csupor, Demeter	Debrentei, Tamás
Ernuszt, Zsigmond	Este, Hippolyt von
Filipec, Johann	Fodor, István
Geréb, László	Gergely, * Bischof von Bosnien
Gergely, * Bischof von Neutra	Handó, György
Hangácsi, Albert	Hédervári, László
Illés, * Bischof von Neutra	Labiszyn, Matthäus von
Lóvei, Benedek	Matucsinai, Gábor
Nagylucsei, Orbán	Orbán, * Bischof von Syrmien
Pálóci, Zsigmond	Pescia, Balthasar von
Salánki, Agoston	Stoltz, Nikolaus
Szakolyi, János	Szapolyai, Miklós
Szécsi, Dénes	Szegedi, Lukács
Szilasi, Vince	Tuz, Osvát
Váradai, Péter	Várdai, István
Várdai, Mátyás	Verona, Gabriel von
Vetési, Albert	Vitéz, János
	Vitéz, János der Jüngere

Durch die fette Drucktype wurden die vor 1458 ernannten Prälaten unterschieden.

* Der Familienname ist nicht bekannt.

²⁷ Die prosopographischen Daten der elf Prälaten siehe Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. [Ungarns weltliche Prosopographie] Bd. I. Budapest, 1996. 64–80.

²⁸ Fraknói, Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, Bd. II. 109–111, E. Kovács, Péter, „A Szentszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak alatt (1437–1490)“ [Der Heilige Stuhl, die Türken und Ungarn in der Zeit von Hunyadis], In: Zombori, István (ed.), *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának 1000 éve*. [Tausende Jahre der Beziehungen zwischen Ungarn und den Heiligen Stuhl] Budapest, 1996. 105–106.

²⁹ Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 72, 74–75, 143–144.

Als Antwort auf die Verschwörung des Ex-Palatins László Garai, Matthias rief die Prälaten, Baronen und angesehene Adelige in Ofen zusammen. Am Anfang 1459 schwürten die Anwesenden Treue und Gehorsam in ihrem Eid, und sie nahmen sich auf, dass sie im Leben von Matthias niemand anders den König von Ungarn nennen, und gegen seine Feinde Hilfe leisten. Der König legte auch einen Schwur ab und versprach, dass er sich in den Landessachen auf ihre Räte stütze und ohne ihre Einwilligung verändere er die Rechte und Sitten des Landes nicht.³⁰ Einer der Prälaten leistete den Eid nicht. Der Bischof von Siebenbürgen polnischer Herkunft³¹ Matthäus von Łabiszyn erschien in Ofen nicht, sondern er schloss sich der Gruppe jener Magnaten in Transdanubien an, die in Güssing unter der Leitung von László Garai und Miklós Újlaki Friedrich III. deutsch-römischen Kaiser zum König von Ungarn erwählten.³² Als Matthias gewann die Oberhand über die Umstände, brachte ihn um seine Pfründe. Die Strafe dauerte aber nicht lange, denn er setzte Matthäus von Łabiszyn im Sinne der Vereinbarung mit Újlaki in das Bistum wieder.³³ Die Haltung von Újlaki ist eindeutig damit, dass er den Prälat in die Konspiration gegen den König hineinzog. Matthäus von Łabiszyn kam in der Gefolgschaft des erwählten Königs von Wladislaus I. Ungarn an, von wem er auf den Bischofsstuhl von Siebenbürgen erhoben wurde. Matthäus von Łabiszyn dürfte sich in Siebenbürgen mit dem Woiwode von Siebenbürgen Miklós Újlaki³⁴ in engere Verbindung setzen und wurde sein unerschütterlicher Anhänger, fast verhängnisvoll.

Zum ersten Male geriet Matthias in Konflikt mit einem Prälaten. Er ließ sich allerdings von diesem Fall darüber nachdenken müssen, wer sollte von Matthias auf die leer werdenden Bischofsstühle erhoben und welchen Gesichtspunkten gemäß seine neue geistliche Würdenträger erwählt werden.

János Vitéz und Albert Vetési standen von den Prälaten, die vor 1458 ernannt wurden, ohne Zweifel am nächsten zu Matthias; beide waren die Schützlinge von János Hunyadi, aber der liebste für Matthias dürfte István Várdai, Erzbischof von Kalocsa (1457–1471) sein.³⁵ Neben Vitéz wurde er zum Erz- und Geheimkanzler

³⁰ Kovachich, Martinus Georgius, *Vestigia comitorum apud Hungaros ab exordio regni eorum in Pannonia usque ad hodiernum diem celebratorum*. Budae 1790. 352–355. Die Liste der elf Prälaten: *Ebenda*, 353.

³¹ Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, Bd. I. 71.

³² Kovachich, Martinus Georgius, *Vestigia comitorum*, 348–352.

³³ Fraknói, Vilmos (ed.), *Oklevéltár a magyar királyi kegyuri jog történetéhez* [Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des ungarischen königlichen Patronatsrechts]. Budapest, 1899. XVIII. Vgl. Temesváry, János, *Erdély középkori püspökei* [Siebenbürgens Bischöfe im Mittelalter]. Cluj–Kolozsvár, 1922. 371–372.

³⁴ Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, Bd. I. 15.

³⁵ Über das Lebenslauf von Várdai Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)*. [Lebensbeschreibung der Kalocsaer Erzbischöfe] Köln, 1991. (Dissertationes Hungaricae ex historia Ecclesiae 11) 294–321. Vgl. Kubinyi, András, „Adatok a Mátyás-kori királyi kancellária és az 1464. évi kancelláriai reform történetéhez” [Beiträge zur Geschichte der königlichen

erhoben, und als der König Vitéz außer acht ließ, schlug ihn bei dem Papst als Kardinal vor und schrieb über ihm eine echte Würdigung. 1464 schrieb und bestätigte Matthias nicht viel später nach der Krönung, auf Bitte von István Várdai die Urkunde seiner Mutter, Erzsébet Szilágyi um, die von der Bezahlung des Debreziner Zolles die Bewohner des Besitzes der Várdai, hieß Szentgyörgy befreite.³⁶ Der König ging ungewöhnlich vor, als er die Erfüllung der Bitte ausführlich begründete. Er zählte die Verdienste von István Várdai, seine Dienste und Taten auf. Der König würdigte seine Beständigkeit, Gehorsamkeit, weise Ratschläge und alle seine Hilfe, einschließlich die militärische auch.³⁷ Er schätzte die kirchliche Tätigkeit von Várdai mit keinem Wort, weil er sich selbst als inkom-

Kanzlei in der Matthiaszeit und der Kanzleireform 1464], In: *Publicationes universitatis Miskolcensis. Sectio Philosophica*. Tom. IX. Fasc. 1. Miskolc, 2004. 25–58.

³⁶ Kammerer, Ernő (ed.), *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy, de Zich et Vásonkeő*. Bd. X. Budapest, 1907. 296–301.

³⁷ „Nos itaque humilimis et devotis supplicationibus antefati domini Stephani archiepiscopi per eum suo et aliorum supradictorum nominibus maiestati nostre modo premissis porrectis, regia benignitate exauditis et clementer admissis, prescriptas litteras genitricis nostre non abrasas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas presentibusque litteris nostris privilegialibus de verbo ad verbum sine diminutione et augmento aliquali inseri et inscribi faciendo, quo ad omnes earum contentientias, clausulas et articulos acceptamus, approbamus et ratificamus, nichlominusque exigentibus sincere fidelitatis obsequiis et clarissimarum virtutum meritis prefati domini Stephani archiepiscopi, quibus idem se maiestati nostre gratissimum reddidit, is enim dominus Stephanus archiepiscopus a tempore electionis nostre in regem huius regni nostri usque in presentiarum in cunctis rebus et negotiis, necnon etiam expeditionibus exercituum, tam intra quam extra regnum, contra latrones Bohemos, Thurcos, paganos et alios inimicos sepe numero motis, presertim vero eo tempore, quo plerique maiores de hoc regno nostro ab obedientia nostra declinantes contra maiestatem nostram dissesiones non parvas suscitaverant, firmissime in fidei sue constantia perseverando personeque ac rebus et bonis suis minime parcendo, prudenti consilio et forti assistentia ac auxilio maiestati nostre affuit, studuitque pro toto posse suo laborare, usque mentes prefatorum subditorum nostrorum in diversas scisse sententias composite sunt, et se in obedientia nobis servanda ad extremum firmaverunt, subvenit etiam nobis de convenienti auxilio gentium suarum pro recuperatione regni nostri Bozne de manibus Thurcorum domino opitulante pridem feliciter facta, pro recuperatione denique sacre corone prefati regni nostri Hungarie a manibus serenissimi principis domini Friderici, Romanorum imperatoris, apud quem circiter vigintiquatuor annos invita comunitate regni nostri tenta est, cum aliis fidelibus nostris, quousque reddita et nobis reportata est, fidelissime laboravit, qua nobis iam auxiliante domino feliciter coronatis ipse dominus Stephanus archiepiscopus summus et secretarius cancellarius noster in dies res nostras et regni nostri prudenti consilio suo utilius dirigit et statum augmentare studet, ac ea omni studio suo curat, que ad exaltationem nostri nominis et status salubremque conservationem rei publice prefati regni nostri conveniunt. Volentes igitur viri sic bene meriti presenti voto respondere, dictas litteras genitricis nostre de mera regia auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine, ex certaque nostre maiestatis scientia et animo deliberato, prelatorum etiam et baronum nostrorum ad id specialiter requisito consilio pro eodem domino Stephano archiepiscopo ac dictis fratribus suis eorundemque fratrum suorum heredibus et posteritatibus universis innovantes perpetuo valituras confirmamus presentis scripti nostri patrocinio mediante, salvo iure alieno.” Kammerer, Ernő (ed.), *A Zichy-család okmánytára*, Bd. X. 299–300. Vgl. Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Ungarisches Staatsarchiv, Diplomatisches Archiv], Budapest, [im weiteren MOL DL] 81556, 88393. Nach der Originalurkunde (MOL DL 81556) und ihrer Kopie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts (MOL DL 88393) wurde diese Urkundenedition verbessert und ergänzt.

petent und als Herrscher brauchte er nicht darauf. In seinem Vorschlag für den Kardinaltitel ließ er sich natürlich darüber aus, als er Várdai so charakterisierte, dass er tadellos, gebildet, in den kirchlichen und weltlichen Sachen erfahren ist.³⁸

König Matthias suchte die Eigenschaften von Várdai in den Kandidaten, die zu den geistlichen Würden ausersehen wurden. Er verlangte Rechenschaft über sie als Herrscher. Als György Handó, Propst von Fünfkirchen von ihm als Gesandte nach Rom geschickt wurde, und schrieb ein Widmungsbrief dem Papst, er zeichnete nur das auf, dass der Propst dem König noch geliebter sei, als früher, denn er konnte seine Treue (*fides*) und Weisheit (*prudencia*) oftmals erfahren.³⁹ In dem königlichen Hof beobachtete er seine Kanzlei- und andere Beamten, und er belohnte die dafür geeigneten Personen mit immer höheren kirchlichen Würden. György Handó starb als Erz- und Geheimkanzler und Erzbischof von Kalocsa.⁴⁰

Die Mehrheit der Ernannten von Matthias liess sich von solchen Personen bilden, die dem König bürokratischen und diplomatischen Dienst erwiesen.⁴¹ Sie erhielten den erzpriesterlichen Stuhl als Prämie und Bezahlung. Zu ihnen gehörte neben Handó auch Albert Hangácsi (er wurde von dem Gouverneur Mihály Szilágyi⁴² ernannt), János Csezmicsei (als Dichter Janus Pannonius), Tamás Bakócz, Gábor Matucsina, Orbán Nagylucsei, Péter Váradi, János Vitéz der Jüngere und andere auch.

Mit Rücksicht auf ihre Herkunft waren sie Adelligen, zum kleineren Teil Bauern oder Bürger. Unter den sechs nicht Adelligen wurde Tamás Bakócz und Orbán Nagylucsei von dem Herrscher in den Adelsstand erhoben, früher vor ihrer bischöflichen Designation.⁴³ Die Baronen bildeten die andere Gruppe, die von dem König in politischer Erwägung ausgewählt wurden. Zu ihnen gehörte László Geréb, Bischof von Siebenbürgen, der Cousin des Königs. Aber die Verwandtschaft zählte hier grundlegend nicht, der König begünstigte seine Verwandten besonders nicht; von dem Gesichtspunkt des Königs war es wichtig, um ein zuverlässiger Prälat in Siebenbürgen zu geraten. Die geistlichen Würdenträger freiherrlicher Herkunft waren vorher keine Beamten oder Diplomaten, sie bekamen solchen Auftrag höchstens als Bischöfe.

³⁸ MKL Bd. I. 91.

³⁹ MKL Bd. I. 135.

⁴⁰ Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek, 328–334*, Fedeles, Tamás, *A pécsi káptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526)*. [Personalien des Domkapitels von Fünfkirchen im Spätmittelalter] Pécs, 2005. (Tanulmányok Pécs Történetéből 17) 373–375.

⁴¹ Die Daten über die unten erwähnten Prälaten siehe Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság, 76–77, 83–84*.

⁴² Fraknói, Vilmos (ed.), *Oklevéltár, IX. Anm. 2*. Vgl. Juhász, Kálmán, *A csanádi püspökség története (1434–1500)*. [Geschichte des Tschanader Bistums] Makó, 1947. (Csanádi püspökség története 5) 51, Fedeles, Tamás, *A pécsi káptalan, 375–377*.

⁴³ Bónis, György, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*. [Die rechtskundige Intelligenz in Ungarn vor Mohács] Budapest, 1971. 230–231, 237, Horváth Richárd, „Bakócz Tamás” [Tamás Bakócz], In: Farbak, Péter–Speckner, Enikő–Szende, Katalin–Végh, András (ed.), *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király*. [Matthias Hunyadi, der König] Budapest, 2008. 272–273.

Matthias ernannte insgesamt sieben Ausländer zum Prälaten, vier Italiener, zwei Schlesier und einen Mähren. Ihre Anwesenheit war im Falle eines supranationalen Instituts natürlich. Aber es war eine ausserordentlich grosse Zahl, weil es unter den angeerbten Prälaten nur ein Fremde gab, der Bischof polnischer Abstammung von Siebenbürgen. Wir können noch dazu bedingungsweise den zweiten mährischen Prälaten zu dieser Gruppe rechnen: das war Protas von Boskowitz (Tas Černošský z Boskovic), der Bischof von Olmütz, der Mitstudent von Janus Pannonius in Italien, der sich von Matthias Corvinus durch eine Wahl mit Enthebungsbitte (*postulatio*) zum Bischof von Siebenbürgen erhoben ließ. Obzwar Protas keine Bestätigung von dem Papst erhielt, er genoss seine Pfründe wenigstens für ein Jahr, denn seine Nefte, Jaroslaw von Boskowitz, als Verweser der Diözese eintrieb seine Gebühr.⁴⁴

Im Hintergrund der Ernennung der Ausländer standen vielfache Überlegungen. Die zwei päpstlichen Legaten (Gabriel von Verona und Balthasar von Pescia) wurden mit der Rücksicht auf die Verbindungen mit dem Papst belohnt, welche Verbindungen für die Aussen- und die Kirchenpolitik sehr wichtig waren.⁴⁵ Die Position mehrerer war mit dem böhmischen Krieg des Königs und der Erwerbung des böhmischen Königstitel im Zusammenhang. Unter ihnen erwarben sich der polyglotte Schlesier, Johann Beckensloer und Johann Filipec aus Mähren mit ihren amtlichen und diplomatischen Diensten die Schätzung des Königs. Protas von Boskowitz, Bischof von Olmütz machte sich verdient um die Königswahl von Matthias Corvinus, der sich 1469 in dem Olmützer Dom von den katholischen böhmischen Ständen zum böhmischen König erwählen ließ. Dafür wurde er mit dem Bischofstuhl Siebenbürgens vorübergehend belohnt. Der mährische Prälat, als ergebener Getreue von Matthias, stellte seine vier Verwandten (Jaroslaw, Ladislav, Wenzel und Tobias von Boskowitz) in den Dienst des Königs.⁴⁶

Die Designation der zwei jungen Verwandten der Königin, Johann von Aragonien und Hippolyt von Este bedürft keiner Erläuterung. Der König gab den Verwandten der Königin – nach seinem Brief – die erzbischöfliche Würde wegen Gefühlsursachen.⁴⁷ Das ist gewiss richtig, obwohl er bei der Auswahl der jungen Verwandten die Ansicht hätte, dass sie sich als hohe Kleriker von Gran an dem verschwörerischen Vitéz oder dem fahnenflüchtigen, verräterischen Beckensloer kein Beispiel nehmen. Matthias konnte also über sie sicher sein. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass im Falle von Protas von Boskowitz eine Hinsicht war, um einen

⁴⁴ Jakó, Zsigmond (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289–1556)*. [Die Protokolle des Konvents von Kolozsmonostor] Bd. I–II. Budapest, 1990. Bd. I. Nr. 1970–1972, 2027, Gündisch, Gustav (ed.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*. Bd. VI. București, 1975. Nr. 3806, 3874, 3886. Die Daten sind vom 18. Juni 1470 bis zum 2. Juli 1471. Vgl. Kalous, Antonín, „Boskovice urai Mátyás király diplomáciai és politikai szolgálatában” [Herren von Boskovice im diplomatischen und politischen Dienst des Königs Matthias], *Századok* 141 (2007) 382–384.

⁴⁵ Fraknói, Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*. Bd. II. 109–238.

⁴⁶ Kalous, Antonín, „Boskovice urai”, 381–389.

⁴⁷ MKL Bd. II. 301.

Fremden zum Bischöfe von Siebenbürgen zu ernennen, der den Boden nicht kannte und über keine Verbindungen verfügte: nach dem Aufstand in Siebenbürgen gab es keine geeignetere Person.

Unter den Ernannten befand sich der Franziskanermönch Gregor, der Beichvater des Königs, dessen Designation ziemlich eigenartig war. Wir können vermuten, dass er die Bischofswürde von Neutra als einen verdienten Lohn um seiner klerikalischen Dienste willen erhielt. In der Tat aber war des Königs Ziel, um ein zuverlässigen Mann in Neutra zu ernennen.⁴⁸ Gregor liess von dem König wegen traurigen Begebnissen erwählt. Tamás Debrentei, der Bischof von Neutra stand im geheimen Einverständnis mit den böhmischen Söldnertruppen, die die Umgebung des Bistums zerstörten.⁴⁹ János Vitéz, der als Verweser neben dem in Ungnade gefallenen Bischof ernannt wurde, während der Verschwörung gegen Matthias die Burg von Neutra dem polnischen Prinzen Kasimierz übergab.⁵⁰

Die zahlreichen Standpunkte versetzten zahlreiche Leute in ein hohes Amt. Unter den 30 Erwählten des Königs studierte 16 Personen an einer Universität.⁵¹ Sieben von diesen erhielt Doktorat in dem Kirchenrecht, einer in der Philoso-

⁴⁸ MKL Bd. II. 277–279.

⁴⁹ In der Urkunde des Königs Matthias aus 1468 ist zu lesen: „Sed ut nobis declaratum est, cum nuper propter eam culpam domini Thome de Debrenthe eiusdem ecclesie Nitriensis episcopi, quod idem latronibus Bohemis, qui tunc prope Nitriam castellum obsidentes, hoc regnum nostrum igne et gladio vastabant, societatem tenuerat, per unum ex capitaneis nostris ab eodem episcopo castrum Nitriense ablatum, et aliquamdiu per manus laicas conservatum fuisset, sigillum tam dictarum litterarum, quam aliorum privilegiorum dicte ecclesie Nitriensis, que etiam cum eisdem litteris in conspecto nostro exhibite sunt, per quosdam ex eisdem laicis simul cum cordula, per quam sigillum ipsum appensum esset, detractum fuerat.” Vágner, József, *Adalékok a nyitrai székeskáptalan történetéhez*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Domkapitels von Neutra] Nyitra, 1896. 421. Die Originalurkunde siehe Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomataikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Ungarisches Staatsarchiv, Diplomatische Fotosammlung], Budapest, [im weiteren MOL DF] 273432. Eine ähnliche Formulierung: [Vurum, Josephus], *Episcopatus Nitriensis eiusque praesulum memoria*. Posonii 1835. 295. Vgl. MOL DF 273069.

⁵⁰ [Vurum, Josephus], *Episcopatus Nitriensis*, 119–121, (vgl. MOL DF 205862), Erdélyi, László–Sörös, Pongrácz (ed.), *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* [Geschichte des Benediktinerordens von Pannonhalma]. Bd. I–XII/B. Budapest, 1902–1916. Bd. XII/B. 415, Hervay, F. Levente, „A bencések és apátságai története a középkori Magyarországon” [Die Geschichte der Benediktiner und ihrer Abteien im mittelalterlichen Ungarn] In: Takács, Imre (ed.), *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*. Pannonhalma, 2001. 526.

⁵¹ Tamás Bakócz, Miklós Bátori, János Csezmicei, Zsigmond Ernusz, István Fodor, László Geréb, György Handó, Benedek Lövei, Orbán Nagylucsei, Zsigmond Pálóci, Balthasar von Pescia, Nikolaus Stoltz, János Szakolyi, Péter Váradai, Mátyás Várdai, János Vitéz der Jünger. Die Daten siehe Fügedi, Erik, „A XV. századi magyar püspökök”, 486–491, Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 76. Über den Universitätsbesuch von Nagylucsei siehe Köblös, József, *Az egyházi középréteg a Mátyás és a Jagellók korában*. [Die kirchliche Mittelschicht in der Zeit von Matthias und Jagellonen] Budapest, 1994. (Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 12) 306.

phie.⁵² Wir wissen über 14 Prälaten nicht, dass sie eigentlich eine Universität besuchten.

Viele aus der Reihe seiner Ernannten – an der europäischen Praxis ähnlich – entsprochen den kirchenrechtlichen Kriterien nicht. Sie waren jünger als 30 Jahre und nicht geweiht wurden, sondern sie hatten die kleineren Grade der kirchlichen Ordnung erreicht, die keine Verpflichtung gegenüber den priesterlichen Beruf bedeutete. Die Kirche vorbereitete sich diese Fälle: der Auxiliarbischof und bischöflicher Vikar nachkamen den erzpriesterlichen Obliegenheiten, während der designierte Bischof der kirchenrechtlichen Forderungen nicht entsprach. Es dauerte jahre-, manchmal jahrzehntelang, dass der Oberpriester Oberhirt geworden wurde. László Geréb besaß keinen kirchlichen Grad, als 1476 der Papst ihn in dem bischöflichen Stuhl von Siebenbürger verstärkte. Er hatte nur Tonsur, d. h. er gehörte zur Gruppe der Kleriker, nicht der Laiker. Er sollte sehr lange, bis 1498 warten, um seine erste Messe zu halten.⁵³

Matthias Corvinus geriet in Konflikt mit seinen Prälaten, die von seinen Vorgängern und von sich selbst ernannt wurden. Offenbar war die Hauptgrund dafür die zielsichere, autoritäre Persönlichkeit des Herrschers. Ihre Verbindung liess eventuell durch das stark abhängige Verhältnis belasten, weil die Prälaten ihr Amt als ein Zeichen der Gnade des Königs erworben hatten. Die Bedrohung von János Hunyadi bezieht sich darauf unmissverständlich hin, die er an János Vitéz, Bischof von Wardein richtete: „Ich ernannte dich zum geistlichen Würdenträger, aber wenn du die Urkunde für Giškra herausgibst, die er wegen der Besitznahme ansuchte, ich werde dich auf die Kaplanwürde degradieren.“⁵⁴ Diesselbe Mentalität war auch in dem Zeitalter von Matthias bekannt. Der päpstliche Bote argumentierte um die Freisetzung des eingekerkerten Erzbischofes von Kalocsa, Péter Váradi damit: „Überlegen Sie sich, dass der Erzbischof von Eurem Majestät selbst gemacht wurde, aus dem Staub aufgehoben wurde und ihm die Gnaden erwiesen.“⁵⁵

⁵² Doktoren des Kirchenrechts: Tamás Bakócz, János Csezmicei, György Handó, Benedek Lövei, Balthasar von Pescia, János Szakolyi, János Vitéz der Jüngere. Doktor der Philosophie: István Fodor.

⁵³ Temesváry, János, *Erdély középkori püspökei*, 420, 442–443, Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek*, 403–404.

⁵⁴ Kubinyi, András, „Vitéz János: a jó humanista és rossz politikus“ [János Vitéz: der gute Humanist und der schlechte Politiker], In: *A magyar történelem vitatott személyiségei*. [Die umstrittenen Persönlichkeiten der ungarischen Geschichte] Bd. 2. Budapest, 2003. 16.

⁵⁵ Fraknói, Vilmos, „Váradi Péter kalocsai érsek élete [Das Leben des Kalocsaer Erzbischofs Peter Váradi]“, *Századok* 17 (1883) 508.

Die Verschwörung von János Vitéz und Janus Pannonius⁵⁶, die mit einer Majestätsbeleidigung gleich war, der Fall des jahrelang eingekerkerten und nach dem Tode des Königs freigelassenen Péter Váradi⁵⁷ und des bannerflüchtigen Johann Beckensloer⁵⁸ löste einen wahren Sturm aus. Es ist weniger bekannt, ob mit vielen anderen Prälaten (Miklós Batori⁵⁹, László Geréb⁶⁰, Osvát Tuz⁶¹ usw.) traten auch Missverständnisse ein. Der Widerstreit wurde dadurch ausgelöst, dass der König wie der Papst gegenüber den Prälaten sein Patronatsherrenrecht durchsetzen wollte, er behielt sich die Besetzung der kirchlichen Pfründen vor. Die Bischöfe erfüllten den Wunsch des Herrschers nicht, oder nur zögernd.

Während der Herrschaft von Matthias verbreitete sich die Praxis, dass diejenigen, die kirchliche Pfründen erhielten, vertauschten ihre Benefizien mit königlichen Genehmigung.⁶² Der Konflikt des Königs Matthias mit Vetési stammt aus

⁵⁶ Szakály, Ferenc, „Vitéz János, a politikus és államférfi” [János Vitéz der Politiker und Staatsmann], In: István Bárdos (ed.), *Vitéz János emlékkönyv*. [Gedächtnisbuch von Jophannes Vitéz] Esztergom, 1990. (Esztergom Évlapjai: Annales Strigonienses 1990) 9–38, bes. 29–33, Kubinyi, András, „Vitéz János és Janus Pannonius politikája Mátyás uralkodása idején” [Die Politik von János Vitéz und Janus Pannonius in Herrscherzeit des Königs Matthias], In: Bartók, István–Jankovits, László–Kecskeméti, Gábor (ed.), *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában*. [Die humanistische Kultur in Pannonien] Pécs, 2000. 7–26, Kubinyi, András, „Vitéz János: a jó humanista és rossz politikus”, 7–30, Hegedüs, András, „Vitéz János” [János Vitéz], In: Beke, Margit (ed.), *Esztergomi érsekek. 1001–2003*. [Erzbischöfe von Gran] Budapest, 2003. 208–214, Földesi, Ferenc, „Tudósok és könyvek társasága. Vitéz János könyvtára” [Die Gesellschaft der Gelehrten und der Bücher. Die Bibliothek von János Vitéz], In: Földesi, Ferenc (ed.), *Csillag a holló árnyékában. Vitéz János és a humanizmus kezdetei Magyarországon*. [Stern im Schatten des Raben. János Vitéz und die Anfänge des Humanismus in Ungarn] Budapest, 2008. 98.

⁵⁷ Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek*, 341–350.

⁵⁸ Sugár, István, *Az egri püspökök története*. [Die Gesschichte der Bischöfe von Erlau] Budapest, 1984. 175–176, Beke, Margit, „Beckensloer János [Johann Beckensloer]”, In: Beke, Margit (ed.), *Esztergomi érsekek*, 216–218.

⁵⁹ Kubinyi, András, „Báthory Miklós politikai szereplése” [Die politische Rolle von Miklós Báthory], In: Horváth, Alice (ed.), *Báthory Miklós váci püspök (1474–1506) emlékezete*. [Zum Gedächtnis des Bischofs Miklós Báthory von Waitzen] Vác, 2007. 23–24.

⁶⁰ Bónis, György, *Szentszéki regeszták. Iratok az egyházi bíraskodás történetéhez a középkori Magyarországon*. [Geistliche Regesten. Akten zur Geschichte der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit im mittelalterlichen Ungarn] Ed. Elemér Balogh. Budapest, 1997. (Jogtörténeti Tár 1/1.) Nr. 3562. Diese Originalurkunde aus 1488 siehe MOL DL 46097. Vgl. Érdujhelyi, Menyhért, *A kalocsai érsekség a renaissance-korban*. [Das Kalocsaer Erzbistum in der Renaissancezeit] Zenta, 1899. 100–101, Temesváry, János, *Erdély középkori püspökei*, 428–429, Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek*, 404. Eine andere Sache von Geréb siehe Temesváry, János, *Erdély középkori püspökei*, 427–428.

⁶¹ Kubinyi, András, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 81. Vgl. Pálosfalvi, Tamás, „Grebeni Hermanfi László alnádor” [Vizepalatin László Hermanfi von Greben], *Századok* 142 (2008) 295, 297, 301.

⁶² Titel in einem Formelbuch aus der Zeit des Königs Matthias: „Annuentia cum consensu super concambio beneficiorum”. Kovachich, Martinus Georgius, *Formulae sollennes styli in cancellaria curiaque regum, foris minoribus ac locis credibilibus authenticisque regni Hungariae olim usitati*. Pesthini 1799. 524–525 (Nr. 117).

dieser Übung. Der Bischof von Wesprim genehmigte den Tausch nicht, er betrachtete die propstlichen Pfründen von Wesprim vakant, die von Orbán Nagylucsei angeboten worden waren, und schenkte sie seinem Neffen, einem Student in Ferrara, László Vetési.⁶³ Der König schrieb ihm einen Strafbrief, doch musste er die bischöfliche Entscheidung zur Kenntnis nehmen.⁶⁴ Er suchte ein anderes Benefizium für Nagylucsei, und der Bischof – wenn es nichts geschehen wäre – liess sich von ihm mit einem diplomatischen Auftrag nach Italien schicken.⁶⁵

Das seltsame Verhalten des Kardinals und Bischofs von Erlau, Gabriel von Verona, der die Interessen des Königs in Rom vertrat, zog sich Matthias' Zorn zu. Der aus Italien stammende Bischof bot eine beträchtliche Summe dem Kardinalkollegium an, um eine italienische Flotte gegen die Türken auszurüsten. Gabriel von Verona erzeigte sich grossmütig, während er in Ungarn aus der Gnade des Königs davon befreit wurde, sich aus seinem bischöflichen Einkommen ein Banderium aufstellen lassen. Matthias verwies dem Kardinal und forderte ihn auf, um seine Truppen sofort aufzustellen, denn er lässt nicht, dass die Einnahme der Diözese in die Tasche von anderen fließe, als man braucht das Geld in Ungarn gegen die Türken auch.⁶⁶

Matthias erlebte die grösste Enttäuschung von dem mit Pfründen überhäufteten Erzbischof von Gran, Johann Beckensloer. Er entflohe betrügerisch – sich auf eine Wallfahrt nach Aachen berufen, mit den Schätzen und Kodexen aus Gran aufgepackt – zu dem Feinde des Königs, Kaiser Friedrich III. Die diplomatischen Anstrengungen von Matthias waren vergeblich, der Kaiser belohnte den Flüchtling mit der Salzburger erzbischöflichen Würde.⁶⁷

Mit seiner Prälaten nicht adeliger Herkunft – mit Ausnahme von Péter Váradi – hatte Matthias keine Sorgen. Die Treue, der unbedingte Gehorsam fielen ihnen nicht schwer, die unerlässliche Bedingung ihrer Laufbahn war die bedingungslose Erfüllung der königlichen Wille. Zur diesen Gruppe gehörte Orbán Nagy-

⁶³ Solymosi, László, „Könyvhasználat a középkor végén. (Könyvkölcsönzés a veszprémi székesegyházi könyvtárban).“ [Buchgebrauch am Ende des Mittelalters. Buchverleih in der Wesprimer Dombibliothek] In: Szelestei N., László (ed.), *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról.*[Anhandlungen über die Buchkultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn] Budapest, 1989. (OSzK Kiadványai, új sorozat 3) 89, 113, Idem, „A veszprémi székesegyházi könyvtár és kölcsönzői a középkor végén“ [Wesprimer Dombibliothek und ihre Buchverleiher am Ende des Mittelalters], *Veszprémi Szemle* 3 (1995) Nr. 1. 10–11. Vgl. Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes, „*Nympha super ripam Danubii*“. *Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből.* [Abhandlungen über die Bildung in Ungarn im 15.–16. Jahrhundert] Budapest, 2002. (Humanizmus és reformáció 28) 109–120, 137–145.

⁶⁴ MOL DL 17503. Diese unedierte Urkunde 1473 zum ersten Male erwähnt Fraknoi, Vilmos (ed.), *Oklevéltár*, XIX.

⁶⁵ Köblös, József, *Az egyházi középréteg*, 305, Fraknoi, Vilmos, *Mátyás király magyar diplomatái.*[Ungarische Diplomaten des Königs Matthias] Budapest, 1898.45–51.

⁶⁶ MKL Bd. I. 425–426.

⁶⁷ Beke, Margit, „Beckensloer János [Johann Beckensloer]“, In: Beke, Margit (ed.), *Esztergomi érsekek*, 216–218.

lucsei, der vielleicht die geliebteste Person in der Umgebung von Matthias war.⁶⁸ Er begann seine ämtliche Karriere als Notar der königlichen Kanzlei, dann wurde er später der unentbehrliche Finanzier des Königs. Neben seinem Schatzmeisteramt wurde Nagylucsei von dem König zum Statthalter und Richter der Palatinalanwesenheit enthoben. Matthias verlieh ihm Adelstitel, Wappe und Besitze auch. Er überschüttete Nagylucsei mit kleineren kirchlichen Benefizien, dann erhob ihn auf den Raaber, dann den Erlauer Bischofsstuhl und gab ihm die Verweserwürde der Wiener Diözese auch.⁶⁹ Laut Bonfini „war er mit seiner Tüchtigkeit, Treue, Geduld und erhabenen Gesinnung immer vor dem König.“⁷⁰ Matthias hob diese Eigenschaften in seinem Vorschlag für die Bischofswahl hervor, dass er die Dienste von Nagylucsei für eine Stunde auch nicht entbehren konnte.⁷¹

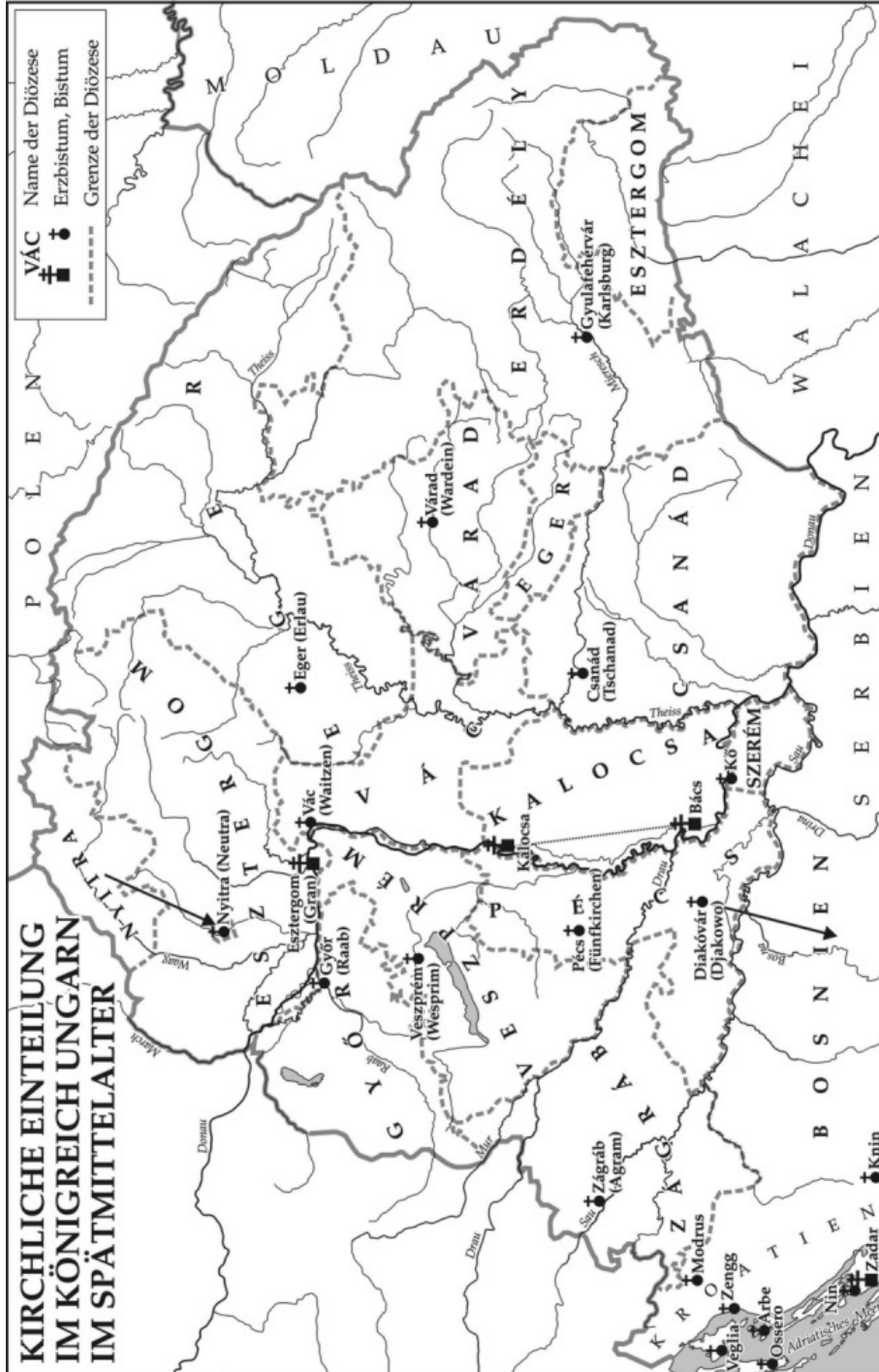
Matthias Corvinus benutzte die materiellen Ressourcen der Kirche, ihre Hauptbenefizien aus innen- bzw. aussenpolitischen Zwecken. Er beanspruchte seine Prätaten sowohl in der Regierung als auch in der Bürokratie und Diplomatie. Seine Ernennungen lagen in dem Interesse der Politik mehr, als in dem der Kirche.

⁶⁸ Vgl. Bonfini, Antonio, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Ed. I. Főgel–B. Iványi–L. Juhász. Bd. I–IV. Budapest, 1936–1941. Bd. IV. 145.

⁶⁹ Bónis, György, *A jogtudó értelmiség*, 237, Köblös, József, *Az egyházi közélet*, 305–306, Fedeles, Tamás, *A pécsi káptalan*, 414–416.

⁷⁰ Bonfini, Antonio, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Bd. IV. 145.

⁷¹ „... quam necessarius et utilis nobis et regno nostro servitor ille sit, cuius obsequio et opera ne ad horam quidem sine magno rerum nostrarum detrimento carere possimus“. MKL Bd. II. 147. Zitiert von Bónis, György, *A jogtudó értelmiség*, 237.



ILONA KRISTÓF

I MODI DI ACQUISTARE BENEFICI NEL CAPITOLO CATTEDRALE DI VÁRAD NEI SECOLI XV–XVI.

Studiando il capitolo di Várad fra 1440–1526 in base ai fonti documentati,¹ siamo riusciti ad identificare 130 canonici del capitolo cattedrale, fra cui dobbiamo considerare 36 dignitari (preposti, lettori, cantori, custodi) e 94 canonici semplici. In riferimento all'intero capitolo: 53 persone erano oggetti del mio esame, i quali costituiscono il 42% del capitolo. In conseguenza dell'incompletezza dei nostri fonti, in numerosi casi possiamo solo formulare ipotesi sul modo in cui sono capitati a Várad. In base ai indiscutibili dati disponibili, tentiamo di modellare le possibilità sottoindicate dell'acquisto dei benefici. Esaminando i modi di accesso al capitolo, oltre i fattori geografici, le relazioni personali ebbero un ruolo importante e naturalmente i diversi modi e possibilità spesso si collegarono, variarono. Inventariare il luogo di origine dei canonici, indicando le periferie di Várad va premesso che il fiore del clero laico, considerando anche i vescovi – dato che nel periodo osservato nessuno dei prelati di Várad fu originario del posto – fu poco affezionato alla città quanto al luogo, al sentimento e alla società.²

Le vicinanze le ho stabilite nel territorio della diocesi, dato che qui risaltò di più l'effetto dell'assorbimento dei poteri ecclesiastici. Da un'altra parte le ho estese anche sulle province relativamente vicine che non appartengono alla diocesi di Várad. Da una parte i territori di Szatmár non sono più lontani di quelli per esempio di Békés. Le relazioni delle famiglie dei dintorni, i loro poteri e le loro conoscenze non si fermano ai confini del comitato, anche perché abbiamo visto più paesi la cui appartenenza cambiò non soltanto nel periodo del Medioevo ma anche nel periodo esaminato.³ Perciò oltre i territori della diocesi di Várad, ho considerato anche le province Szatmár, Bereg e Közép-Szolnok come appartenenti ai dintorni.

¹ Quell'opera fa parte alla mia dissertazione di PhD „*Clerici della classe media al Várad medievale (1440–1526)*”.

² Cevins, Marie-Madeleine de, *Az Egyház a későközépkori magyar városokban*. Bp. 2003. 96–97. 100–101.

³ Per esempio Encsencs, apparteneva fino alla metà del XV. secolo a Szatmár, dopo alla provincia Szabolcs – Maksi, Ferenc, *A középkori Szatmár megye. Település és népiségtörténeti értékek 4*. Budapest, 1940. 133.

Fra i dignitari non si trova quasi nessuno che può essere considerato della regione. Dalla regione propriamente detto, cioè dalla provincia Bihar non proviene nessun canonico colonna.

Invece in mezzo ai canonici semplici, su 94 soltanto 19 persone provennero dalla provincia Bihar (il 20%),⁴ 11 persone da Szabolcs (12%),⁵ 5 persone da Békés (5%),⁶ 3 persone da Szatmár (3%),⁷ 2 persone da Bereg (2%)⁸ e 3 dalla provincia Közép-Szolnok (3%).⁹ Questi dati costituiscono il 46% dei canonici semplici.

Per la prima vista spunta quanto furono più affezionati i nostri canonici semplici a Várad e ai suoi dintorni dei dignitari. Forse non è immaturo trarre la conclusione che l'attività loca credibilia, la gestione degli affari, l'amministrazione delle faccende economiche si legano a questo strato del capitolo.

Fra i 19 canonici provenienti da Bihar soltanto 5 sono di origine nobile,¹⁰ abbiamo 2 canonici di origine servile i quali furono dipendenti della signoria fondiaria laica¹¹. Gli altri- quindi 12 – furono servi della gleba ecclesiastici dato che gli abitanti degli oppida e paesi della Chiesa legalmente furono considerati servi della gleba, anche se le loro condizioni di vita e le loro poteri furono diversi.¹² Dai 43 canonici dei dintorni sopramenzionati, abbiamo trovato 21 di origine nobile.¹³ Per loro oltre la vicinanza, le relazioni informali, l'influenza e la presenza nella vita pubblica della loro famiglia spesso significarono un aiuto evidente nell'accesso nel capitolo. In più casi possiamo parlare anche di nodi di parentela concreti.

⁴ La legazione territoriale a Pécs fu al 18,5%. Fedeles, Tamás, *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526). Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 17.* Pécs, 2005. 120.

⁵ Barnabás Petneházi (1439–51), István Várdai (1441–54), Mihály Bezdédi (1445–49), Balázs Zeleméri (1458–60), Péter Parlagi (1460–92), János Szakolyi (prima di 1466), Péter Anarcsi Tegzes (1469–99), Petneházi György (1474–83), Sebestyén Magyi (1495–1516) canonico, (1516–24) lettore, Imre Vajai (1500–26), István Szigeti (1509).

⁶ Miklós Gyulai (1438–42) canonico, (1442–66) cantore, Imre Gyulai (1454–78), István Bajoni (1471–78), János Gerlai Ábránfi (1511–33), Antal Gyulai (1519–21).

⁷ Balázs Vasvári (1445) canonico, (1457–60) custode, (1464–66) preposto, István Császári (1455–64), István Dengelegi (1514).

⁸ Péter Gúti (1445–49) canonico, (1449–51) custode, (1452–66) lettore, Benedek Vári (1489).

⁹ Mihály Debreceni (da Királydaróc) (1459), Antal Désházi (1516–19) custode, Miklós Lelei (1522).

¹⁰ István Hosszúaszói Botos (1438–49), László Tordai (1468–88), György Nyéstei (1488), Sebestyén Hádi (1500), János Toldi (1524–25).

¹¹ Balázs Kágyai, (1476–87) – famiglia Albisi Zólyomi, Barnabás Kistóti (1513) – famiglia Csáki.

¹² Márk Szebeni (1446), András Bogyoszlai (1465–75), Imre Jenei (1466–69), Balázs Jenei (prima di 1472), Péter Váradai (1475), Simon Jenei (1477–88), László Váradai (1488), Barnabás Köleséri (1490–92), Mihály Váradai (1494–96), János Bagaméri (dopo 1496), Péter Szebeni (1500–7), Albert Bihari (1525–49).

¹³ István Hosszúaszói Botos (1438–49), Barnabás Petneházi (1439–51), István Várdai (1441–54), Mihály Bezdédi (1445–49), Péter Gúti (1445–49) canonico, (1449–51) custode, (1452–66) lettore, István Császári (1455–64), Balázs Zeleméri (1458–60), Péter Parlagi (1460–92), János Szakolyi (prima di 1466), László Tordai (1468–88), Péter Anarcsi Tegzes (1469–99), István Bajoni (1471–78), Petneházi György (1474–83), György Nyéstei (1488) Sebestyén Magyi (1495–1516) canonico, (1516–24) lettore, Sebestyén Hádi (1500), Imre Vajai (1500–26), János Gerlai Ábránfi (1511–33), István Dengelegi (1514), Antal Désházi (1516–19) custode, János Toldi (1524–25).

Dobbiamo sottolineare il ruolo di István Várdai cardinale, canonico di Várad di una volta, in seguito arcivescovo di Kalocsa.¹⁴ Di sicuro fu lui a procurare János Szakolyi, figlio di suo cognato¹⁵ e Péter Anarcsi Tegzes,¹⁶ suo parente e familiare a delle dotazioni ecclesiastici. Parlando della nobiltà delle province vicine, bisogna menzionare anche le famiglie Tordai, Toldi, Bezdédi, Vajai, Parlagi, Petneházi e Gerlai Ábránfi i quali ugualmente collocarono un loro parente nel vicino capitolo di Várad usando le loro relazioni politiche e di parente. Troviamo fra loro la prole delle famiglie più ricche e anche di quelle più modeste. Possiamo affermare che i canonici semplici, la parte più vigorosa della corporazione capitolare, formarono un gruppo isolato. Facendo astrazione dalle

¹⁴ Canonico di Várad (1441–54), canonico di Eger (1451–54), preposto di Transilvania (1454–57), cancelliere segreto (1457–64), vescovo di Eger, arcivescovo di Kalocsa (1457–71), gran- e cancelliere segreto (1464–71), cardinale (1467–71) – abbondantemente: Kristóf, Ilona, „Vester Stephanus de Warda scholaris iuris canonici” – Várdai István egyetemi éveit Itáliában”, In: *Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis Sectio Historiae XXXVI* (2007) 65–82.; Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)*. Köln, 1991. 296.; Fügedi, Erik, „A XV. századi magyar püspökök”, *Történelmi Szemle* 1965. 477–498. 490–1.; Kubinyi, András, „Adatok a Mátyás-kori kancellária és az 1464. évi kancelláriai reform történetéhez”, In: *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolciensis. Sectio Philosophica. Tomus IX. – Fasciculus I.* Miskolc, 2004. 25–59., 10. II. 145.; A Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára. Ed. Nagy, Imre–Nagy, Iván–Véghely, Dezső, Budapest, 1872–1932. IX. 211.; XII. 178.; 8. I. 1452. DL 81041; 24. IX. 1453. Zichy, 1872–1932. IX. 290.; 11. XII. 1453. IX. 304.

¹⁵ Canonico di Várad (prima di 1466), vescovo di Csanád (1466–82) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, Vince, *A várad püspökség története. I–VI.* Nagyvárad–Debrecen, 1883–1935. II. 148.; Fügedi, 1965. 489.; Juhász, Koloman, *Das Tschanad-Temesvarer Bistum im Spätmittelalter. 1307–1552*, Paderborn, 1964. 154–164.; Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitae*. Ed. L. Hervay, Franciscus, Budapest, 1988. caput 71. 149–151.

¹⁶ Canonico di Várad (1469–99), – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 153–155; C. Tóth, Norbert, *Szabolcs megye hatóságának oklevelei II. (1387–1526)*, Budapest–Nyíregyháza, 2003. 14–15.; *Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculi decimi quinti*. Ed. Gaşiorowski, Antonius et al., Cracoviae, 2000. 54., 105., 29. IX. 1469. DF 278599; 14. V. 1470. DL 36917; 14. V. 1470. DF 257908; 14. V. 1470. DF 206690; 4. I. 1472. Zichy, 1872–1932. XI. 53.; 11. IX. 1472. Zichy, 1872–1932. XI. 58.; 1474. sd. DF 223593; 30.V. 1474. DL 45563; 9. III. 1475. Zichy, 1872–1932. 88.; 24. II. 1476. DF 234492; 24. IV. 1477. DL 97380; 1478. Varga E, Árpád, „A várad káptalan hiteleshelyi működése”, In: *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*. Bukarest, 1980. 20–35., 30; Varjú, Elemér, *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nb. Bánffy család történetéhez. I–II.* Budapest, 1908–1928, I. 378.; anni di 1480 Bónis, György, *Szentszéki regeszták*. Szeged, 1997. 3404 e DL 99371; 18. VI. 1481. DL 82605; 30. XI. 1481. DL 62347; 13. III. 1482. DL 97430; 30. V. 1482. DL 97431; 22. V. 1485. DL 97449; 1486. Varga E., 1980. 30.; Zichy, 1872–1932. XI. 436.; 10. III. 1486. DL 97434; 7. VII. 1486. Zichy, 1872–1932. XI. 238.; 28. IV. 1487. DL 19261; 19. IX. 1487. DL 28336; 7. V. 1488. DL 56226; 7. X. 1488. DL 71509; 26. IX. 1489. DF 278644; 22.V. 1492. DL 73324; 24. XII. 1492. Czaich, Ágoston Gilbert, *Regeszták VI. Sándor pápa korából. Történelmi Tár* 1904. 161–181. 161.; 1493 DL 97500; 1493. sd. DL 65242; 4. VIII. 1494. DL 65163 és Bónis, 1997. 3654, 3655.; 3. IX. 1494. DL 65165; dopo 9. II. 1495. DL 20266; 27. IV. 1496. DL 62371; 6. I. 1497. DL 97538; 12.III. 1499. DL 66719; 12. III. 1499. DL 104774; 12. III. 1499. DL 75487; 25.VI. 1499. DL 97554; 25. IX. 1500. DL 24590.

poche eccezioni, sono caratterizzati da lunghi sostenimenti dei benefici, lunga permanenza sul posto, poca mobilità, non oltrepassarono i limiti del capitolo di Várad, l'accumulo dei loro benefici si limita piuttosto a rettorati e parrocchie vicine. Per quanto riguarda la loro educazione, nella seconda metà del XV. secolo con l'aiuto delle loro famiglie e dei loro guadagni, sempre più di loro frequentarono corsi universitari per alcuni anni a Cracovia ed a Vienna.¹⁷

L'altro gruppo importante dei canonici semplici é costituito da quelli che arrivarono da lontano, da regioni distanti del paese. Soprattutto loro rappresentano la mobilità fra i canonici semplici, dato che solo per alcuni anni sostengono canonicato a Várad. Arrivano a Várad premediatamente appoggiati da patroni, e ripassando la loro carriera notiamo che gli anni passati qui servono solo da trampolino.

Le relazioni di parente o patrono sono dimostrabili in modo più rilevato nell'ambiente dei vescovi in funzione. É un'affermazione non sorprendente che il vescovo, arrivato alla nuova residenza, scelse quasi sempre il suo sostituto dai personaggi del seguito arrivati con lui: la posizione di vicario fu sempre uno status di fiducia. In conseguenza di ciò, i sostituti spesso provennero dalla parentela o dal circolo intimo dei vescovi, i quali entrando nel capitolo come seguaci personali del vescovo, furono chiamati a facilitare la collaborazione senza sbalzi.

Dai vicari arrivati coi vescovi, quelli che entro un tempo determinato non riuscirono a procurarsi un impiego serio, il più delle volte lasciarono Várad insieme al patrono. Come per esempio Vid Huendler,¹⁸ o i fratelli Henckel.¹⁹ Fra i quattordici vicari dell'epoca soltanto tre diventarono in seguito preposti del capitolo cattedrale (Conradus de Cardinis,²⁰ Miklós Alattyáni²¹ e Miklós Homorogdi²²).

¹⁷ Péter Anarcsi Tegzes (1460–65) – Cracovia, János Gerlai Ábránfi (1511–12) – Cracovia, Antal Gyulai (1519–21) – Cracovia, Miklós Gyulai (1436) – Cracovia, István Várdai (1444) – Cracovia, (1446) – Vienna, (1447) – Padova, (1448–49) – Ferrara, (1450) – Padova, Miklós Lelei (1493–1506) – Cracovia, Sebestyén Magyi (1508) – Cracovia, (1509–13) – Bologna, György Nyéstei (1488) – Cracovia, János Szakolyi (1467) – Bologna, László Tordai (1462) – Cracovia, László Váradai (1488) – Cracovia, Mihály Váradai (1491–94) – Cracovia.

¹⁸ Vicario di Beckensloer (1465) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 145–147.; Bónis, György, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1971. 223.; Fedeles, 2005. 470.

¹⁹ János Henckel canonico (1508–18), vicario (1513), Sebestyén Henckel canonico (prima di 1513–22), vicario (1520), 1520. ápr. 20. Bónis, 1997. 4257; DL 47351 – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 170–172., 175–176.; Kovács, Endre, *A krakkói egyetem és a magyar művelődés*. Budapest, 1964. 91.; Jakó, Zsigmond, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség*. Bukarest, 1976. 162–164.; Csepregi, Zoltán, „Udvári papok Mária királyné környezetében”, In: Réthelyi, Orsolya–F. Romhányi, Beatrix–Spekner, Enikő–Végh, András (ed.), *Habsburg Mária, Mohács özvegye. A királyné és udvara 1521–1531*. Budapest, 2005. 45–57. 46–50.; Fögel, József, *II. Lajos udvartartása (1516–1526)*. Budapest, 1917. 66., 72.; Fraknoi, Vilmos, *Henckel János, Mária királyné udvari papja*, Pest, 1872.

²⁰ Lettore (1411–22), preposto (1422–40), vicario di Andrea Scolari (1411–21).

²¹ Preposto (1490–99), vicario deo vescovi Filipec e Farkas (dal 1480).

²² Preposto (1516–24), vicario di Perényi (1516).

	<i>Vescovo</i>	<i>Vicario</i>	<i>Intervallo</i>	<i>Canonicato</i>
1.	Andrea Scolari (1409–1426)	Conradus de Cardinis de Florentia	1411–1421	1411–1422 lettore 1422–1440 preposto
2.	János Melanesi (1426)			
3.	Dénes Kusalyi Jakcs (1427–1432)			
4.	János Curzolari (1435–1440)	Miklós Gyulai	1438-	1438–1442 canonico
5.	János de Dominis (1440–1444)	Miklós Gyulai	1442	1442–1466 cantore
6.	János Vitéz (1445–1465)	János Sarlói	1451–1473	1451–1473 canonico
		András Bogyoszlai	1454–1475	prima di 1465 canonico di Eger 1465–1475 canonico di Várad
		János Csezmicei	1459	1451–1455 custode
7.	János Beckensloer (1465–1468)	Vid Huendler	1465	
8.	Miklós Stoltz (1470)			
9.	Egervári László amministratore (1471–1476)			
10.	János Filipec (1476–1490)	Miklós Alattyáni	1480-tól	1490–1499 preposto
11.	Bálint Farkas (1490–1495)	Miklós Alattyáni		1490–1499 preposto
		Benedek Szegedi	1493	1493 canonico, vescovo di Trynopolis
12.	Domokos Kálmáncsehi (1495–1501)	Benedek Kornis		1493–1497 cantore
		Mihály Váradi	1496	1494–1496 canonico
13.	György Szatmári (1501–1505)			
14.	Zsigmond Thurzó (1506–1512)			
15.	Gergely Martonosi Pöstyéni amministratore (1513–1514)	János Henckel	1513	1508–15013 canonico
16.	Ferenc Perényi (1514–1526)	Miklós Homorogdi	dopo 1516	1516–1524 preposto

	<i>Vescovo</i>	<i>Vicario</i>	<i>Intervallo</i>	<i>Canonicato</i>
		Miklós III.	1517, 1519	1513–1519 canonico
		Sebestyén Magyi	dopo 1519	1495–1504 canonico 1516–1524 lettore
		Sebestyén Henckel	1520	1513 előtt – 1522 canonico
		János Toldi	1524	1524–1525 canonico, vescovo di Ascalon
		Fülöp Székesfehérvári	1519	1507–1529 canonico
17.	Imre Cibak (1526–1536)	Fülöp Székesfehérvári	1526– 1529	1507-1529 canonico
18.	György Fráter (1534–1551)	Márton Hacaki	1544– 1547	canonico, preposto minore

La relazione di parentela è dimostrabile ancora nel caso dei preposti. Tra dieci preposti²³ conosciuti in quattro casi la loro entrata nel capitolo si dovette ai loro rapporti familiari.²⁴ Si può osservare che il vescovo cercò di formare la sua corte incaricando i suoi seguaci personali, i suoi parenti e tentò di estendere la sua influenza anche sul capitolo regalando impieghi remunerativi ai propri uomini, familiari. Sembra che tale pratica, presentandosi l'occasione, l'abbia fatto valere anche a proposito la prepositura, ma neanche le relazioni di parente bastarono incondizionatamente ad ottenere il beneficio di preposto. La famiglia in tanti casi fu vantaggiosa, ma per quanto riguarda le posizioni principali contarono altri criteri.

Esaminando le combinazioni della connessione territoriale e l'appoggio familiare, appare che fra i dignitari, i canonici custodi, cantori e lettori si distinguono nettamente dai preposti per quanto riguarda il loro modo di accesso nel capitolo, la loro mobilità e la loro educazione. Non che non troviamo tanta gente di origine dei dintorni, ma nemmeno canonici che ebbero una relazione di parente con qualunque membro del capitolo non si trovano molti. Di questo gruppo ci occuperemo ancora in seguito.

²³ Conradus de Cardinis (1422–40), János Vitéz (1442–45), János Tapolcai (1445–60), Balázs Vasvári (1464–66), János Vitéz iunore (1467–81), János Móré (1483–83), Bálint Farkas (1487–89), Miklós Alattyáni (1490–99), László Kálmáncsehi (1501–13), Miklós Homorogdi (1516–24).

²⁴ Conradus de Cardinis – Andrea Scolari, János Vitéz iuniore – János Vitéz, Miklós Alattyáni – Bálint Farkas, László Kálmáncsehi – Domonkos Kálmáncsehi.

Oltre o al posto dell'appoggio familiare ebbero un ruolo importante i patroni ecclesiastici. Nella metà del XV. secolo, nella persona di János Vitéz, per la prima volta divenne preposto, poi vescovo a Várad²⁵ una personalità talmente eccezionale che entro pochi anni formò un serio centro intellettuale intorno a lui. Sebbene questa prosperità spettacolosa sia stata legata al personaggio di Vitéz e alla sua permanenza a Várad, il talento del vescovo e di suo nipote provocò un'ammirazione tanto forte già fra i coetanei che costruì un culto intorno alla loro figura nei decenni subito dopo la loro morte e che diede un nuovo slancio all'umanesimo in Ungheria. Allo scorcio del XV–XVI. secolo a Várad si formò un circolo umanistico per la protezione della loro eredità intellettuale, il gruppo scelse come scopo la ricerca della filologia di Janus con la direzione del canonico Sebestyén Magyi²⁶ e con l'aiuto dei vescovi Szatmári, Thurzó e Perényi.²⁷

Vorrei occuparmi più dettagliatamente di Vitéz e le sue relazioni personali. A causa di ciò da una parte esaminiamo il ruolo degli arrivati che si legano a Vitéz nel capitolo, da un'altra parte vediamo quanto fece sentire il suo potere l'umanista corte vescovile di Vitéz nel capitolo. Il ruolo di Vitéz può essere osservato da diversi aspetti. Da un lato, si presenta come mecenate, sostegno al talento. I giovani ingegnosi aiutati da lui, all'inizio della loro carriera godettero i benefici di Várad per coprire le spese dei loro studi. Questi giovani senza eccezione studiarono in Italia – negli anni '40 a Ferrara, negli anni '60 a Bologna, appena

²⁵ Preposto (1442–45), vescovo di Várad (1445–65), arcivescovo di Esztergom e grancancelliere (1465–71) – abbondantemente: Fügedi, 1965. 491.; Szakály, Ferenc, „Vitéz János, a politikus és államférfi”, in: *Esztergom évtapjai*, Esztergom, 1990. 13.; Balogh, Jolán, *Varadinum – Várad vára. Művészettörténeti Füzetek. 13/1–2*. Budapest, 1982. II. 103.; Kubinyi, András, „Vitéz János és Janus Pannonius politikája Mátyás uralkodása idején”, In: Bartók, István–Jankovits, László–Kecskeméti, Gábor (ed.) *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában*. Pécs, 2000. 7–25. 11. etc.; 12. XII. 1442. DL 13688; 24. III. 1443. DL 13714; 17. IV. 1443. *A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára. I–IV*. Ed. Géresi, Kálmán, Budapest, 1882–1897. II. 234.; DL 99649; 26. V. 1443. DL 47696; 13. X. 1443. DL 70892; *A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526*. Ed. Tringli, István, sotto stampa. 469.; 26. V. 1444. Mihályi, János, *Máramarosi diplomák I. Máramaros-sziget*. 1900. 328–329.; 4. VI. 1445. Lukcsics, Pál, *A XV. századi pápák oklevelei. I–II*. Budapest, 1931–1938. 852.

²⁶ Canonico (1495–1516), lettore (1516–24) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 72.; Bónis, 1971. 266–267.; Veress, Endre, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai. 1221–1864*. Budapest, 1941. 72., 76–78.; Fögel, József, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)*. Budapest, 1913. 80.; Fögel, 1917. 73., 79.; 5. IX. 1516. DL 16571; 1. I. 1519. DL 97669; 6. V. 1519. DL 82526; 10. IX. 1520. DF 254532; 21. VI. 1521. Károlyi, 1882–1897. III. 135.; 23. VI. 1521. DL 99312; 7. XI. 1521. DL 99313; Károlyi, 1882–1897. III. 136.; Bónis, 1997. 4300; 3. II. 1522. DL 99314; Károlyi, 1882–1897. III. 138.; 22. III. 1522. DL 29985.

²⁷ Tóth, István, *Phoebus forrása. A váradi latin nyelvű költészet antológiája*. Nagyvárad, 1996. 422.; Kristóf, Ilona, „A váradi káptalan a Szatmári–Thurzó–Perényi korszakban”, In: Fedeles, Tamás (ed.) *Emlékkötet Szatmári György tiszteletére*. Budapest–Pécs 2007.

riformata in tendenza umanista.²⁸ La maggior parte ritornò con un titolo di doctor decretorum, la loro carriera della cancelleria si scosse ed ottennero dei benefici remunerativi più lucrosi. Solo rarissime volte è dimostrabile la loro permanenza a Várad, perciò spesso difficile datare anche il loro godimento dei benefici. Soltanto i suoi nipoti procurò a delle dignità di Várad, János Csezmicei (Janus Pannonius) divenne custode,²⁹ mentre János Vitéz iuniore divenne preposto sia nel capitolo cattedrale che nel capitolo collegiale San Giovanni Battista. Mandò il giovane Jannus a 12 anni, nel 1447 a studiare a Ferrara, nel 1458 fece i suoi esami di laurea a Padova e ritornò in Ungheria;³⁰ precedentemente passò soltanto le sue vacanze nella corte di suo zio di Várad. A casa divenne preposto di Titel³¹ e per qualche mese vicario di Várad fino che non possa occupare lo stallone di vescovo di Pécs.³² La presentazione dettagliata della sua carriera in seguito ci condurrebbe molto lontano dal nostro tema, perciò vorrei ancora osservare soltanto che dopo aver partecipato nel movimento legato a Vitéz, morì ritirandosi nel 1472.³³ János Vitéz iuniore ebbe forse 10 anni di meno di suo cugino. Studiò a Bologna fra il 1463 e 1466, dopo la quale nel 1468 ottenne il titolo di dottore di diritto canonico a Padova.³⁴ Tornando a casa ebbe due cariche di preposto a Várad.³⁵ La sua carriera non si troncò neanche dopo la morte di suo zio. Mátyás gli diede l'incarico di vescovo di Szerém (1481–1489) ringraziando i suoi ripetuti servizi diplomatici, dopo la quale fino alla morte, a 1499 fu vescovo di Veszprém e contemporaneamente amministratore di Vienna.³⁶

Oltre la stretta famiglia, possiamo osservare un gruppo abbastanza legato a János Vitéz, formata dai giovani che studiarono all'estero grazie a lui e con i

²⁸ Gerézdi, Rabán, „Egy magyar humanista: Váradai Péter.” *Magyarságtudomány I./ 3.* 1942. 305–328., 532–563.; 322.

²⁹ Custode (1451–55) – 10. XI. 1452. DL 55525; 14. III. 1454. DL 65074; DL 71485; 22. VI. 1454. DL 71485; 20. X. 1455. DL 75885; DL 75889; DL 75907.

³⁰ Veress, 1941. 42., 159–161., 243., 322., 345–355., 363–365.

³¹ *Boldog Várad*, ed. Bálint, István János, Budapest, 1989. 776.; Huszti, József, *Janus Pannonius*. Pécs, 1931. 186–187.

³² Vescovo di Pécs (1459–72).

³³ Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 48.; Horváth, János, *Az irodalmi műveltség megoszlása. Magyar humanizmus*. Budapest, 1988. 78–81.; Kubinyi, 2004. 31.; Kubinyi, 2000. 11. etc.

³⁴ Bónis, 1971. 238.; Tonk, Sándor, *Erdélyi egyetemjárás a középkorban*. Bukarest, 1979. 259.; Balogh, 1982. 50.; *Boldog Várad*, 1989. 777.; Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 51–52.; Veress, 1941. 46., 249–250.; Veress, Endre, *A páduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai*. Budapest, 1915. 13–14.

³⁵ Canonico (1463–67), preposto (1467–81), preposto di capitolo collegiale San Giovanni Battista (1472) – Veress, 1915. 14.; 8. V. 1472. DL 17318; 22. VII. 1472. DL 17344; 26. X. 1473. DL 73315; 2. II. 1474. DL 45556; DL 58164; DL 97358; 13. IX. 1476. DL 17864; 2. V. 1478. DL 30474; 25. VII. 1478. DL 18075; 18. IX. 1478. DL 18086; 28. VI. 1479. DL 74621; 11. VII. 1479. DL 62337; 3. V. 1480. DL 74720; 20. V. 1480. DL 71515; 2. VI. 1481. DL 18496.

³⁶ Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 51–52., 204.; Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. Ed.: I. Fögel et B. Iványi et L. Juhász. Budapest, 1911. Decas IV. Liber X. 202.; Veress, 1941. 249.; Tonk, 1979. 259.

quali, tornati a casa, naturalmente ebbe anche lo scopo di creare un'élite di cultura moderna. Uno dei suoi protetti, che percorse la carriera di successo probabilmente maggiore fu Péter Váradi. La sua provenienza di Váradi è verosimile,³⁷ cominciò i suoi studi sul posto, nella scuola capitolare, venne rilevato da Vitéz e venne mandato a Bologna a studiare a proprie spese.³⁸ Vitéz essendo arcivescovo di Esztergom già nel 1465 fece in modo che ricevi un canonicato di Esztergom.³⁹ Dopo il suo ritorno, nel 1475 divenne canonico di Váradi, la sua carriera non si fermò fino al grancancelliere e arcivescovato di Kalocsa⁴⁰. Per colpa di un litigio con Mátyás, fra il 1484 e 1490 fu sotto arresto, dopo il quale riprese possesso del suo arcivescovato, ma di politica non se ne occupò più, dedicò gli ultimi 10 anni della sua vita alle faccende dell'arcidiocesi.⁴¹ Anche István Bajoni⁴² intraprese la sua carriera con l'aiuto di Vitéz. Il padre di Bajoni fu soldato di Hunyadi, familiare di Vitéz, perciò non è sorprendente che la famiglia ricevette poderi vistosi in Békés, Bihar ed in Szabolcs.⁴³ Dato il collegamento territoriale e l'influenza della famiglia non è strano che Vitéz notò il talento del giovane e coprì le spese dei suoi studi in Italia.⁴⁴ Quasi allo stesso tempo, alla metà degli anni 1460 studiò a Bologna János Vitéz iunior, Péter Váradi e István Bajoni.⁴⁵ È stato appurato che Bajoni e Váradi furono amici.⁴⁶ È risaputo anche che Janus Pannonius e Bajoni ebbero un buon rapporto, dato che Bajoni tornato a casa (1467) presumibilmente ricevette il canonicato di Pécs grazie a lui.⁴⁷ Inoltre, Janus Pannonius eternò in una delle sue elegie un'avventura di caccia di Bajoni del

³⁷ Horváth, 1988. 168.

³⁸ Gerézdi, 1942. 309.; „inter pueros suos diligenter educarit.” Bonfini, 1911. Decas IV. lib. 6.

³⁹ Gerézdi, 1942. 310.

⁴⁰ Preposto di Transsilvania (1476–80), arcivescovo di Kalocsa (1480–1501)

⁴¹ Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 155.; Fraknói, Vilmos, *Egyháznagyok a magyar középkorból*. Budapest, 1916. 106–172.; Veress, 1941. 48–50.; Udvardy, József, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)*. Köln, 199. 387.; Körmendy, Kinga, *Studentes extra regnum 1183–1543. Esztergomi kanonokok egyetemjárása és könyvhasználata 1183–1543*. Budapest, 2007. 195.

⁴² Canonico (1471–78) – 9. V. 1471. DL 90783; 9. V. 1471. DL 99716; 28. IX. 1472. DF 257516; 24. VII. 1478. DL 18074 e Bónis, 1997. 3328; 9. IX. 1478. DL 18073 e Bónis, 1997. 3334; Károlyi, 1882–1897. II. 229.

⁴³ Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 150–51.; Csánki, Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában. I–III., V.* Budapest, 1890–1904. I. 657.; Engel, Pál, „Szabolcs megye birtokviszonyai a 14–16. században”, In: *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle* 1999/4. 413–428. 426.; Módy, György, „Bajom és a Bajoni család uradalma a középkorban”, In: Ujváry Zoltán (ed.) *Biharnagybajom története és néprajza*, Debrecen, 1992. 27–71. 34–39.; Bónis, 1971. 226.

⁴⁴ Veress, 1941. 51–52.; Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 150–151.

⁴⁵ Vitéz iunior: 1463–1466., Váradi: 1465–1470.; Bajoni: 1467.

⁴⁶ Fraknói, 1916. 169; Gerézdi, 1942. 561

⁴⁷ Bónis, 1971. 226.; *Janus Pannonius – Magyarországi humanisták*. Ed. Klaniczay, Tibor, Budapest, 1982. 116.

1469.⁴⁸ Bajoni fra il 1467 e 1469 fu segretario reale, si recò in Italia più volte in deputazione. Dopo gli avvenimenti del 1471, probabilmente dato il suo buon rapporto con Vitéz, sia la sua carriera ecclesiastica che la sua carriera diplomatica si fermò.⁴⁹ È possibile che attraverso Bajoni, anche Péter Váradi entrò in rapporto con Janus Pannonius, quando nel 1465 viaggiò in Italia in deputazione. Forse per l'influsso di Janus cominciò Váradi ad occuparsi del neoplatonismo, tanto Váradi fu ritenuto esperto delle tesi di Ficino e anche Janus si pronunciò con grande stima sia di Ficino, sia della sua attività.⁵⁰

Fece parte del circolo di amici di Janus Panonius anche Miklós Asszonyfalvi Ostfi, cantore di Váradi in seguito,⁵¹ con il quale più meno ebbero la stessa età e si

⁴⁸ Huszti, 1931. 257.; *Janus Pannonius munkái latinul és magyarul*. Ed. V. Kovács, Sándor, Budapest, 1972. 36. n.

36. *De venatione Stephani de Bajon oratoris // Hunnorum orator Stephanus Baionia proles / Ad Tibeim primo dum spatiatur equo, / Inventum cursu praeverterat alite cervum, / Ocior et sociis, ocior et canibus: / Excitat et timidus animos sors ultima rerum / Aspera, cum Stephano praelia cervus init; / Cornibus urget equum, dorso citus ille supremo / Desilit et celsum percuti ense caput. / Desiluit fractus duris in cornibus ensis / Dardaneum Turno ceu feriente ducem. / Heu quid inermis agat, cum trux tanto acrius instet / Hostis; erant summo ludicra plena metu; / Quam paene audaci nocuit temperari ardor! / Quam paene ille domum fabula sola redit! / Sed comitem miserata suum Tritonia sacro / Armavit trepitas protinus ense manus. / Huius tam validas excepit corniger ictus, / Ut raperet geminos unica plaga pedes. / Tum demum vano renovans certamina nisu / Labitur et vasto corpore plangit humum. / Adsunt et lenti sera ad iumenta sodales, / Nec pudet exanimum iam violare pecus. / Pandē, age, si fas est, Phoebi soror, an ne feroces / Sola adeo cervos Martia Roma gerit. / Sic ego sic...quid t utam grandia cervis / Ad nullos usus cornua nata putas. / Bellant et cervi, sive exitiale coegit / Discrimen, calidus seu stimulavit amor. / Nec palmo saepe est homini letalior ursus, / Nec magis ungue leo, dente timendus aper, / Quod si devictis levis esset adorea cervis, / De bis sex unus non foret iste labor. / Dixit et in silvas dubito migravit in auras, / Est certe ex oculis rapta repente meis. / Praeda gravi interea plaustro defertur in urbem, / Astupet at pompae Romula turba novae. / Picenus nec tanta dedit spectacula rhombus / Quem cepit subito testa rotata luto. / Curritur Acronis spolia ut referente Quirino, / Ut Caco flammis immoriente suis. / Dicite, Romani septena cacumina montes, / Tot tulerint fortes cum iuga vestra viros, / Quis potuit simili Capitolia adire triumpho? / Quis pede, quis dextra tale peregit opus? / Par decus Alcides dominis non intulit Argis, / Cum levis aripedem fixit arundo feram, / Non illic clave, non illic gloria plantae / Hercule tunc potior parva sagitta fuit, / Gravior est virtus, quam munificentia vivit, / Noster et hoc titulo crevit adauctus honos. / Nam solus tanto quas quaesiit ille periclo, / Delitias propriae noluit esse gulae. / Pontifici primum caput et sua cornua dantur, / Cornua ter senis ardua verticibus. / Purpurei sumunt lumbos, et pingua patres / Ilia, diversum cetera vulgus habet. / Aequaret Phrygiis venatica dona carinis / Naufragus in Libyco littore Troiades / Hic minor in plurimis numerus confertur, et unus / Romanum cervus spargitur in populum. / Tibri pater, tales Hister tibi mittit alumnos, / Tu tamen hunc salvum, sed cito, redde suis.*

⁴⁹ Veress, 1941. 245., 324.; Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 150–151.; Kollányi, Ferenc, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900*. Esztergom, 1900. 112.; Fraknoi, 1916. 169.; Bónis, 1971. 226.

⁵⁰ Tóth, 1996. 11.

⁵¹ Canonico e preposto di Esztergom (1453–81), preposto di Pécs (1483–84), commendatore di Lelesz (1484–93), cantore di Váradi (1492–93) – abbondantemente: Kollányi, 1900. 97–98.; Körmeny, 2007. 123., 191.; Fedeles, 2005. 316–317.; Tóth-Szabó, Pál, „Magyarország a XV. század végén a pápai supplicatiók világánál”, In: *Századok* 1903. 1–15., 151–159., 219–239., 327–344. 153., 158.; Kumorowitz, Bernát, „A leleszi prépostság tagjai és hiteleshelyi személyzete

conobbero a Ferrara.⁵² Molto probabilmente anche gli studi di János Sarlói furono finanziati da Vitéz, il quale poi lo nominò suo vicario.⁵³ Anche János Beckensloer fu uno dei suoi protetti, perciò non è sorprendente che nel 1465 fu lui a succedergli nella sedia episcopale.⁵⁴ Come è noto, in seguito il protetto superò il maestro e nella corte di Mátyás mise Vitéz in ombra, dopo la quale si allontanarono. Aiutò anche gli studi di Domokos Kálmáncsehi, vescovo di Várad in seguito, il quale parimente fu amico di Péter Váradi, anzi, dopo la morte di Váradi ricevette anche la carica di arcivescovato di Kalocsa.⁵⁵ Comparve anche la seconda generazione dei protetti di Vitéz a Várad. Gergely Handó ottenne beneficio grazie ai suoi rapporti familiari, il cui mediatore fu suo fratello, György, preposto di Pécs, arcivescovo di Kalocsa in seguito. (la famiglia ebbe relazioni sia con Vitéz, sia con Janus Pannonius).⁵⁶ Anche Mihály Vitéz fu protetto da suo zio, Vitéz János iunior negli anni '80.⁵⁷ Vitéz, oltre i giovani, cercò di concedere benefici anche ai membri del suo circolo umanista, come per esempio Gergely Szánoki (Gregorius de Sanoka),⁵⁸ famoso umanista polacco e Pál Ivanich che compose ed amministrò il suo epistolario.⁵⁹

1569-ig. Különlenyomat”, In: Remig, Bodnár, (ed.) *Emlékkönyv Szent Norbert halálának 800 éves jubileumára*. 1934. 6, 9.; 28. IX. 1492. DF 210 832; 2. IV. 1493. DL 46227; Bónis, 1997. 3624.

⁵² Veress, 1941. 42., 362.

⁵³ Canonico (1451–73) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 151.; Veress, 1941. 405.; *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése*. Bálint, Keserű, (ed.) Szeged, 1983. (Adattár XVI–XVIII. század szellemi mozgalmainak történetéhez. 11.) 18–19.; 3. XI. 1451. DL 62305; Bónis, 1997. 2708; 10. VI. 1452. DL 14563; 14. XI. 1452. DL 38304, 1473; Bónis, 1997. 3203.

⁵⁴ Horváth, 1988. 58.

⁵⁵ Horváth, 1988. 171.

⁵⁶ Canonico (1466–73) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 150.; Veress, 1941. 359.; Veress, 1915. 12–14. 1471. sd. DL 55967; Bónis, 1997. 3179; 18. III. 1472. Bónis, 1997. 3183.; Czaich, Ágoston Gilbert, *Regesták a római Dataria-levéltárnak Magyarországra vonatkozó bulláiból II. Pál és IV. Sixtus pápák idejéből*. Budapest, 1899. 7.

⁵⁷ Canonico (dopo 1482) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 163.; Ábel, Jenő, *Adalékok a humanismus történetéhez Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1880. 104.; Fraknói, Vilmos, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen a XV. és XVI. században*. Budapest, 1874. 37., 89.; Veress, 1941. 258.

⁵⁸ Canonico di Várad (1445–51), arcivescovo di Lwów (1451–76) – abbondantemente: Kovács, Endre, *Magyarok és lengyelek a történelem sodrában*. Budapest, 1973. 96.; Gaşiorowski, 2000. 28., 32.; Paparelli, Gioacchino, *Callimacho Esperiente*. Salerno, 1971. 123–124.; Philippus Callimachus Experiens, *Vita et mores Gregorii Sanocei*. Ed. Irmína Lichonska, Warszawa, 1963.; Fraknói, Vilmos, *Mátyás király élete*. Budapest, 1881. 20.; Kubinyi, András, *Mátyás király*. Budapest, 2001. 19–20.; Kristóf, Ilona, „Egy lengyel humanista Magyarországon – az elfeledett Szánoki Gergely”, In: *Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis, sectio Historiae XXXIII*. (2006) 21–32.; *Dissertationi Vossiane*. Venezia, 1753. 329.; Joannis Dlugosz, *Opera Omnia: Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*. Cracovia, 1876. libri XIII. LXIII. caput, 654.; Horváth, 1988. 117.

⁵⁹ Canonico (dopo 1451) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 135.; Fraknói, Vilmos: *Vitéz János élete*. Budapest, 1879. 10., 19., 152.; Bónis, 1971. 166.; Veress, 1941. 358.; Huszti, József, „Magyar humanista, mint török tudós V. Miklós pápa udvarában”, In: *Századok* 1927. (61.) 344–351.

Dall'altra parte dobbiamo osservare il ruolo di Vitéz dal punto di vista delle remunerazioni reali, governatoriali. Un gruppo numeroso dei nostri canonici entrati nel capitolo fu composto da quelli che ricevettero i suoi benefici di Várad in merito ai diversi servizi o addirittura per svolgere i loro compiti. Vitéz, essendo preposto, poi vescovo di Várad dopo la sconfitta della battaglia di Várna fu in stretta collaborazione con Hunyadi. Anzi, non possiamo escludere, che l'intenzione del governatore con la nomina a vescovo di Várad fu di assicurare il proprio favoreggiamento tramite la sua persona nella parte orientale del paese.⁶⁰ Perciò è evidente che le volontà di dotazioni di Hunyadi vennero realizzati da Vitéz.

Qui dobbiamo ritornare al gruppo di dignitari sopramenzionati. I membri più significanti della categoria, i quali ricevettero stallo a Várad per colmo della loro carriera diplomatica o cancelleresca negli anni '40-'60, come Péter Gúti⁶¹ oppure Gergely Monaji.⁶² Questo è il gruppo più chiuso, è caratterizzato soltanto da poca penetrabilità intorno ai canonici semplici e ancora meno possibilità del progresso, dell'ascensione. Anche fra i canonici semplici si forma un gruppo marcato i cui membri ricevettero benefici a Várad tramite Vitéz, dopo aver svolto o svolgendo un servizio militare, diplomatico, cancelleresco. Si tratta di un gruppo molto più ambizioso, più mobile, conoscendo la loro carriera più tardi, supponiamo che siano stati anche più giovani dei dignitari sopramenzionati. La carriera per esempio di Vince Szilasi salì fino al vescoviato di Vác,⁶³ mentre Mihály Debreceni,

⁶⁰ Szakály, 1990. 22.

⁶¹ Canonico (1445–49), custode (1449–51), lettore (1452–66) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 36.; Bónis, 1971. 164–165.; Fraknoi, 1879. 24–33.; 24. XI. 1449. DL 22491; 12. XI. 1450. DL 14428; 1451. Teleki József, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. I–XII.* Pest, 1852–1857. X. 283.; 1451.; *Békésmegyei Oklevéltár*, Ed. Haan, Lajos–Zsilinszky, Mihály, Budapest, 1877. II. 62.; 3. II. 1451. DL 37612; 26. XI. 1451. DL 14508; 10. XI. 1452. DL 55525; 14. III. 1454. DL 65074, DL 71485; 23. V. 1454. Zichy, 1872–1932. IX. 328; 22. VI. 1454. DL 74126, DL 14127; 20. X. 1455. DL 75885, DL 75889, DL 75907; 20. VI. 1457. DL 15170; 1458. Haan–Zsilinszky, 1877. II. 77.; 3. V. 1458. Károlyi, 1882–1897. II. 321.; DL 99694; 11. XI. 1458. DL 15291; 1459. Zichy, 1872–1932. X. 75.; 19. IV. 1459. DL 81350; 23. IV. 1459. DL 15332; 26. IV. 1459. Zichy, 1872–1932. X. 57.; 21. VI. 1460. DL 94575; 5. VI. 1464. Károlyi, 1882–1897. II. 361.; 6. VI. 1464. DL 99018; 21. IV. 1465. DL 38343; 16. IX. 1466. DL 16386.

⁶² Lettore (1468–94) – abbondantemente: Bónis, 1971. 234.; 7. XI. 1468. DL 75913; 22. VII. 1472. DL 17344; 26. X. 1473. DL 73315; 2. II. 1474. DL 45556, DL 58164, DL 97358; 28. V. 1476. DL 75924; 13. IX. 1476. DL 17846; 2. V. 1478. DL 30474; 25. VII. 1478. DL 18075; 18. IX. 1478. DL 18086; 28. VI. 1479. DL 74 621; 11. VII. 1479. DL 62337; 3. V. 1480. DL 74720; 20. V. 1480. DL 71515; 2. VI. 1481. DL 18496; 23. III. 1482. DL 18645; 18. X. 1483. DL 56159; 17. III. 1487. DL 107390; 1. IV. 1487. DL 74627; 28. IV. 1487. DL 19261; 1. X. 1487. DF 254473; 28. VIII. 1488. DL 65142; 8. IX. 1488. DL 88735; dopo 8. IX. 1488. DF 278643; 23. V. 1489. DL 19523; 26. IX. 1489. DF 278 644; 14. XI. 1490. DL 19688; 15. VII. 1492. DF 210832; 5. IX. 1493. DL 98365; 3. I. 1494. DL 46244, DL 47301.

⁶³ Canonico di Várad (1445–49), vescovo di Vác (1450–73) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 136.; Köblös, József, *Az egyházi közélet Mátyás és a Jagellók korában.* Budapest, 1994. 474.; Fraknoi, 1879. 77–79.; Bónis, 1971. 166–167.; Fügedi, 1965. 489.; Bánk, József, *Váci egyházmegyei almanach.* Vác, 1970. 133–134.; Chobot, Ferenc, *A váci egyházmegye történeti névtára I–II.* Vác, 1915–17. II. 510–512.; Mályusz, Elemér, „A magyar rendi állam Hunyadi korában”, In: *Századok* 1957 (91.) 46–123, 529–602. hic: 589., 594.

familiare di Hunyadi finì il suo avanzamento professionale come preposto,⁶⁴ Mihály Bellényi impiegò i propri benefici a degli studi universitari.⁶⁵ Balázs Zeleméri⁶⁶ e István Császári⁶⁷ si accontentarono del beneficio di Várad, probabilmente perché le famiglie di ambedue ebbero poteri nelle vicinanze.

Esaminando i modi di acquistare dei benefici, abbiamo tentato di presentare diversi tipi di carriera, abbiamo avuto l'intenzione di illustrare come poteva usare un canonico di Várad il suo stallo nella vita comune. Considerando l'ingresso dal di fuori, troviamo due periodi importanti, quando ascese a sbalzo il numero dei canonici che ebbero seri patroni. Il primo periodo fu fra gli anni 1440 e '60, nettamente legato al nome di János Vitéz. L'altro periodo, meno sporgente, ma rilevante è l'inizio del XVI. secolo, quando tramite il circolo umanista creato dai vescovi Szatmári–Thurzó–Perényi o tramite le relazioni della famiglia Perényi si poté osservare un ingresso leggermente più dinamico nel capitolo di Várad. Oltre questi due periodi cosiddetto speciali, l'ingresso tramite patroni fu più costante, ma di un intensità inferiore.

In base ai dati sopramenzionati è evidente il sopravvento dell'attività, dell'influenza personale di János Vitéz. Questo suo lavoro da mecenate non si presentò soltanto nell'occupazione degli stalli di Várad, cercò di sistemare i giovani secondo lui ingegnosi, in posizioni sicuri in tutto il paese. Osservando l'attività dei suoi protetti in seguito possiamo ammettere che con la sua volontà di creare un'élite non fece fiasco, si accorse immancabilmente del talento che meritò favoreggiamento. Questo fu un periodo assai prominente nell'esistenza del capitolo.

⁶⁴ Canonico (1459) – abbondantemente: Chobot, 1917. 725.; Bónis, 1971. 283.; 16. IV. 1459. DL 88336.

⁶⁵ Canonico (1446) – abbondantemente: Bónis, 1971. 362–363.; Schrauf, Károly, *Magyarországi tanulók külföldön. II., IV. Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen.* Budapest, 1892. 105.; 26. VII. 1446. DL 89957.

⁶⁶ Canonico (1458–60) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 143–144.; 6. IV. 1460. DF 278881, DF 222848.

⁶⁷ Canonico (1455–64) – abbondantemente: Bunyitay, 1883–1935. II. 142.; 23. XII. 1456. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia. I–II.* Ed. Theiner, Augustinus, Roma, 1859–1860. II. 284.; 23. XII. 1456. Bónis, 1997. 2838.

ZOLTÁN CZÖVEK

SOME CRUCIAL POINTS IN OSVÁT TÚZ, BISHOP OF ZAGREB'S WILL¹

Osvát Túz was one of the most important Hungarian prelates of his age. He was born perhaps in 1438.² His family was a noble one, but at that time, of little wealth and importance compared to the social status they rose to later. They lived in Somogy county, in the South of the Transdanubian part of Hungary. His close relative, János Túz, became one of the leading *familiares* of the Hunyadis and held significant offices.³ Under King Matthias' reign he became a *baro*, an aristocrat and one of the most influential dignitaries of the kingdom.⁴ It is unknown for us how János and Osvát Túz can be connected in the family tree.⁵ János was the person who helped the other, who was a cleric of the Veszprém diocese (in Transdanubia) at that time, to be appointed as bishop of Zagreb in 1466.⁶ He governed one of the richest bishoprics of the realm until his death. In his will he

¹ This study is based on a much longer work, i. e. the third chapter of my doctoral dissertation written in Hungarian at the University of Debrecen. The title of this part is *Osvát Túz of Szentlászló, Bishop of Zagreb's Will from 1499*. Where I did not cite source works in the footnotes below, see this chapter of my thesis, which I wrote with the help of the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia – Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund. (The dissertation is entitled *Számadás, leltár, végrendelet. Tanulmányok középkor végi forrásokról* [Expenses List, Inventory, Testament. Studies on Late Medieval Sources].)

² Razum, Stjepan, *Osvaldo Thuz de Szentlászló vescovo di Zagabria, 1466–1499. Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Facultate Historiae Ecclesiae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianaе*. Roma–Zagreb, 1995. 38. (I thank the author for calling my attention to his work.)

³ Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. [Hungary's Secular Archontology 1301–1457.] Budapest, 1996. Vol. I. 27., 214., 449. Vol. II. 248.

⁴ Kubinyi, András, "Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében" [*Barones in the Royal Council under Matthias and Wladislas II*], *Századok* 122 (1988) 208.

⁵ Tringli, István, "Az 1481. évi szlavóniai közgyűlés" [The *Congregatio Generalis* of Slavonia in 1481], In: Csukovits, Enikő (ed.), *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére*. [Studies in Honour of Iván Borsa.] Budapest, 1998. 301. Engel, Pál, *Középkori magyar genealógia* [Medieval Hungarian Genealogy], In: *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Családtörténet, heraldika, honismeret*. [Arcanum DVD Library IV. Family History, Heraldry, Hungarian Studies.] DVD-ROM. Budapest, s.l. Bő nem 1. Somogyi ág 2. tábla: Tuz (laki). For the origin of the family see: Kristó, Gyula–Engel, Pál–Makk, Ferenc (ed.), *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon. (9–14. század.)*. [Dictionary of the Early Hungarian History [9th–14th centuries].] Budapest, 1994. 126.

⁶ Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz* 41., 43. He was appointed as bishop of Zagreb by Pope Paul II on 16 April 1466. *Ibidem* 41.

made decision on enormous amounts of money and treasure. This study deals with the fulfilment and the political background of the testament, the relations between the bishop and some of the great lords mentioned in it.

There have been only a few works in Hungarian historiography that, even though extremely partially, looked at Túz. Stjepan Razum, a Croatian historian wrote his doctoral dissertation on the bishop in Italian, of which only a short abstract has been published.⁷ One of the greatest merits of the thesis is that its main ambition was completeness, so it was based on a huge amount of sources.⁸ It is one of the lengthiest works ever made on a medieval Hungarian prelate. Its abstract deals with the testament too, as one of the most important documents of Túz's life.⁹ Razum was not the first Croatian historian to investigate it in detail: in 1942 a study of this topic was published, but there are a lot of errors in it.¹⁰

Osvát Túz died on 16 April 1499.¹¹ The will, dated at the episcopal palace of Csázma on 15 April, was approved by King Wladislas II on 12 May in Buda. The document was published by a Croatian historian, Tkalčić.¹² The most significant issue is that the bishop bequeathed thirty-two thousand florins to the country for the construction and repair of the four most significant castles along the southern border: Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade), Jajca (Jajce, in Bosnia), Szabács (Šabac, in Serbia) and Szörény (Turnu Severin, today in Romania). According to the bishop's words, since he was born in the country and he earned his wealth from his homeland, he does not want to be ungrateful towards her, so he leaves this

⁷ Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz*.

⁸ I could not use the dissertation itself but its table of contents is to be found in: Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz* 9–19.

⁹ Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz* 64–69.

¹⁰ Razum, *Osvaldo Thuz* 64., note 90. – We know very little about the wills and legacies of medieval Hungarian prelates. Only two modern studies of this topic were published by Hungarian authors: Kubinyi, András, "Ernszt Zsigmond pécsi püspök rejtélyes halála és hagyatékának sorsa [A magyar igazságszolgáltatás nehézségei a középkor végén]" [The Mysterious Death of Zsigmond Ernszt, Bishop of Pécs, and the Story of his Legacy (Problems of the Hungarian Judicature in the Late Middle Ages).] *Századok* 135 (2001). Vekov, Károly, "Egy erdélyi reneszánsz püspök és a gyulafehérvári székesegyház kincstára". [A Renaissance Bishop of Transylvania and the Treasury of the Gyulafehérvár Cathedral] In: Kovács, András–Sipos, Gábor–Tonk, Sándor (ed.), *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. [Memorial Volume on the Occasion of the 80th Anniversary of Zsigmond Jakó's Birth.] Kolozsvár, 1996.

¹¹ *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*. [Hereinafter: MCZ.] Vol. II.: Diplomata: 1400–1499. Collegit et edidit Joannes Bapt. Tkalčić. Zagabria, 1894. 532.

¹² *Ibidem* 516–523., nr. 394–395. [The introductory and closing lines of the document issued by the king were published separately from the testament.] I used the original document as well, comparing it with the text published. Its photograph is to be found in the Photographic Collection of Medieval Documents of the National Archives of Hungary [Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény, hereinafter: DF], the reference is: DF 256760.

sum to Hungary.¹³ Túz stipulated that this huge amount of money was not to be administered by the Royal Treasurer, but one or more suitable persons should be elected by the prelates, lords temporal and noblemen, i. e. the Diet, to spend it honestly. We cannot be sure that Túz wanted it because his connections with the Treasurer-in-office Zsigmond Vémeri had deteriorated. It is possible that the cause of this instruction was that the bishop knew the nature of the royal finances very well,¹⁴ since he had been the King's Treasurer 1490 to 1492.¹⁵ It is possible as well that he wanted to make it more difficult for the monarch to get his legacy or a part of it in order to spend it immediately on other urgent royal necessities. So the bishop must have considered the election of honest persons the best way to ensure that the money would be spent after his death in accordance with his wishes.

It is also remarkable that Túz donated ten thousand florins for the construction of the main church of his diocese, the Zagreb cathedral (named after King Saint Stephen).

It is interesting that the testament does not tell us anything about the immovable properties owned by the bishop not as an ecclesiastical leader but privately, except a house in Buda. We know of his attempts to get estates, but it is problematic whether they were successful or not.¹⁶

Some words are required about the bad relations between the Túz family and Prince John Corvinus, King Matthias' son. The Prince is not mentioned in the testament but as one of the most powerful aristocrats of Slavonia and Hungary he had a large influence on the history of the Túz family and the Zagreb diocese in the 1490s, so it is necessary to deal with his role in order to learn of the political background of the will. The Túz family got engaged in a great lawsuit with John

¹³ *"Item ex quo natus sum in regno et ea bona que habui, ex regno habui, idcirco quantum possibile fuit, nolui esse ingratus patrie, relinquo itaque ad labores castrorum finitimorum, videlicet Jaycza, Nandoralba, Sabacz et Zewryn triginta duo milia florenorum..."*

¹⁴ Kubinyi, András, "Az egyház szerepe az országos politikában és a honvédelemben a középkor végén", [The Role of the Church in National Politics and in the Defence of the Country at the End of the Middle Ages.], In: Bárdos, István and Beke, Margit (ed.), *Egyházak a változó világban*. [Churches in the Changing World.] Esztergom, 1991. 21–22. – It seems that Vémeri and Túz were friends. Kubinyi, András, "Hivatalnokkarrier a XV. század végén: Vémeri Zsigmond királyi kincstartó, zágrábi püspök", [An Official's Career at the End of the 15th Century: Royal Treasurer, Bishop of Zagreb Zsigmond Vémeri], In: Bertényi, Iván and Dóka, Klára (ed.), *Magyar egyháztörténeti évkönyv*. [Annual of the Hungarian Church History.] Vol. II. Budapest, 1996. 102. On their relations changing for the worse: *ibidem* 105. The time of his tenure as Treasurer: *ibidem* 101. and 104.

¹⁵ On Túz's tenure as Treasurer between 27 September 1490 and 7 March 1492 see Razum, *Osváldo Thuz* 63.

¹⁶ A royal donation in July 1491: Szabó, Dezső, "A pozsonyi béke. 1491. nov. 7.". [The Peace Treaty of Pozsony. 7 November 1491.] *Századok* 48 (1914) 396–397. In 1496 the king donated the castle of Gora (in Zagreb county) and its appurtenances to him. Margalits, Ede, *Horvát történelmi repertorium*. [Croatian Historical Collection.] Vol. I. Budapest, 1900. 652. As to the castle, see: Engel, *Archontológia*, Vol. I. 319.

Corvinus in 1492 in order to regain their estates,¹⁷ confiscated by Matthias unlawfully in 1481.¹⁸ In that year the monarch took away their Slavonian estates acquired some years before and more or less at the same time. John Corvinus got these estates before his father's death (Matthias died in 1490).¹⁹ The lawsuit was not successful for the Túz family. However, in 1498, the king ordered the estates to be returned to them, but it could not be realized.²⁰ After Osvát Túz's death, Alfonz Túz, János Túz's son did not hope to be able to regain his patrimony, so he sold it to the monarch for forty thousand florins on 3 October 1499.²¹ It is sure that the king did not pay him this huge amount of money, only an insignificant part of it at most perhaps. (Of course, Alfonz Túz is one of those to whom the bishop bequeathed a part of his legacy, but János Túz was not alive when Osvát Túz died.) The fact that the monarch bought the estates (or more precisely: the rights over the estates) proves his goodwill towards the Túz family.

Prince Lőrinc Újlaki also was one of the most influential aristocrats of Slavonia and Hungary. In the middle of the 1490s he was on very bad terms with Osvát Túz. Thus, it seems strange that the bishop gave him presents in his will. Perhaps it is a gesture, one cannot think that they had become friends. It is probable that Túz wanted to pacify one of his greatest enemies and it was not possible to do so in the case of John Corvinus because of the lawsuit mentioned above. The bishop had to do this for the interests of the younger members of his family as well. (In addition to the Túz descendants, they were the Dersfi descendants, the bishop was the guardian of the latter.) The example of Prince Lőrinc Újlaki shows us that all those noted in the bishop's will cannot be considered automatically his friends. Some of them were important for him because of his interests. We know some of the bishop's friends who are not mentioned in the testament at all.²²

After Osvát Túz's death the Diet or the great royal council (there is more possibility of the latter) must have decided that the (in reality nearly) thirty-two thousand florins left for the border castles would be given to four great lords in parts. We know two of the four lords, Tamás Bakóc, Archbishop of Esztergom (the head of the Church of Hungary) and Miklós Bánfi, *Magister Ianitorum Regalium*, the latter is mentioned as the bishop's *compater* in the will. Bakóc and Bánfi were appointed protectors of the will in it, we can only try to guess that the

¹⁷ Schönherr, Gyula, *Hunyadi Corvin János 1473–1504*. [John Corvinus Hunyadi 1473–1504.] Budapest, 1894. 187., 204–205.

¹⁸ Tringli, "Szlavóniai közgyűlés" 307–309.

¹⁹ Engel, Pál, *Magyarország a középkor végén*. [Hungary in the Late Middle Ages.] CD-ROM, Budapest, n. d. Tringli, "Szlavóniai közgyűlés" 308.

²⁰ Tringli, "Szlavóniai közgyűlés", *ibidem*.

²¹ Schönherr, *Corvin* 248–249.

²² For example: Péter Váradi, Archbishop of Kalocsa. Fraknói, Vilmos, *Erdődi Bakócz Tamás élete*. [The Life of Tamás Bakóc of Erdőd.] Budapest, 1889. 63.

other two protectors, Domonkos Kálmáncsehi, bishop of Várad²³ and Józsa Somi, *Comes* of Temes county got one part of the thirty-two thousand florins each. (All of the four protectors²⁴ were given presents in the will.²⁵) There is evidence that it is very likely in Somi's case. We know the spending of a small part of the thirty-two thousand florins only, but we do not know any examples of paying it away contrary to the spirit or the inner meaning of the will, except Bánfi's spending five hundred florins arbitrarily. (The money was used not only for the construction of the border castles but the pay, armaments, food and other necessities of the garrisons.)²⁶

If the bishop wanted to prevent the Royal Treasurer from administering the money in the hope that the king would not spend it (or a part of it) on his daily necessities, this expectation was not fulfilled, as it is obvious on the evidence of a royal instruction from 1499, sent to the Royal Treasurer.²⁷ However, it is true that on the information available from this document, one can say that the king must have been to return the amounts of money borrowed as soon as possible, in the beginning at least. It is interesting that only one of the four border castles favoured by the testament, Jajca was under the command of John Corvinus, the *Banus* for life of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia (*Banus* means a kind of a viceroy), who was one of the bishop's chief enemies – as I mentioned. The other three castles were under the command of Józsa Somi, the *Comes* of Temes county and one of the protectors of the will.²⁸ In expending the money left for the castle of Nándorfehérvár

²³ He was one of the most important judges of the realm at the same time, the *personalis presentiae regiae in iudiciis locumtenens*.

²⁴ These persons were four of the main dignitaries of the kingdom.

²⁵ In reality, the four persons did not receive eight thousand but only 7,875 florins each, which quadrupled equals 31,500 and we do not know anything about the remainder of five hundred florins. Perhaps it was spent by the king before making decision on the distribution of the money. (Of course, the monarch as patron seized all of the wealth of Túz and the Zagreb diocese right after the bishop's death, thus it was he who handed over the money to the four elected lords.

²⁶ For the outpayments see: the first document: 20 October 1499: Kubinyi, "Vémeri" 105. See its original as well: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary, Archives of Medieval Documents, hereinafter: DL] 88843. – The second document: 15 May 1500: Lukinich, Imre, *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára*. [The Archives of the Podmaniczky Family of Podmanin.] Vol. I. 1351–1510. Budapest, 1937. 345–350. Thallóczy, Lajos and Horváth, Sándor, *Jajca (bánság, vár és város) története 1450–1527*. [The History (of the *Banatus*, Castle and Town) of Jajca] Budapest, 1915. 145–147. – The third source: 12 May 1502: Thallóczy–Horváth, *Jajca* 159–160. – The fourth document: 12 May 1502 (again): Thallóczy–Horváth, *Jajca* 161–163.

²⁷ Kubinyi, "Vémeri" 105., DL 88843.

²⁸ Kubinyi, András, "A szávaszentdemeter-nagyolaszi győzelem 1523-ban. Adatok Mohács előzményéhez." [The Victory at Szávaszentdemeter and Nagyolaszi in 1523. Facts for the Antecedents of Mohács.] In: Kubinyi, András, *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig. A Mátyás- és a Jagellókor hadtörténete*. [From Nándorfehérvár to Mohács. The Military History of Matthias' and the Jagellonians' Period.] n. p. place, 2007. 122.

(Belgrade), György Kanizsai, the *Banus* of the castle²⁹ (a kind of a castellan's position) must have played a crucial role. He was one of the most powerful Hungarian aristocrats and was one of those remembered in the will, where he is mentioned as the bishop's *compater*, which means that Osvát Túz was the godfather of his son called László (or, at least, we do not have knowledge of his other child or children).³⁰ The war against the Turks 1500 to 1503³¹ must have accelerated the spending of the money very much.

We know the paying away of the ten thousand florins left for the construction of the Zagreb cathedral on the evidence of a list made by Lukács Szegedi, bishop of Zagreb (an experienced financial expert) probably in 1505.³² This source shows us that bishop Szegedi and the Cathedral Chapter of Zagreb co-operated in spending the money, they counteracted each other's influence on it. It was the bishop who was kept the money, probably in his palace in Csázma. He payed it in seven parts in the course of the years in order to finance the building of the cathedral. We know that when Lukács Szegedi became the bishop of Zagreb in 1500,³³ the money was kept by the treasurer canon (the *Custos*) of the Zagreb Chapter, who was one of the executors of bishop Túz's testament. Bishop Szegedi got the money from him in the year 1500 or 1501. Its first part (150 florins) was spent by the Chapter (the *domini de Capitulo*) before Szegedi's arriving in Zagreb as newly appointed bishop. The Zagreb Chapter consisted of about thirty-two members³⁴ and at least about one third of them took part in administering and spending the money in the course of the years. One can say that this amount of money was spent according to the instruction of Túz's testament.

Túz left one thousand florins to the Order of the Hermits of Saint Paul in his will. We know that the renovation of the central monastery of the whole of the Order in Budaszentlőrinc (very close to Buda) was financed partly by the testamentary legacies of Osvát Túz and Lukács Szegedi, bishops of Zagreb, around 1510.³⁵

²⁹ He must have held this office between February 1499 and June 1507 (the latter date is absolutely certain). Simon, Zsolt, "A baricsi és kölpényi harmincadok a 16. század elején", [The *Tricesima* of Barics and Kölpény in the Early 16th Century] *Századok* 140 (2006) 881.

³⁰ Engel, *Genealógia*. Oslí nem 6. tábla: Kanizsai (folyt.)

³¹ Solymosi, László (ed.), *Magyarország történeti kronológiája*. [Hungary's Historical Chronology.] Vol. I, Budapest, 1986³. 326–327.

³² *MCZ* Vol. 3: *Diplomata: 1500–1526*. Collegit et edidit Joannes Bapt. Tkalčić. Zagrabia, 1896. 6–7. See the complete version: *MCZ* Vol. XI.: *Libri fassionum seu funduales (ann. 1471–1526)*. Inventaria et rationes (ann. 1368–1521). Collegit et edidit Joannes Bapt. Tkalčić. Zagrabia, 1905. 289–290.

³³ He was bishop until his death in 1510.

³⁴ Mályusz, Elemér, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary.] Budapest, 1971. 117.

³⁵ F. Romhányi, Beatrix, "Pálos gazdálkodás a 15–16. században" [The Paulites' Managing of their Wealth in the 15th and 16th Centuries], *Századok* 141 (2007) 337–338. Gyöngyösi, Gregorius, *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitaе*. Ed. Franciscus L. Hervay. Budapest, 1988. 168., 233.

Osvát Túz was a very practical and successful prelate, which is proved partly by the fact that he possessed one of the greatest fortunes of moveable properties in Hungary when he died as his will suggests. We know few facts of the fulfilment of the testament but these demonstrate that the country's leaders endeavoured to follow it or its inner meaning at least. It was executed not without problems, to the extent that questions arose from its fulfilment after such a long time as forty years. It seems that the Zagreb Chapter initiated an inquiry in connection with the legacies of Osvát Túz and Lukács Szegedi at the very end of the year 1539 or at the very beginning of 1540, but we do not know its results.³⁶

It is interesting that the testament is incomplete. For example, the bishop, who is thought to be a booklover,³⁷ does not mention any books in it. In addition, we know of enormous amounts of money missing from the document. There is a long list of expenses, about 2,800 florins altogether, spent on the bishop's funeral, the requiem Masses and many other things after his death. It seems that the Treasurer canon (the *Custos*) of the Zagreb Chapter, one of the executors of the will, was responsible for spending the money.³⁸ We know that Túz left other immense amounts of florins for Masses to be celebrated for ever after his death for his salvation. (These sums have nothing to do with the 2800 florins mentioned above.) According to a royal courtier's receipt of March 1503, bishop Szegedi had to pay the king 2,479 florins of this money in two parts. The prelate stipulated that the sum handed over must be spent on the castle of Jajca.³⁹ In February in one of the years the monarch gave a receipt, signed with his own hand, in Buda, for two thousand florins borrowed from bishop Szegedi and the Zagreb Chapter "*in urgenti publica regni necessitate*" from the money left by Túz for perpetual Masses.⁴⁰

As for the amounts of money donated in the will (we do not know the values of the things distributed as presents), one can say that the greatest part was given to the king. It is true even if much the largest sum was the thirty-two thousand florins left for the border castles. This money was kept by great lords but it was the monarch who had an obligation to take care of the southern border castles, so

³⁶ *MCZ* Vol. III. 7–9., see its complete version: *MCZ* Vol. XII.: *Diplomata: annor. 1526–1564.* Collegit et edidit Emilius Laszowski. Zagabria, 1929. 195–198.

³⁷ Hoffmann, Edith, *Régi magyar bibliofilek.* [Old Hungarian Bibliophiles.] The foreword and the new notes were written and the work was edited by Wehli, Tünde. Budapest, 1992. 119–121., 260.

³⁸ DF 256922.

³⁹ *MCZ* Vol. III. 19–20.

⁴⁰ Only an abstract of this receipt was published, but its date is problematic. *MCZ* Vol. III. 16–17. One can read 1502 as the year of this document but in February 1502 the king was not in Buda but in Bohemia. *Kronológia* 327. (The monarch was not even on 26 March in Hungary. Wenzel, Gusztáv, "Marino Sanuto Világkrónikájának Magyarországot illető tudósításai". [Accounts Concerning Hungary of Marino Sanuto's World Chronicle.] Part 2. *Magyar Történelmi Tár* [Hungarian Historical Collection] 24 [1877] 10.)

it was he to whom this donation meant financial aid. If we take this sum into consideration, we can say that the king received 45,500 florins. Túz gave much less money (15,273 florins) to ecclesiastical institutions (mainly to those under his control as bishop) and he gave nearly nothing (2,150 florins) to the members of his family (including the Dersfi descendants), compared to the total sum of 63,373 florins⁴¹ distributed (of course, the aforesaid sums spent on Masses were given to the Church as well, – but not testamentally). So the will demonstrates clearly the great power of Hungary's late medieval kings over the Church.

⁴¹ 450 florins given to other persons are included in the total sum.

MÁRIA LUPESCU MAKÓ

KING MATTHIAS AND THE MENDICANT ORDERS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Historians often considered Matthias to have been a great renaissance ruler who established the style of the Italian Renaissance in his court, north of the Alps, becoming at the same time famous throughout Europe for his patronage of literature and his sponsorship of art. Some authors highlighted the warring king portrait, of a ruler, who himself led most of the military campaigns against Ottoman Empire, Bohemia or the Austrian provinces. Other views presented the ambitious ruler, who was ready to carry through a political, military, monetary and monastic reform of the Hungarian Kingdom. While contemporaries blamed him for high taxes and military conflicts, in Hungarian popular tradition, Matthias is a righteous and good king, who frequently visited his people in disguise and delivered justice for them. What portrait is the true one? As a matter of fact, every feature of the king presented above has its own nub of truth. Matthias was cultivated, liked the classical authors and enjoyed his conversations with humanists. But this did not prevent him from participating in tournaments, of which he was fond of. He was rather a soldier than an academic. As a military commander, he was a trained man of war, a bold strategist rather than a cautious tactician. Being a good judge of character, he was able to find the talented and reliable persons who could be entrusted with different administrative tasks. As a monarch, throughout his reign, Matthias ruled by means of a changing coalition of supporters relying in particular upon the great landowners. Besides these “official” portraits we have others, e.g. that of a man who loved women, but who also had the chance to meet the great love of his life, the mother of his son, and that of a careful father, who loved his son warmly, providing him with an excellent education and making everything to promote his succession. Finally, it seems that all these pictures represent the king. However, above all, Matthias was a ruler of his age, that of a period of changes, when the medieval world still had force in acting, but when fresh elements of a new period started to make their influence felt in some aspects of life. This duality, which is so evident in Matthias’ art patronage in combining the late Gothic and the Renaissance styles can be considered as characteristic for his entire life. This duality is typical of his display of regal power. From

this point of view, Matthias' relationship with the religious orders, the subject of present paper, was also beset by contradictions.

In order to review King Matthias Corvinus' policy regarding religious orders in Transylvania one has to take two facts into consideration. Firstly, the king had no particular policy regarding religious orders in Transylvania, he only had a policy referring to monasteries of the entire kingdom. However, the following study will examine the friaries of the mendicant orders of Transylvania. When conclusions will be drawn, they would refer to the general situation in the entire kingdom. Secondly, one needs to differentiate measures of King Matthias regarding monastic orders from those regarding mendicant and hermit orders. On the grounds of available sources, the purpose of present research can be achieved by examining two issues: the reform movement of the orders, and the donations for religious purposes.

THE OBSERVANT MOVEMENT

The observant reform was a general trend within mendicant orders. It emerged among the Franciscans, Dominicans adopted it only upon their example, following in their footsteps. It aimed for strict observance of the rules and constitutions of the order. Hence the name of the movement: *strictioris observantiae* or simply the observant movement. The observants deliberately and systematically worked for changes in the spirituality of the order, setting off latent conflicts. As opposed to them, the supporters of the traditional mainstream were called Conventuals, since they lived in big friaries or convents. The differences of opinion did not regard simply the interpretation of the concept of poverty, whether a monastery should own real estate, accept yearly donations from secular persons or have someone, a confrere to administer its estates and give the income to the monastery while the monastery itself not owing formally any real estate – or whether the members of the orders should live upon what they receive from mendicancy? The word "conventual" expresses far better the essence of the difference of opinion. Conventualism refers to the fact that the supporters of the traditional trend started to be less flexible, become attached more and more to the same monastery, thus the differences between them and the formerly founded (especially monastic) orders started to fade. In contrast, the Observants did not give in to comfort, but were ready to fight any time and carry out without hesitation the orders given to them by their superiors.¹

¹ Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary] Budapest, 1971. 291.

Therefore it can be easily seen that there was a discrepancy between Conventuals and Observants formed as a consequence of the renewal of monastic life at the end of the fourteenth century, or as contemporaries called it, the reform of the orders, regarding the interpretation of the rules and due to the debates that followed. The supporters of the reform demanded initial rules to be observed and aimed to reactivate the essence of monastic life: poverty, chastity and obedience. The Conventuals denied the necessity of change, they considered that habits and privileges adopted since the beginning of the order did not prevent them from keeping their vows. At the same time, the supporters of change considered that contemporary monastic practice fell behind the initial norms of the orders and they were talking about the crisis of the orders. Their demands – rejection of private propriety, strict observation of clausure, prohibition for women to enter a monastery – clearly show what they considered as laxity of discipline. They also sought to restore regular and obligatory communal life for everyone: participation at masses and office prayers, communal eating, wearing the habit and a stricter asceticism (observation of fast and of *silencium*).² It must be stressed that neither in the case of the Franciscans, nor in the Dominicans conflicts arose because of poverty itself. In 1475 the Pope himself approved the request of the general of the Dominican order that mendicancy should be abolished and the order should be licensed to own real estate. Before that, since the pontificate of Pope Eugene IV monasteries had to ask for the permission of the general of the order to accept real estate donations.³ Such permission was a must to help monasteries develop. For example, the monastery of Segesvár (Sighișoara/Schässsburg), although it was an observant friary it received and accepted as donation real estates from Ladislas V in 1455 and the vice-voivod of Transylvania in 1465.⁴ The most important thing was keeping and maintaining discipline and fulfilling one's calling faithfully and not a kind of observation of rules that disregards development.

² Kaspar Elm offers a useful summary of the observant movement, *Verfall und Erneuerung des Ordenswesens im Spätmittelalter. Forschungen und Forschungsaufgaben, Untersuchungen von Kloster und Stift*. (Heröffentlichungen des Max-Planck Instituts für Geschichte 68. Studien zur Germania Sacra 14.) Göttingen, 1980. 188–238. Later the subject was also to see another collection of studies: *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*. (Berliner Historische Studien 14, Ordensstudien VI.) Ed. Kaspar Elm. Berlin, 1989. 3–400.

³ Angelus Maria Walz, *Compendium historiae ordinis Praedicatorum*. Romae, 1930. 67.

⁴ Karl Fabritius, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Kisder Kapitels vor der Reformation und der auf dem Gebiete desselben ehemals befindlichen Orden*. Hermannstadt, 1875. 60, 65.

Slowly, but steadily there were more and more differences of opinion between the Conventuals and the Observants and they grew into irreconcilable conflicts.⁵ It is but natural that the Holy See followed closely and took action when confronted with such a large movement, having a strong influence on the mendicant orders. Even if the Holy See followed the development of the movement only passively until the beginning of the fifteenth century, afterwards, in the second half of the century its attitude and rhetoric changed significantly in relation to the observant movement. At the beginning Rome was interested in reforming the mendicant orders, which it hoped to use easily to achieve its own purposes. The interest of the Papacy saved the movements at the beginning from the fate of the earlier heretic movements and offered them privileges guaranteed by the Pope, but later their spread resulted in forming congregations independent of the province, while the reforms of their monasteries brought about a greater influence on the laity and the ecclesiastic hierarchy over the orders. Obviously, the Holy See could not accept this. Therefore, starting with the 1460s Rome more and more often prohibited the Observants to take over monasteries of the Conventuals with the help of seculars under excommunication, protecting the unity and privileges of the orders. This was clearly self-defence, since such a prohibition had the result of strengthening the privileges of the Conventuals and increasing the stress of the direct authority of the Papacy over the mendicant orders.⁶ This general tendency is reflected in the papal approvals given to Observant reform petitions in Hungary in the 1440s–50s. On the other hand, at the beginning of the sixteenth century Rome was long trying to reform monasteries by encouraging self-reformation within the monasteries of the Conventuals. This was not only the endeavour of the generals of the orders, but also that of the Popes as well, since they understood how the authority of the church was undermined by the constant litigations and armed conflicts generated by the observant reform. The turning-point of this situation took place during the pontificate of Pope Paul II (1464–1471).⁷

⁵ Conflicts between the Conventual and the Observant branch of the Dominican Order were never so intense as those of the Franciscan Order. Thus, they managed to keep the unity of the order and did not develop into different branches. In the case of the Dominicans observance caused rather smaller structural changes. The order continued to be ruled by a prior, but the Observants had their own vicars, while the Conventuals had a *provincialis* as a leader for each province. There were also some differences according to which branch had more supporters in a province. For example, in 1475 in the South-German province of Teutonia, the Observants were a majority, so they elected the *provincialis*, while Conventuals had to put up with only a vicar elected. G. Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*. II. Tübingen, 1929. 276.

⁶ Katherine Walsh, “Papsttum und Ordensreform im Spätmittelalter und Renaissance, Zur Wechselwirkung von Zentralgewalt und lokaler Initiative”. In: *Reformbemühungen*, 411–431.

⁷ The Bull of Pope Paul II of 1467 was a reference point for his successors as well.

Besides the concern for the unity of the orders and protection of papal authority, the decisions of the Holy See were also influenced by the aim to avoid scandal as a consequence of reform and to settle ongoing conflicts as soon as possible. One of the particular structural features of monastic reforms conducted by external means was the conflict between canonic legal provisions and the practical side of the reform, i.e. the tendency that despite the direct papal authority over mendicant friaries, the outcome of the reforms depended on the local factors supporting the Observants and Rome had to be content with complying with their will. Legally the decision belonged to the Pope, however implementation of his decree had chances only if it coincided with local interests. Thus, it seems that the rhetoric of peaceful solutions of the Papacy of the late Middle Ages was meant to conceal its lack of authority over the local powers. The monastic reform viewed as an event in the church policy was – just as the canonization of saints – a negotiation process between the centre and the periphery where the Papacy gained an advantage only later, after the Council of Trent.⁸

On the other hand, German researchers of the period traditionally view the complex train of events of the monastic reform of the late Middle Ages as well as the spiritual aspect of the process, the observant movement as preliminaries of the Protestant Reformation. Attention is focused on Luther, the church reformer coming from the radical observant branch and the order he belonged to, the Augustinian hermits. However, in recent decades the process is being analyzed more widely and from several perspectives. On the one hand, the view which considers observance and the evangelical movement (namely the first phase of the Reformation) to be two similar spiritual trends, both proclaiming a simpler theology and spirituality addressed to all people is quite interesting. It cannot be denied either that both trends by their intense preaching programs advanced the education of the laity. A more palpable argument in favour of the continuity of observance into the evangelical movement is the typical example of many Protestant reformers who used to be observant friars. This phenomenon gives us an opportunity to view observant friars and early Protestant reformers as consecutive generations of priests.⁹

Set into a larger perspective the picture is somewhat altered, of course. It is probably more reasonable to say that on the road to the theology of justification by faith mystical and affective spirituality (*devotio moderna*) was a more important step than observant theology, which captivated religious orders as well. It is

⁸ For such a view on canonization processes see Peter Burke, “How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint”. In: Peter Burke (ed.), *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy. Essays on Perception and Communication*. Cambridge, 1987. 48–62.

⁹ Berndt Hamm, “Von der spätmittelalterlichen reformatio zur Reformation, der Prozess normativer Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft in Deutschland”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 84 (1993) 7–82., 24–41.; Robert Sauzet, *Mendiants et Réformes. Les réguliers mendiants acteurs du changement religieux dans la royaume de France (1480–1560)*. Tours, 1994.

also possible that friars who became reformers were not primarily Observants in their conviction, rather active representatives of the clergy and the friars who took their Christianity and their calling seriously and attempted to put it into practice as perfectly as possible.¹⁰ At the same time considerations on the experience of these contemporary religiously active people are regrettably absent from works which, instead of being preoccupied with the conflict considered vital earlier, emphasize structural parallels between the „observant” monastery establishment and restructuring initiated and carried out by secular powers (princes, towns, landlords) on the one hand, and the abolishment of the monasteries initiated by the Reformers afterwards, on the other. Both are primarily considered movements coming from within the church which contributed to the „secularization of religion” by having laymen more actively contribute to church life than before. Thus the church that was formed served more and more expectations of laymen and became increasingly controlled by them. While researchers agree the place of this train of events is in the macro historical process, it is more difficult to answer what the personal intentions of the religiously active persons were? To gain power over the church or religious considerations, as has been acknowledged in scholarship? There are different answers to this question. One can read both of religious motivation and political consequences and also of the interweaving of these two.¹¹

THE OBSERVANT MOVEMENT IN HUNGARY

In Hungary the reform of the orders started also with the Franciscans like in other European countries. Dominicans adopted it only after their example, following their footsteps. The Hungarian provinces joined in the movement developing in both orders, thus proving that they were indeed an organic part of the community of friars present in all walks of Christianity. It is important to state right at the beginning that the necessity of reform was not only felt by those affected, the religious orders, but also the secular society. To sustain this statement it would be very illustrative to give as an example the supplication of King Sigismund to the

¹⁰ Klaus Schreiner, „Laienfrömmigkeit – Frömmigkeit von Eliten oder Frömmigkeit des Volkes? Zur sozialen Verfasstheit laikaler Frömmigkeitspraxis im späten Mittelalter”, In: *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter, Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*. Ed. Klaus Schreiner. München, 1992. 1–78.; Johannes Schilling, *Gewesene Mönche. Lebensgeschichten in der Reformation*. München, 1992.

¹¹ Dieter Stievermann, „Die württembergische Klosterreformen des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein bedeutendes landeskirchliches Strukturelement des Spätmittelalters und ein Kontinuitätsstrang zum ausgebildeten Landeskirchentum der Frühneuzeit”, *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 44 (1985) 65–121., 93–99.; Walter Ziegler, „Reformation und Klosterauflösung. Ein ordensgeschichtlicher Vergleich”, In: *Reformbemühungen*, 585–614.

Pope when visiting Rome in 1433, requesting that the Pope would delegate the King to guard the observation of rules in the monasteries.¹² A petition like this makes one think that the observation of rules was probably not one of the strengths of Hungarian monasteries. However, King Sigismund's supplication can be interpreted in two different ways. It can be argued that he arbitrarily intervened into ecclesiastic matters or that he intended to strengthen the kingdom by his actions. Having the Ottoman threat in mind on the one hand, and the followers of Jan Hus, who intended to break the unity of faith on the other, it was a best interest to strengthen the country, especially in a spiritual way. One of the most suitable groups to achieve this purpose was that of the mendicant friars if they made all effort to practise their initial calling. It is very likely that thoughts about reform and the necessity of renewal appeared also among the Augustinian hermit friars in the fifteenth century, for which, unfortunately enough, we have no direct evidence. Therefore, only the observant movement of the Franciscan and Dominican friars will be discussed below.

The Franciscan Observants gained ground during the reign of Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447) who intended to lead the entire order to observance. Another step in the history of observance in Hungary is the end of the 1440s when the two branches of the order, the Conventuals and the Observants started to have their own, different histories. This is the time when the independent observant province was established in Hungary with the approval of Pope Nicholas V in 1448. Until then observant friars of Hungary were superintended by the Bosnian vicariate. At almost the same time, between 1444 and 1467 Conventuals were forced out of eight of their biggest friaries by the Observants. In 1443 Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, the papal legate ordered the friaries of Buda, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) and Pest to be handed over to the Observants.¹³ In 1448, obeying an order of legate Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, they had to hand over the friaries of Esztergom and Sárospatak.¹⁴ In 1451 Miklós Újlaki requested that the monastery of Újlak (Ilok) should enter the above estate,¹⁵ while in 1467 Observants also took hold of the friaries of Gyöngyös and Széchény, following the firm request of János Ország Gúti and Mihály Ország Gúti.¹⁶ After that the Hungarian nobility, John Hunyadi, Dénes Szécsi, the archbishop of Esztergom, then King Matthias

¹² Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a Római Szent-székkal a konstancai zsinattól a mohácsi vészig* [Hungarian Clerical and Political Relationships with the Holy See in Rome from the Council of Constance to the War of Mohács] II. Budapest, 1902. 19.

¹³ János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The History of the Order of Saint Francis in Hungary until 1711] I–II. Budapest, 1922–1924. I. 154–155, 203, 225. The order of the Cardinal given at the end of 1443 was confirmed also by the Pope on 29 January 1444. Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, I. 58.

¹⁴ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, I. 166, 244–245.

¹⁵ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, I. 282–283.

¹⁶ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, I. 283–284.

Corvinus and even later, during the reign of the Jagiellonians Tamás Bakócz were all ostentatiously supporting the Franciscan Observants.¹⁷ The last two of the above mentioned friaries were handed over during King Matthias' reign in spite of the fact that the Conventual provincial supporting the reforms, Fábian Igali protested against it and from the 1460s onwards the Observants were forbidden more and more frequently to take over Conventual monasteries under penalty of excommunication.¹⁸ For this reason it was absolutely impossible for the two provinces to be at peace. The competition of the two branches went on until the beginning of the sixteenth century, a final solution being reached only when the Conventual province also accepted the observant principles in 1517 and thus, the Marian and Salvatorian provinces were formed.

As well as in the case of the Franciscans, the Dominican reformists also sought for a strict observance of the rules. There was nothing new in such a demand and this is probably the reason why the movement was so popular after the early unsuccessful period. Differently from the other mendicant orders, the general of the Dominican order was to work out a scheme to achieve the goals of the observance. According to Raimondo da Capua, the friars who were *voluntary* supporters of observance should be gathered in a few friaries and after these friars would have been educated in the spirituality and the delivery of the reform, they would have been sent to other friaries to set the example to others. He did not intend to force everybody to accept the reform and have a stricter conduct of life, rather he expected friars to be convinced by the changed attitude of their fellows. In order to achieve the reform he also emitted a Reform Decree in 1390, in which he ordered that in every province there should be at least one monastery for friars who observed the rules most precisely and most strictly for the Observants. The reform activity of the Dominican order was also supported by the Papacy, judging from the confirmation of the Reform Decree by Boniface IX. In 1397 the Pope suggested in his Bull beginning with *His quae pro religionis* that friars who opposed observance would be excommunicated, in other words, open resistance should cease unless somebody wished to confront the Holy See.¹⁹ Un-

¹⁷ Imre Kapisztrán Varga offers a recount of the relationship of King Matthias Corvinus and the Observant Franciscans stressing personal contact of the king with Franciscans and the spiritual aspect. Imre Kapisztrán Varga, „King Matthias and the Observant Franciscans”, In: Péter Farbak, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, András Végh (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490. Exhibition catalogue*. Budapest, 2008. 401–404. On the beginning of the observant movement in Hungary in general see, György Galamb, „A ferences obszervancia magyarországi térnyeréséhez”, [On the Spread of Franciscan Observancy in Hungary] In: Ferenc Piti, György Szabados (eds.), „Magyaroknak eleiről”, *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvanesztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* [„On the forebears of the Hungarians”, Studies in Honour of the Sixty-year-old Ferenc Makk] Szeged, 2000. 165–181.

¹⁸ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, I. 66–69.

¹⁹ András Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation] Debrecen, 1938. 31.

fortunately, it is impossible to tell on the grounds of sources at our disposal whether the Reform Decree was implemented in the Province of Hungary or whether a friary was selected to make preparations for the reform in the other monasteries. What seems certain is that the initiative of Raimondo da Capua was implemented especially in Germany and Italy, but it did not have great success there either. The success of this plan was to come later, partly by the reimplementation of da Capua's dispositions by his successors, e.g. Bartholomaeus Texier (1426–1449). He took over the management of the movement firmly and propagated it systematically during his whole mandate. It is no coincidence that the reform in Hungary started during his administration.

Among the Dominicans the observant movement of several phases was first initiated in the 1440s and lasted almost throughout the fifteenth century. It resulted in deep changes, both in the structure and spiritual life. The movement spread to Hungary from two observant friaries, Basel and of Vienna. In this phase the claim for reforms still came externally. One of the great supporters of observance was Pope Eugene IV, who started the reform in Hungary, although he gave practical reasons for his actions. In the spring of 1444 the papal chancery issued two documents which dealt closely with the observant movement within the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The first bull, *Prospicientes ex apice* of 7 April 1444 is important in effect of the Dominican order.²⁰ The gravity of the situation becomes obvious already from the long line of addressees. The Pope addressed the bull to all ecclesiastical and secular leaders and all Christians. It is stated that Hungary and particularly Transylvania suffered great losses and enormous devastation mainly because of the cruelties of the Ottomans. They took priests and friars captive, they destroyed and burned monasteries and churches and due to this situation masses are no longer performed.²¹ In order that these places would be reconstructed for the glory of God and the salvation of the Christian souls and masses could be performed in them Pope Eugene IV ordered the Observant Dominican Jakob Richer and several of his fellow friars to go to the Transylvanian *contrata*. The obvious reason was the destruction caused by the Ottomans and the decline of many friaries, but the real reason was to carry out the observant reform

²⁰ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* I. Band. Eds. Franz Zimmermann–Carl Werner. II–III. Band. Eds. Franz Zimmermann–Carl Werner–Georg Müller. IV–VI. Band. Ed. Gustav Gündisch. VII. Band. Eds. Gustav Gündisch–Herta Gündisch–Konrad Gündisch–Gernot Nussbächer. Hermannstadt–Köln–Wien–Bukarest, 1892–1991. V. no. 2482 [hereinafter *Ub*]; Fabritius, *Urkundenbuch*, 54; Pál Lukcsics (ed.), *Diplomata pontificum saec. XV. XV. századi pápák oklevelei*. (Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár 2.) I–II. Budapest, 1931–1938. II. no. 813.

²¹ “...ex quibus fideles utriusque sexus sacerdotes ac viri religiosi capti fuerunt et in miserabilem infidelium servitutem pervenerunt et quod infeliciter est, domus, monasteria ac ecclesiae et alia pia loca ab ipsis infidelibus combusta et diruta exstiterunt, unde in nonnullis locis illarum partium divinus cultus omnino cessavit in aliquibus vero maxime diminutus exstitit in magnum christianae religionis opprobrium”, *Ub* V. no. 2482.

of the monasteries. At the same time, the Pope set as a goal for Richer, the new observant vicar not only restoration of masses and reconstruction of destroyed monasteries with the help of the Christians, but also *observantiam regularem in illis domibus, et monasteriis plantare, et a Regula et institutionibus dicti Ordinis devia reformare*.²² The Pope draws the attention of the addresses also to the fact that they are supposed to help Richer and his fellow friars. In the first place, their support should be demonstrated by allowing the friars to act upon the privileges of their order, namely they could listen confessions and bury without restriction. They may be offered alms for their work and free pass at the customs of the kingdom should be granted for them.²³ Pope Eugen IV addresses separately to the abbots of the monasteries of Kolozsmonostor (Cluj-Mănăştur) and Kerc (Cârța/Kertz) asking them to supervise the Dominican and Franciscan friaries in Transylvania.²⁴ In his second bull of May 1444, Pope Eugene IV listed the damaged Dominican and Franciscan friaries, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia/Weissenburg), Szászváros (Orăștie/Broos), Alvinc (Vințu de Jos/Unter-Winz), Szászsebes (Sebeș/Mühlbach), Szeben (Sibiu/Hermannstadt) and Beszterce (Bistrița/Bistritz) with its Franciscan friary of Saint Mary and its Dominican one, of the Holy Cross. They were the ones to be reformed.²⁵ There is no evidence on the implementation of observance in the two Franciscan friaries listed (Szászváros and Beszterce). Similarly, besides the monasteries listed above, Gyulafehérvár, Szászsebes, Alvinc, Szeben and Holy Cross Dominican convent of Beszterce we only know of the friary in Szeben and the monastery of Kolozsvár monastery that became observant. Although the number of monasteries where it is known for certain that they adopted observance is not high, it still remains an important fact, at least as far as Dominicans are concerned, that the first two monasteries in the Hungarian Province to take up the reform were the two most important ones of the Transylvanian *contrata*. Thus, within the Hungarian Dominican Province the Observants first took hold of the Transylvanian district.

However, both Franciscans and Dominicans could achieve greater successes only after the representatives of the secular power joined the ecclesiastic power in its efforts to take the reform through. This is the period in the Hungarian history of the observant movement of the mendicant orders when the Hunyadis were involved, first John, the governor and later, his son, King Matthias. The Holy See convinced John Hunyadi (and others besides him) to support the Franciscan observant movement at first. Dénes Szécsi, archbishop of Esztergom, then King Matthias and under the rule of the Jagiellonians Tamás Bakócz were ardent sup-

²² Fabritius, *Urkundenbuch*, 54.

²³ Fabritius, *Urkundenbuch*, 55.; *Ub* V. no. 2487.

²⁴ *Ub* V. 132-134.

²⁵ *Ub* V. no. 2495; Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, II. no. 817.

porters of Franciscan Observants.²⁶ Several of the towns owned by ecclesiastic or secular lords (like Győr, Lippa, Debrecen, Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare) ordered the reform for the monasteries belonging to them due to requests of Governor John Hunyadi and the Hungarian nobility. Still, finally the Observants were only successful in the seat of the archbishop who supported the reform, in all the other cases the Conventuals (e.g. in Szeged) or the landlord (e.g. in Debrecen) managed to prevent it.²⁷ Handing over the monasteries meant in fact that the archbishop requested friars to accept observant principles or else they were to leave the monasteries. On the other hand several petitions for a reform of a mendicant friary arrived from Hungary to Rome during the fifteenth century which were written by the landlord or the patron of the market-town to which these monasteries belonged. In 1451 Transylvanian voivod Miklós Újlaki asked directly Pope Nicholas V for permission to have a Conventual Franciscan friary built in Újlak, on the ancestral heritage of the family to be handed over to the Observants, due to the fact that the current inhabitants of the monastery had not been fulfilling their duties.²⁸ In spite of this, the friary was actually handed over only in 1455 and merely after John of Capistran intervened personally.²⁹ Having such powerful protectors it is no wonder Observant Franciscans took or established more and more monasteries. The Dominican Order had the same results. Governor Hunyadi interceded successfully at the ecclesiastic leaders of the country and abroad so that the "wretched plants" may bloom. In 1455 the monasteries of Brassó (Braşov/Kronstadt) and Segesvár are mentioned as Observant friaries. The Observant friars of the convent of Szeben probably moved to the friaries of the two other Saxon towns and convinced them to accept the reform sometime between 1447 and 1454. It seems their actions were supported by John Hunyadi and it is highly probable that when the governor gave silver worth 10 marks of the census of Saint Martin's Day in 1455 to the Saint Peter and Paul friary of the Do-

²⁶ On the replacement of an old monastery with an Observant one see the analysis made by Gabriella Erdélyi, who discusses this phenomenon starting from a concrete case in 1517–1518 at Körmend, where Cardinal Tamás Bakócz, archbishop of Esztergom, who was also the landlord of the town and patron of the Augustinian convent at the time, asked Pope Leo X for authorization to reform the convent. Finally, the reformation became a replacement, and the Augustinian convent was transferred to the observant Franciscans. Gabriella Erdélyi, *Egy kolostorper története. Hatalom, vallás és mindennapok a középkor és az újkor határán* [The Story of a Convent's Case. Power, Religion, and Everyday Life at the Turn of the Middle Ages and Modern Times] (Társadalom- és Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok 38.) Budapest, 2005.

²⁷ Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz*, I. 58–59, 331.

²⁸ Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz*, II. 175.

²⁹ Erik Fügedi, "Kapisztránói János csodái. A jegyzőkönyvek társadalomtörténeti tanulságai" [Miracles of John of Capistrano. Social Historical Lessons of Minutes] In: Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Mendicant Friars, Burghers, Nobles. Studies on Hungarian Middle Ages] Budapest, 1981. 34. It seems though that fellow friars of John of Capistrano did not approve of his act. Johannes Hofer, *Johannes Kapistran. Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche*. I–II. Heidelberg, 1964–1965. II. 413.

minicans in Brassó, he rewarded them for their successful reform in fact.³⁰ Another sign that the reform movement was gaining ground was that in the period of 1474–1525 provincials were elected from among the Observants, justifying that by the end of the Middle Ages Observants had constituted a majority. In the second phase of the movement foreign friars also joined the reform work in already existing Observant convents. On the other hand, the authority and power of John Hunyadi played an important part in making observance an irreversible process by the end of the fifteenth century, a process which made important changes on the map of the Hungarian Province in the next few decades. The work began by John Hunyadi was continued by his son, King Matthias who was also a supporter of Observants. He had the convent of Budweis reformed in 1478. Another important friary taking on observance was that of Székesfehérvár in 1467. The friaries of Pest, Esztergom, Vasvár, Várad (Oradea), Pécs and others adopted observance as well.³¹

One of the important aspects of the secular power, in our case, John and Matthias Hunyadi, was that it attempted to have the reform accepted in the Dominican and Franciscan friaries. Besides, participation in the reform was also a symbol of power, of having people accept the expectation of the authorities to be obeyed. Therefore, instead of valuing this as a decay in authority, the actions of the Hunyadis of handing over, as a rule, rich monasteries of the monastic orders, which lost their influence to mendicant or Pauline orders, who were more sensitive of social expectations, are to be seen as attempts to make more symbolic power capital to stabilize their power efficiently.³²

ESTABLISHMENTS AND DONATIONS

Franciscans had been present in Hungary since the thirteenth century and their province developed dynamically in the first century and a half, and most of their friaries belonged to Conventuals. However, in the first part of the fifteenth century the number of establishments decreased and most of the newly established friaries came to belong to the Observants. Therefore, the loss of the eight monasteries mentioned above to the Observants made the Conventuals quite vulnerable. They could not catch up with the Observants until the end of the Middle Ages. From among the newly established monasteries that of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca/Klausenburg) is worth mentioning, where a clearly royal foundation

³⁰ *Ub V.* 509.

³¹ Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 295.

³² András Kubinyi, “Mátyás király és a monasztikus rendek” [King Matthias and the Monastic Orders] In: Imre Takács (ed.), *Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve*. I–III. Pannonhalma, 1996. I. 538–544. Republished in András Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és valóságosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religiosity in Medieval Hungary] (METEM Könyvek 22.) Budapest, 1999. 239–248.

was performed.³³ In fact, this is the only friary of a mendicant order established by King Matthias in Transylvania. It is widely known that the actual Reformed church of Farkas street was built by the order of the King who thus proved once more his respect and love for his native town, and he is reported taking a great interest in its construction. In September 1486, by the orders of Matthias and voivod István Báthory the town council of Kolozsvár donated the order of the Friar Minors a plot of land enough for a monastery to be built on, dedicated to Virgin Mary, in the eastern part of Farkas street, near the tailors' bastion.³⁴ A year later the King urged the start of the construction, insisting by the town council that "the brothers should be allowed to build a monastery on the earlier mentioned plot of land without their work being made difficult and hindered".³⁵ In 1490, a few months before his death, King Matthias mentioned the work that had been started and had been going on in a letter to the supervisor of the Transylvanian salt chamber, Márton Tharcsay, in which he insisted that the construction should be continued as undisturbed and as professionally as possible under the technical and artistic leadership of brother János. He also ordered a part of the construction costs to be covered with salt worth 300 florins from the salt chamber of Torda (Turda).³⁶ It was intended by Matthias as a subvention for the construction, and also allocated to the Franciscans by his successor, Vladislas II as alms.³⁷ The king motivated his gesture by his respect for the most glorious and blessed Virgin Mary (in which he also followed his predecessor, King Matthias).³⁸ It clearly shows that Vladislas II continued King Matthias' purposes and greatly contributed to the friary and its church to be finished in a manner worthy of a royal foundation. It seems that the Observant Franciscan church of Cluj was being built between 1486 and 1516 and it was considered to be the most impressive example of mendicant architecture in medieval Transylvania. It was certainly bigger than any other mendicant church in Hungary, clearly expressing the

³³ Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz*, II. 99–103; Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században* [The Architecture in Transylvania between the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries] Kolozsvár, 1996. 147–152, 345–348.

³⁴ Elek Jakab (ed.), *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* [Chartulary for the First Volume of Kolozsvár History] I. Buda, 1870. 272. [hereinafter *KvOkI*]

³⁵ *KvOkI* I. 276.

³⁶ *KvOkI* I. 190.

³⁷ Although the construction work at the monastery was finished by 1516, it seems the king did not take the financing away from the Franciscans of Kolozsvár, but continued to provide it for them as a yearly alms. *KvOkI* I. 5–6. This habit was kept unchanged also under the rule of Louis II. *KvOkI* I. 352.

³⁸ Devotion to Mary was the most important element in the king's personal faith. Among others, this is proved by the monetary reform in the late 1460s, when Matthias arranged for an image of Virgin Mary, the country's patron saint, to be placed on coins. This custom was maintained then for centuries. András Kubinyi, "Mátyás király tisztelete a Patrona Hungariae iránt", [King Matthias' devotion towards the Patrona Hungariae] In: Idem, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság*, 335–339.

King's view as to which order deserved the most support. Since there was in Kolozsvár no perceptible political factor associated with the church's foundation, except perhaps the support of the King's birthplace, the friary seems to have been intended as the centre of the Order's Hungarian Province, or at least the Custody of Transylvania.³⁹ Matthias also finished another friary, built by his father, John Hunyadi in Bojtor, near Vajdahunyad from where the Hunyadis controlled their domains was.⁴⁰ Originally, John Hunyadi intended the Hunyad friary for Augustinian friars, but his son, King Matthias had the Pope transfer it to the Franciscans and, together with his mother, set out on a major expansion of what was originally a modest building. In the letter of Pope Paul II to the Archbishop of Esztergom it is showed that governor John Hunyadi began to build a monastery for the Augustinian hermits in Hunyad, Transylvania, in honour of the Virgin Mary, but after his death work was stopped and no one saw to the subsistence of the monks. Since King Matthias and his mother, Erzsébet Szilágyi wished to donate this house to the Observant Franciscans and also wished to build there a church, a belfry, a dormitory, cloisters, a refectory and a cemetery, they had appealed for the Pope's permission. With special regard to the interest of evangelizing and the schismatic and heretic inhabitants of the area concerned, Pope Paul II instructed the Archbishop of Esztergom to gather information and if he found the application in question real, he should comply with the King's request and permit the Franciscans to settle there.⁴¹

Matthias also had hopes in connection with the Augustinian hermits, and granted them donations. Thus, in 1458 and 1466 the king gave salt to the Augustinians of Dés (Dej), while in 1464 and 1468 to those from Torda. These donation charters were renewed by Wladislas II for both monasteries in 1491. Besides this, in 1482, Matthias gave 200 gold florins annually to the friary of Dés from the income of the Dés salt chamber, on condition that the friary should have a constant number of twelve monks and a mass should be said for the soul of the King of Hungary every day.⁴² Matthias was in this way much more a medieval ruler than a monarch whose name is frequently associated with the implementation of the Renaissance and Humanism.

It is no coincidence King Matthias was such a steady supporter of the observant movement, since it was already a family tradition. From this point of view one could say Matthias inherited a great deal from his father, since he was the one who established the Holy Saviour Chapel of Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu-Ciuc) and the friary of the Observant Franciscans at Tövis (Teiuș) for the memory of

³⁹ Szilárd Papp, „The Ecclesiastical Buildings of Matthias Corvinus”, In: *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, 409.

⁴⁰ Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz*, II. 79–80; Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 107, 499–500.

⁴¹ A short presentation of the letter of Pope Paul II to the Archbishop of Esztergom was made by Gábor Dreska in *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, 447; Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz*, II. 79.

⁴² Károly Tagányi–József Kádár, *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monographiája*. I–VII. Deés, 1901–1905. III. 110.

his victory at Marosszentimre,⁴³ as well as he greatly contributed to introducing the reform to the Dominican order. But the governor did not only patronize the implementation of observance, but also supported the reformed friaries. For example, in 1455 he allocated salt worth of 50 florins from the mine of Szék (Sic) for the Virgin Mary and Saint Anthony Dominican friary of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), to be restored and for the needs of the friars.⁴⁴ This donation could be taken as a reward for a successful commitment to observant principles.⁴⁵ Besides his father, his mother and Bishop János Vitéz were the persons who were shaping Matthias' religious conviction. While Erzsébet Szilágyi frequently featured in her sons' petitions to the Pope, Bishop of Várad János Vitéz, had certainly a major part in the King's religious education. It was him to draw Matthias' attention to the potential of art and its significance for promoting the family name. Thus, later on Matthias fitted out a stately family mausoleum at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral, and built a royal tomb for himself and Beatrice at the Székesfehérvár Basilica. Otherwise, it is quite strange that both John Hunyadi and Matthias gave a regular financial support to the Franciscan and Dominican observant friaries. Matthias confirmed the donation allocated by his father to the Observant Dominicans of Kolozsvár twice, in 1462 and 1467.⁴⁶ In 1462 he also raised the sum of ten marks with two marks his father had allocated for the needs of the friars of the Saint Peter and Paul Dominican friary from Brassó and for the necessary construction works.⁴⁷ The friaries did make good use of the money; almost every one of them started some kind of construction work. John Corvinus, the son of King Matthias acted in the same way as his father, and contributed to finishing the monastery of

⁴³ Radu Lupescu, „A tövisi ferences kolostor középkori történetének és építéstörténetének néhány kérdése” [Remarks on the Medieval History and Architectural History of the Franciscan Friary of Tövis] *Református Szemle* 96 (2003) 6: 830–843.

⁴⁴ *KvOkl* I. 191; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Studio et opera Georgii Fejér. XI/1. Buda, 1844. 218–219; Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 343.; *Ub* V. no. 2999. The donation charter of John Hunyadi of 1455, does mention some construction works, but the buildings as they stand today seem to have underwent an important restoration at the end of the fifteenth century, which are not mentioned in any written source. The late Baroque restoration did not affect the meeting room of the chapter and the refectory, see Gergely Buzás, “A kései Mátyás-kor királyi építkezései és a későgotikus építészet stílusáramlatai Magyarországon” [Royal Constructions at the End of the Rule of King Matthias and the Style Trends of the Late Gothic Architecture in Hungary] In: Imola Kiss–Péter Levente Szócs, *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*. Satu Mare, 1999. 141–142.

⁴⁵ Mária Lupescu Makó, „*Miles Christi – patronus observantiae*. Johannes Hunyadi und die observanten Bestrebungen des Dominikanerordens in Ungarn”, In: Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon (eds.), *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time* (Between Worlds 2.) Cluj-Napoca, 2009. 99–114.

⁴⁶ *Ub* VI. no. 3276, 3530.

⁴⁷ *Ub* VI. 126–127.

Okolicsnó started by his father.⁴⁸ Except a few cases, establishments of friaries were successful. In contrast with all the other orders in Hungary, Observant Franciscans had enough strength, enthusiasm and reinforcement to establish new monasteries even in the decades before the Ottoman conquest, even if not every of their establishments was at that time already a success.⁴⁹ The same was the case with the Dominicans, too, who in 1525 were still considering to found a *studium generale* of the order in Szeben.

CONCLUSION

Matthias made serious efforts to reform the religious orders, and regarded this renewal as one of his royal duties. He supported monasteries belonging to nearly every order, although this consistent and thoroughgoing policy towards the Observants was not to be seen in each case. It is obvious, that the beneficiary of the religious renewal of the king were the observant branches of the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The Pauline order, with their hermit origins, also benefited frequently from Matthias' partiality. Sometimes, Matthias offered them abandoned monasteries or those inhabited by undisciplined monks. Matthias also built monasteries, such as the above mentioned Franciscan observant friaries of Kolozsvár, Okolicsnó, Szeged or that of Vajdahunyad, started by his father. At other times, the King supported the Observant friaries financially, in which he continued the work started by his father. It is not hard to understand in the light of king's monastic policy why the continuator of Balázs Szalkai's *Chronicle of the Observants* (Gergely Újlaki or Miklós Buzjáci) declared the deaths of Friar Bertalan Zazymus and King Matthias to have a parallel with the almost simultaneous deaths of John of Capistrano and John Hunyadi: „... as Governor John ... and the Blessed John of Capistrano by virtue of their mutual and genuine love were taken from life to eternal rest in the same year ... so King Matthias and the priest of blessed memory, Brother Bertalan Sárosi, Governor of the Order of Friars Minor, were taken over to the heavenly life in the same year. Who is there now among the lords and priests to be compared to them?”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ On the circumstances of the foundation and for more information on the friary see Szilárd Papp, *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480–1515* (Construction Works of the Royal Court in Hungary 1480–1515) Budapest, 2005.; Idem, “Thronfolge und Repräsentation. Die Gründungsgeschichte des Franziskanerklosters zu Okoličné”, In: *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*. Eds. Jiří Fajt–Markus Hörsch. Leipzig, 2005. 387–404.

⁴⁹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Ferencesek a késő középkori Magyarországon” (Franciscans in the Late Medieval Hungary) In: Sándor Öze–Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli (eds.), *A ferences lelkiesség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára* [The Influence of the Franciscan Spirituality on the Central-European History and Culture of the Modern Age] I–II. Piliscsaba – Budapest, 2005. I. 120.

⁵⁰ Kapisztrán Varga, „King Matthias,” 401.

BÁLINT LAKATOS

**TAMÁS PELEI'S GLOSSES ABOUT
THE PERSONALITIES OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN
CHAPTER AND EPISCOPAL COURT
(1515–c. 1535)**

Tamás Pelei was one of the most interesting Humanist personalities in the first decades of sixteenth-century Transylvania. He is primarily known for his volume of Erasmus' Adages which is preserved in the Budapest Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library's collection since 1937.¹ Pelei used it for learning classical phrases and he wrote about one thousand and two hundred marginal notes or glosses on the pages. As the only study available, published by Béla Ottó Kelényi in 1939 observes, the notes cover a wide spectrum of topics and they can be analysed from the aspects of either linguistic, cultural or social history.² I have attempted to collect the glosses of Pelei referring to himself and to his acquaintances. Although this type of personal notes are not very numerous (circa 10 per cent of all glosses) and provide fragmented pieces of information, they can be appraised as a historic source.³

The *Adagia*, first published in Paris in 1500, was one of the best known and most widely-used handbooks in the first half of the sixteenth century. *Adagium* means 'proverb' or 'phrase'. Erasmus collected, organised, explained, and commented on classical Greek and Latin authors' proverbs. The 1508 edition con-

¹ Erasmus, Desiderius, *Adagiorum chiliades tres ac centuriae fere totidem*. Venice: Aldus, 1508. A Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár Budapest Gyűjtemény. Bq 0941/319. See also *Catalogus librorum ante 1601 impressorum, qui in Bibliotheca Civitatis Budapestinensis asservantur*. Composuit Mária Klinda Budapest [hereinafter Bp.], 2001. nr. 274.

² Kelényi, B. Ottó, "Egy magyar Humanista glosszái Erasmus Adagia-jához", *A Fővárosi Könyvtár Évkönyve* 9 (1939) 43–139 [hereinafter Kelényi 1939].

³ In my previous paper I have examined Pelei's Humanistic erudition and knowledge, grounding primarily on the work of Kelényi. Lakatos, Bálint, "Pelei Tamás Erasmus-kötetének glosszái (1515–1540k.);" In: Tóth, Iván and Jutai, Péter (eds.), *Enumeratio. A Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae III. országos konferenciáján elhangzott előadások*. Bp., 2008 [hereinafter Lakatos 2008.]. 81–88.

tains 3,260 Latin and Greek proverbs with preliminary indices.⁴ As the inside cover indicates, it was bought by Pelei for two florins in Buda in 1515.⁵ From the paleographic perspective there seem to be two different handwritings, a Humanist type and a more or less Gothic. One might suspect that the two forms are derived from two different people, but the words ‘*Ego, Thomas Pelei*’ are written in both forms. In absence of contrary evidence it can be assumed that Pelei wrote all the marginal commentaries himself. There are no signs of other later possessors.⁶

Our data about Pelei’s life and career are rather fragmentary. His name refers to the village Pele (today Becheni in Romania) situated in Middle Szolnok county. Pelei himself wrote in a gloss: ‘*in pago Pele, hoc est natali solo...*’⁷ Although we know a noble family at this locality, we cannot connect Tamás to their family tree.⁸ He mentioned a relative called Miklós Pelei,⁹ but, unfortunately, we do not know any Miklós in that noble family, either. Thus, Tamás Pelei was presumably of peasant origin.¹⁰ According to the typology of József Köblös, Pelei might have been installed in the cathedral chapter due to some territorial connections.¹¹ The village Pele is situated in the neighbourhood of oppidum Tasnád, which was in the possession of the Transylvanian bishops.¹² Perhaps this might

⁴ 1r–112r Proverbiorum chiliarum prima; 112r–187v: Proverbiorum chiliarum secunda; 187v–239v: Proverbiorum chiliarum tertia; 239v–244r: In quartam chiliadem centuria prima; 244r–247v: In quartam chiliadem centuria secunda; 247v–249v: [In quartam chiliadem centuria tertia]. In the notes and the Appendix the number before each piece of text shows the Erasmusian order of the proverbs, e.g. 3/CXXV. means ‘adagium 125 in the third thousand’.

⁵ See Appendix, ‘Pelei’, inner cover.

⁶ Cf Kelényi 1939. 90, who describes three different writing forms. The former possessors of the volume before 1937 are unknown.

⁷ See Appendix, ‘Pelei’, 248r.

⁸ 1483: Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL) Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [hereinafter DF] DF 281326: *Középkori oklevelek a Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megyei Levéltárban (1300–1525)*. Coll. Balogh, István, Ed. Érszegi, Géza. Nyíregyháza, 2000, nr. 2. György Pelei and two sons Albert (1483–1547) and Imre. 1532: *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289–1556)*. Ed. Jakó, Zsigmond. Vol. II. Bp., 1990 (A MOL kiadványai, II/17.), nr. 4370. widow of Imre. He had two sons, Ferenc (1543, 1547) and Péter. Péter Pelei was district sheriff (iudex nobilium) in 1515 MOL, Diplomatikai Levéltár [hereinafter DL] 30077. and was already alive in the 1540s. We cannot connect other names to this family, e.g. Jakab (1462: DL 26403), Fülöp (1511–21: DL 32579., 74409.), and another district sheriff Tamás (1524: DL 36377).

⁹ 7r ‘Nicolaus meus Peleus’.

¹⁰ Cf 189v ‘humili loco natus’.

¹¹ Köblös, József, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában (A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával)*. Bp., 1994 (Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, 12.) [hereinafter Köblös 1994.]. 48, 50, 64.

¹² Csánki, Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. Vol. I. Bp., 1890. 549.

explain how Pelei appeared in the cathedral chapter in 1504.¹³ He remained there as a canon and then, from 1519 as the archdeacon of Ózd.¹⁴ In 1522 Adrianus Wolphardus, a colleague of Pelei, who edited the *Elegies of Janus Pannonius* in Bologna, dedicated the volume to Pelei.¹⁵ Pelei was last mentioned in 1536 and probably he died afterwards.¹⁶ We also know from his notes that he never had the opportunity to study at university and learn Greek.¹⁷

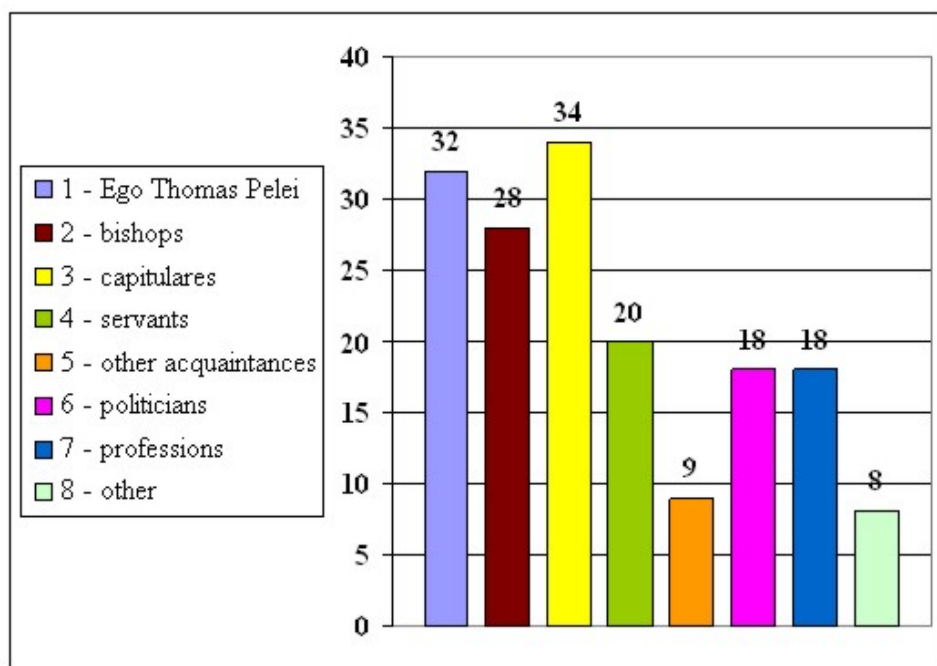


Figure 1: Thematic groups of people in the notes (167 records in 127 pieces)

As a reader, Pelei usually marked some sentences or words, corrected the misprints and made cross-references and notes about synonyms – not only in Latin but also in Hungarian.¹⁸ Moreover, he completed or amplified the text of the Erasmus commentaries with notes. He added the titles of works mentioned by

¹³ Vekov, Károly, *Locul de adevărire din Alba Iulia (secolele XIII–XVI)*. Cluj–Napoca, 2003 [hereinafter Vekov 2003]. Anexe 7. year 1504.

¹⁴ 1519: DL 36360. See also Vekov 2003. *ibid*.

¹⁵ The text of the epistula dedicatória: Ábel, Eugenius, *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*. Ed. Stephanus Hegedüs. Bp., 1903. 489–491.

¹⁶ Vekov 2003. Anexe 7. This piece of information is doubtful, as Károly Vekov notified me.

¹⁷ See Appendix, ‘Pelei’, 27v, 49v, 189v.

¹⁸ About the Hungarian glosses see Kelényi 1939.127–132. He missed one note on 39v (1/CCLXIII. *Induitis me leonis exuvium*.) *clavam*: ‘buzgânt’ (‘mace’, ‘club’).

Erasmus in general or added the exact place of the citations. Sometimes these references are not made by chapter, but by folio number. This type of information could be useful for the reconstruction of the Transylvanian cathedral chapter's, or at least Pelei's own library.¹⁹ What makes Pelei's marginal notes unique are his reflections on his acquaintances, the people surrounding him. If the explanation of the adagium reminded Pelei of somebody, he wrote it down next to the text. But we should be cautious as we analyse the marginalia. Pelei's notes are completely subjective and he had a deeply critical opinion about almost everybody. He was a quite embittered, pessimistic and introverted character. He was also very suspicious and full of complaints. His statements cannot be considered as objective in absolute terms, rather from his point of view.

Approaching to the mentioned people in Pelei's notes, I have compiled 127 glosses containing 168 onomastic and common names. I arranged them into eight categories.

The bar chart clearly shows Pelei's fields of interest. It is significant that he mentions himself in most cases. This comes from the fact that the notes usually depict his relationship to somebody or his opinion about somebody's human frailties and weaknesses, e.g. '*I, Thomas Pelei, could say that Ioannes Niresy and Ambrus Buzdi are always backbiting me as boars.*'²⁰

The people he notices in most cases are his episcopal superiors and his chapter colleagues. There are two bishops mentioned: Ferenc Várdai, of Transylvania (1514–24), followed by János Gosztonyi until 1527.²¹ Várdai is mentioned in the glosses 23 times, which exceeds everyone else, except Pelei himself. Gosztonyi occurs only 5 times.) It is interesting that Pelei did not mention Gosztonyi's successor János Statileo or the former bishops such as László Geréb. He remarked only Várdai's predecessor Ferenc Perényi once, but as bishop of Várad (Oradea). (Perényi was transferred to Várad in 1514.)²²

The third category is for the members of the chapter referred to proper name or in general as a group of 'capitulares'. This group includes 15 people, but most of them appear only once. The fourth contains all the servants, the staff of the bishopric court (Várdai's secretaries, scribes, a provisor and a castellan), and the chapter in Gyulaférvár (now Alba Iulia), except Pelei's own servant, Demeter Bocsárdi, whom I placed among others partly non-identifiable people in the fifth category.²³

¹⁹ Lakatos 2008. 88, 90–93.

²⁰ 128v (2/CLVIII. Genuino mordere.) 'Ego Thomas Pelei possum dicere quod Ioannes Niresy et Pwzdi Ambrus instar apri genuinum me fregere.'

²¹ Eubel, Conradus, *Hierarchia catholica mediæ aevi*. Vol. III., 1503–1600. Ed. 2. Incoh. Gulik, Guilelmus van, ed. curavit Schmitz-Kallenberg, Ludovicus. Münster, 1923 [hereinafter Eubel III.]. 100.

²² 134v (2/CCXV. *Argenti fontes loquuntur. ... Fortuna quem nimium fovet, stultum facit.*) 'Sicut Franciscum Pereni episcopum Varadiensem.' See also Eubel III. 326.

²³ Miklós Pelei 7r, Demeter Bocsárdi 7r, Antal hermit 82v, István Dajka 103v, István Móri 104r, Ambrus Buzdi 188v, Pestyéni Gergely 142v, János, parish priest of Déva 168v, Erzse Kolozsvári 223v.

The remaining three categories are not very numerous. I put the political personalities such as King Wladislas II, King Louis II, György Dózsa, Cardinal Tamás Bakócz, László Szalkai and others in the sixth group,²⁴ and marginalia referring to people such as monks, vicars, peasants, etc. in the seventh group. The last category is mostly for ethnic names such as Hungarians, Romanians, and gypsies.²⁵ Pelei had definitely no social sensitivity. He mainly ignored politics, but severely criticized for example King Louis's impotence which led to the defeat at Mohács in 1526. He also detested Dózsa and mentioned him as '*latro ille inclutus*'.²⁶ It is reasonable to assume that Pelei's marginal notes about politicians reflect the contemporary public opinion. The by-gone era of King Mathias has already got a positive meaning. Pelei marked the adagium 'Thoughtful and active' with these words: '*Ut rex Mathias.*'

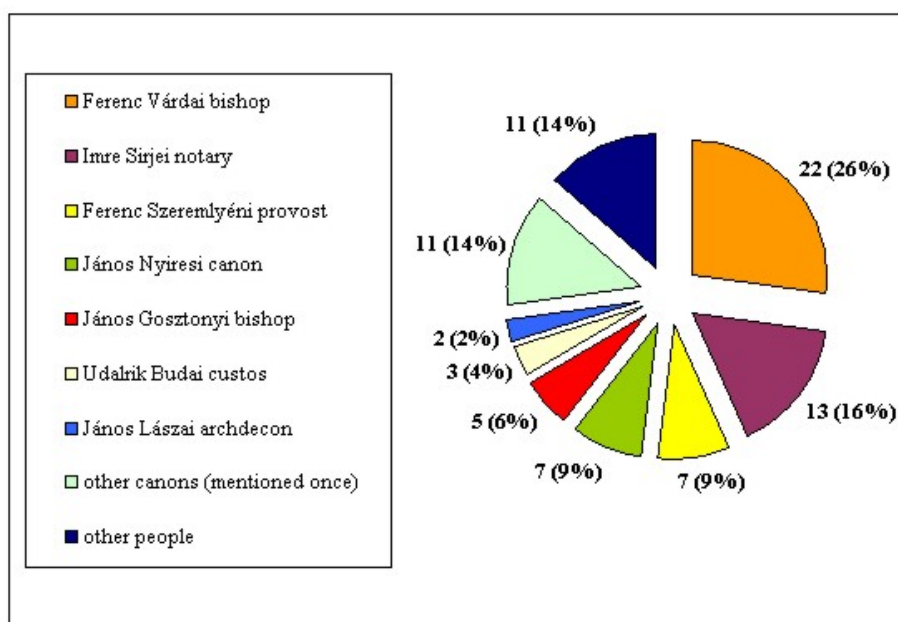


Figure 2: People in Pelei's notes (30 people in 81 pieces)

²⁴ King Wladislas II 26r, King Louis 26r, 235r, György Dózsa 132v, 224v, 244r, Tamás Bakócz 63r, László Szalkai 187v and 196r ('De domino Strigoniensi') – the others: Ladislaus Cherttynger 153v, Mathias Geréb 238v, King Mathias 234v, Mihály Paksi 153v, Ferenc Perényi 134v, János Szapolyai 244v, Imre Török 166v, Queen Anne 235v.

²⁵ 7th category: monks 146r, 152r, 182v, Pauline monks 6r, clergymen: 135v, 248r, royal or episcopal secretaries 106r, 125r, 134v, carters and 'thaligaslo' 117v, scholars 209v, 210v, 222v, 244r, 'vinearum cultores hoc est capasok' 210v, peasants 214v, judges 238v, 239r. 8th category: Hungarians 55r, 97v, 98r, Romanians 34v, Transylvanians 34v, gypsies 107r, aristocrats and archbishops 61r, Iodocus Ludovicus Decius 80r, people in Gyulafehérvár 148r, 'we' 233r.

²⁶ 224v (3/DCLVII. Mordere labrum. Comedens labra prae iracundia...) 'Sic facitabat Georgius Dosa latro ille inclutus.'

Returning to the cathedral chapter, it may be most effective to construct a detailed list of the people mentioned by name and the frequency distribution of these names based on the data in categories 2 through 5 (bishops, capitulares, servants, other acquaintances).

The list contains exactly 30 names from 81 notes. The first two sectors of the pie chart, symbolizing bishop Ferenc Várdai and his secretary, Imre Sirjei, represents more than 40 per cent of the whole. The reason is simple: Pelei looked at them as the main enemies who poisoned his life.

Ferenc Várdai was born in an aristocratic family and before his Transylvanian years he was royal treasurer (1509–10) and bishop of Vác (1509–14).²⁷ He had an administrative talent: he carefully organised his estates to have more income in order to maintain his episcopal court.²⁸ Therefore, he often approached even his chapter's canons, including Pelei, for loans, which he never paid off.²⁹ From Pelei's notes I presume that Pelei actually felt frightened of him, yet, at the same time he was full of envy and disgust. He depicts Várdai as a penny-pincher, a rapacious, merciless and relentless tyrant.³⁰ On the other hand, it is known that Várdai supported talented people, for instance canon Adrianus Wolphardus, who studied in Vienna and later in Bologna with his help. Although Várdai respected his talent, as Pelei notes,³¹ never merited the support of his bishop.

Várdai's secretary, Imre Sirjei (the name comes from oppidum Siri [Şiria ~ Világos]) was probably a typical adventurer. He appeared as a public notary in Várdai's court in 1521,³² where he was employed as secretary and legate to the papal Curia in Rome.³³ He was also a witness at Várdai's will at the end of October 1524.³⁴ After Várdai's death, Pelei entrusted Sirjei with acquiring the now vacant bishopric for himself in Rome. Pelei actually had no chance of becoming bishop of Transylvania. There were three potential candidates. Pope Clement VII supported the humanist István Brodarics, later to be royal chancellor.³⁵ The king's sister Anne Jagiello and her husband, Ferdinand of Habsburg, supported

²⁷ Köblös 1994. 376, Soós, Ferenc, *Magyarország kincstartói 1340–1540*. Bp., 1999. 55–56.

²⁸ Lukcsics, Pál (ed.), *A zichy és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára*. Vol. XII. Bp., 1931 [hereinafter Zichy XII.]. 369–370.

²⁹ See Appendix, 'Várdai', 85r, 169v, 231r.

³⁰ See Appendix, 'Várdai', 59r, 79r, 168v, 214v, 222v, 225r, and 'capitulares'.

³¹ See Appendix, 'Pelei', 242v.

³² Vekov 2003. Anexe 7.

³³ 1523: DL 82621. Ambassador István Brodarics's letter to Várdai from Rome. 'Emericus literatus servitor dominationis vestre reverendissime cum diutius hic mansisset quam eum dominatio vestra reverendissima mansurum existimabat, adeo omnia expenderat, ut ei ad iter nihil reliquum esset, quare cum discedere vellet, rogavit me, ut florenos sedecim mutuo darem...'

³⁴ Bunyitay, Vince, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház későbbi részei s egy magyar humanista*. Bp., 1893 [hereinafter Bunyitay 1893.]. 28 and 32.: 'Ego Emericus litteratus de Syrie diocesis Agriensis apostolice auctoritate notarius...'

³⁵ Sörös, Pongrác, *Jerosini Brodarics István (1471–1539)*. Bp., 1907 (A Szent István Társulat Tudományos és Irodalmi Osztályának felolvasó üléseiből, 62.) [hereinafter Sörös 1907.]. 19, 21–22.

Mihály Várdai, the deceased's brother³⁶ and King Louis II supported János Gosztonyi, bishop of Győr, the queen's chancellor. Naturally, Gosztonyi won the game.³⁷ We do not know the details of Sirjei's mission to Rome, but he spent all the money given to him by Pelei and had no success. Pelei writes that Sirjei has taken bribes from Gosztonyi's legate, which could be true.³⁸

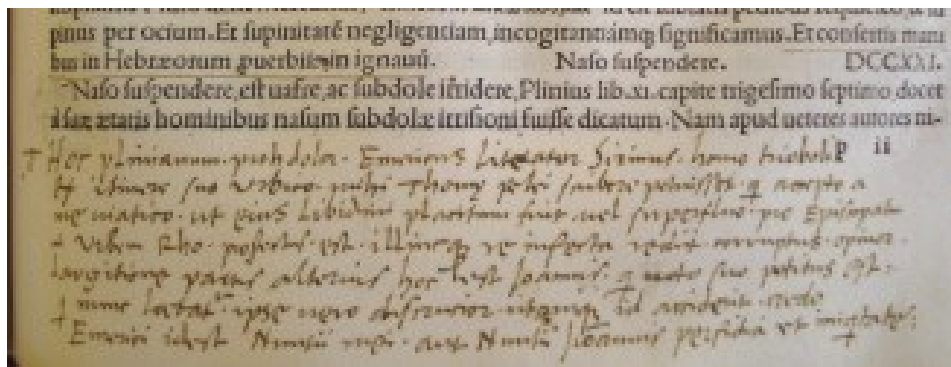


Figure 3: Pelei's gloss about Sirjei's mission in Rome (86v)

Thus, Gosztonyi became bishop of Transylvania at the very end of 1524.³⁹ Although he was a more sympathetic character, Pelei did not forgive him and enjoyed exposing Gosztonyi's ignominy.

The provost Ferenc Szeremlyéni, who had been working for 24 years in the royal chancery as secretary,⁴⁰ probably had a good relationship with Pelei; the latter was only envious of Szeremlyéni. However, he noted maliciously that Szeremlyéni had not been able to reach more than the title of provost, that his efforts to exchange his prebend with the provost of Pozsony turned out to be vain.⁴¹ Pelei also mentioned that Szeremlyéni was accustomed to giggle impolitely in the cathedral and outside as well.⁴²

³⁶ Vekov, Károly, "Egy erdélyi reneszánsz püspök és a gyulafehérvári székesegyház kincstára." In: Kovács, András and Sipos, Gábor and Tonk, Sándor (eds.), *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. Kolozsvár, 1996 [hereinafter Vekov 1996.], 538. We know three letters (Ferdinand: DL 82678., in French, Anne: DL 82679. in German and DL 82679., in Hungarian).

³⁷ Sörös 1907. 22., Vekov 1996. 539., Kölblös 1994. 294–295.

³⁸ See Appendix, 'Sirjei', 86r. See also note 33.

³⁹ Vekov 1996. 539.

⁴⁰ See Appendix, 'Szeremlyéni', 30r, 246v. Fögel, József, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)*. Bp., 1913. 49. Royal secretary from 1509, before that he was only notary of the chancellery. Bónis, György, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*. Bp., 1971. 319.

⁴¹ 20v, cf Kölblös 1994. 477–478.

⁴² See Appendix, 'Szeremlyéni', 80r.

Nyiresi and Lászai were Pelei's rivals. Canon János Nyiresi, son of notary Tamás Nyiresi, was canon between 1512 and 1530.⁴³ Pelei was inclined to think that his colleague, Nyiresi, in comparison to his father, was too talkative and extravagant.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Nyiresi spent money recklessly and had conflicts with his colleagues, including Pelei.⁴⁵ János Lászai was probably the opposite character: an erudite humanist personality, the builder of a famous renaissance chapel at Gyulafehérvár and then apostolic penitentiary in Rome.⁴⁶ Pelei simply felt jealousy of him: *'Neighbours are opponents as Iohannes Lazo and I.'*⁴⁷

Almost the only people, who could play a positive role from Pelei's point of view were Udalrik Budai, János Megyericsei and Adrianus Wolphardus. Budai was custos from 1504 until his death in 1523.⁴⁸ He might have been a very kind and affable personality. Even Pelei mentioned him three times and referred him as *'bonus patronus et bonus amicus'*.⁴⁹ Megyericsei and Wolphardus appeared only once in the notes. János Megyericsei, archdeacon of Kolozs, was characterized as an erudite and wisely taciturn personality,⁵⁰ Wolphardus, Pelei's friend, as a successful canon.⁵¹ Although we have no further details about their friendship except Wolphardus' epistle dedicatory from 1522, it is interesting that Wolphardus also owned at least one Adagia-volume printed in Basel at Frobenius in 1528.⁵²

⁴³ 1511: *Történelmi Tár* [hereinafter TT; papers of Antal Beke and Barabás Samu, cited this way] 1891. 114. (nr. 424.) 1530: *ibid.* p. 122. (nr. 477.). 1519: DL 36360.

⁴⁴ See Appendix, 'Nyiresi', 124v, 229r.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.* 38r, 112r and 44v, 128v.

⁴⁶ Bunyitay 1893, 21., 25., Balogh, Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance*. Vol. I. 1460–1541. Kolozsvár, 1943 [hereinafter Balogh 1943]. 189–191., V. Kovács, Sándor, "A Humanista Lászai János", *Filológiai Közöny* 17 (1971) 344–366.

⁴⁷ 24r (1/CXXIII. *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro.*) 'Vicinus vicino aemulus ut mihi Iohannes Lazo.'

⁴⁸ 1504: DL 305507. 1523: Bunyitay, Vince–Rapaics, Rajmond–Karácsonyi, János (eds.), *Egyház-történelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából*. Vol. I. 1520–1529. Bp., 1902. 102. cf. Balogh 1943, 201–202.

⁴⁹ See Appendix, 'Budai', 16*r, 80r.

⁵⁰ 228r. For his life: Balogh 1943. 193–194, Lakatos, Bálint, "Egy XVI. századi Humanista, Megyericsei János feliratgyűjtései", In: Horváth, László et al. (eds.): *Genesis. Tanulmányok Bollók János emlékére*. Bp., 2004, 737–748.

⁵¹ 87r. For his life, see Balogh 1943. 206–207. Jakó, Klára, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579–1604*. Szeged, 1991 (Adattár XVI–XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/1. – Erdélyi könyvesházak I.) [hereinafter Jakó 1991.]. 52–58.

⁵² Dankanits, Ádám, "Erasmus erdélyi olvasói", *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 11 (1967) 126., Jakó 1991. 54., 89–90 (nr. 167., 169–170.). A foreword text by Ioannes Frobenius, copied by Pelei, might have been from Wolphardus' volume. ('Ioannes Frobenius studio S.P.D.' The text published by Kelényi 1939. 94–95.) If it could be verified, we would get an indirect evidence, that Pelei was still alive in 1535, when Wolphardus bought his own volume.

The other canons and clergymen as well as lay persons played a smaller role in Pelei's notes and he mentioned almost all of them in a negative manner. Some of them are unidentified as canon Balázs Ajthay, Ambrus Buzdi, Antal the hermit, the 'two archdeacons called János' or the two parish priests mentioned, who were presumably canons: István Moré of Régen (Szász- or Magyarrégén, now Rhegin), and János, priest of Déva (Deva).⁵³ The persons identified are either canons (Gergely Koppáni, Bálint Makrai, Gergely Nenkei),⁵⁴ vicars of bishops (Damján, Jakab Kolozsvári),⁵⁵ or Várdai's secretaries (János, László scribe) or his provisor, Tamás Szentmihályi.⁵⁶ Pelei usually labelled each of them with one characteristic feature or flaw, e.g. inconsiderate wilfulness (Damján), concealed rancour (István Móré), tranquillity (Jakab Kolozsvári), etc.

However, Pelei also had acquaintances in Buda, where he bought the book in 1515. On page 65 verso he added to the adagium '*Animum debet*' ("someone owes too much") the name of István Dajka. This person, a wealthy Buda burgher, seemed to have borrowed money from Pelei.⁵⁷ A note testifies that Pelei sent a letter to Gosztonyi to Buda (before 1524) and in another he mentioned Gergely Pestyéni, the later *iudex curiae* of King John, who possessed a house in Buda as well.⁵⁸ The only woman appearing in the Pelei-glosses is from Gyulafehérvár and we do not know anything else except that she was known as a 'local beauty' as a and she looked like a monkey with make-up on (*simia fucata*).⁵⁹

⁵³ Balázs Ajthay is not identifiable as canon Blasius de Bachka. Likewise there are more canons called Ambrus in this period. Ambrus Buzdi was presumably one of them. See Vekov 2003. Anexe 7. Antal hermit could be a Pauline monk from the cloister of Szentmihálykő, near Gyulafehérvár. I have no data about Móré and János priests.

⁵⁴ Koppáni was cantor between 1524 and 1534 and custos between 1535–40 (Kelényi 1939. 107., from the schematismus), see also Vekov 2003. Anexe 7., and DL 29408. (rector altaris Corporis Christi), TT 1891. 117. (n. 448.: canonicus, 1520), TT 1893. 300. (nr. 846.: canonicus 1525). He was also dean in 1522 (DL 31035). Makrai: archdeacon of Kraszna 1524–; archdeacon of Hunyad 1532– (Kelényi 1939. ibid.) dean 1526–27: Vekov 2003. ibid. His relative was the succustos Gergely Makrai. Nenkei was cantor between 1511–12. See Vekov 2003. ibid. He appears in 1519 as canon (DL 36360.). He is allegedly canonicus Agriensis in 1471. See Fraknói, Vilmos, "Két hét olaszországi könyv- és levéltárakban", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1878) 134.

⁵⁵ Damján: canon of Vác, coadjutor (ep. Chalcedonensis, see Eubel III, 164.), cantor, vicarius of Várdai 1515–1521. Bónis, György, *Szentszéki regeszták. Iratok az egyházi bíráskodás történetéhez a középkori Magyarországon*. Ed. Balogh, Elemér. Bp., 1997. nr. 4286., 4299. Kolozsvári: TT 1890. 363–364. (nr. 379. 1499 and nr. 382. 1500), TT 1911. 420–439., passim (1496). See also Vekov 2003. Anexe 7.

⁵⁶ Tamás Szentmihályi: Zichy XII, 370–372.

⁵⁷ Szakály, Ferenc–Szűcs, Jenő, *Budai bortizedjegyzékek a 16. század első harmadából*. Bp., 2005 (História könyvtár, Okmánytárak, 4.) [hereinafter Szakály and Szűcs 2005.]. 1505: 44. (nr. 135), c. 1510: 69 (nr. 100.).

⁵⁸ Főgel, József, *II. Lajos udvartartása 1516–1526*. Bp., 1917. 39. 1535: Szakály–Szűcs 2005. 96. (nr. 44) and 101 (nr. 199).

⁵⁹ See Appendix, 'Kolozsvári, Erzse', 223v.

Finally, the dates when the notes were made might be ascertained. I made an attempt to arrange some exact dates on a timeline.

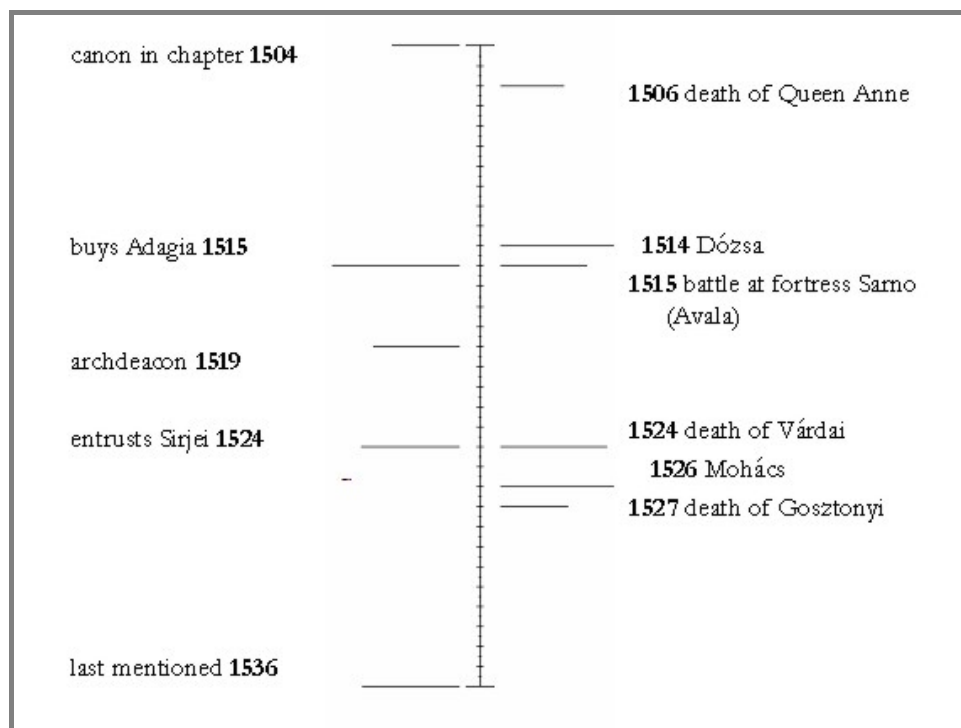


Figure 4: Dates in Pelei's life and in his book

Pelei's dates of his own life (on the left) can be compared to the those appearing in his book (on the right). It is significant that some of the glosses refer back before 1515 when Pelei got hold of the Adagies-volume. On the other hand, there is no reference that can be dated after the period of János Gosztonyi's death 1527. There are only a number of indirect evidence. Pelei mentioned him in past tense and also refers to the battle of Mohács as a past incident. Some canons referred to in the notes, for example Gergely Koppány or Bálint Makrai, were at the peak of their careers' after 1526, and among others, there is provost Ferenc Szeremlyéni, who died probably in 1534.⁶⁰

There are two items among the dates, which can be used for further analysis. On page 166 verso and 152 recto Pelei, relating to the ideas of cowardice (166v) and recklessness (152r), added the names of Imre Török and Mihály Paksi with Ladislaus Chertýnger, who died at Sarno. This fortress, also called Avala, is situ-

⁶⁰ Vekov 2003. Anexe 7.

ated southwards from Belgrade and was already under Ottoman control in the 1510s. In the spring of 1515, the Hungarian troops commanded by János Szapolyai, Voivod of Transylvania, Imre Török and Mihály Paksi governors (bans) of Belgrade were defeated by the Ottomans, when they attempted to occupy the fortress. Paksi and lieutenant Chertynger died.⁶¹ Presumably Pelei could have easily learnt of the defeat when he visited Buda, the capital city and bought his book. Therefore, it must have occurred after the defeat, May of 1515 or soon after. The other piece of information that is to be taken into account is the death of Queen Anne. As Pelei wrote, the news of her death interrupted the usual feast of Saint Ladislav at Gyulafehérvár.⁶² The saint's day (*Depositio Sancti Ladislai*) is 29 July, while Queen Anne died on 26 July 1516. It is interesting that the news arrived from Buda to Gyulafehérvár in 4 days.

To sum up, Pelei's volume preserves some realistic, vivid and intriguing notes about the episcopal court and the community of the cathedral chapter. Pelei's deeply critical opinion about most of his acquaintances came from his attitude. In his notes, which he wrote only for himself, he tried to digest and absorb all the unfairness, injuries and indignities he had to suffer. But at least in his notes he could avenge everything.

APPENDIX PELEI'S NOTES

I arranged the glossas into alphabetical order of the persons mentioned. (All the glossas referring to politicians or common names, e.g. Hungari, sacerdotes were omitted.) The text in italics is the printed text of Erasmus. If someone occurs in a note, which I put elsewhere, it is marked with →. The names in titles are in Hungarian transcription and not in the Latin form.

⁶¹ *Memoria rerum 1504–1566*. Ed., with commentaries Bessenyei, József. Bp., 1981, 18 ('Chestingier').

⁶² See Appendix, 'Budai', 235v (3/XMXXIII. *Gaudium dolori iunctum*.) 'Sic Udalrico gubernatori episcopatus Transilvanensis contigit, quom enim in festo divi Ladislai regis structo igne ante castrum Albense ut moris est, omnis rebus clerus illac convenisset, mors Annę reginę subito omnia inturbavit.'

AJTHAY, BALÁZS canon → Nyiresi 44v

ANTAL hermit (Pauline monk?) → Sirjei 82v

BOCSÁRDI, DEMETER Pelei's servant

22v 1/CXIII. *Suum cuique pulchrum.*

Est autem polypus vitium narium grave olentium itidem ut hircus alarum. Unde et polyposus et hircosus dicimus.

Ego Thomas Peleius adolescentem meum Demetrium Bocharinum licet unicum in domo mea servulum, condum, promum, coquum, lectisternatorem, tamen polyposus, scabiosus et hircosus est, presertim vero pedum suorum ulcere et foeditate intolerabilis, e domo e famulatio meo expungo, extrudo, amoveo.

BUDAI, UDALRIK custos 1504–23†

16*r M. Tullius Cicero Imperator M. Caelio aedili curuli Episto. fami. li. 2.: „Districtus enim mihi videris esse, quod et bonus civis et bonus amicus es.”⁶³ Districtus: illigatus in neutram partem declinans. Hoc est neque ad ipsorum quos supra nominavi neque ad rei publicę favorem inclinatus, quod quia reddit rationem quare Caelius in neutram pendet partem, quia neque rempublicam neque amicos vellet deserere. Bonus civis cuius officium est et rempublicam non oppugnare, si non possis tueri. Bonus amicus, quia non vis etiam propter defensionem reipublicę amicitiam deserere. ... Si fas esset cum larvis luctari vel mortuos iugulare, ego Thomas Pelei assererem et certo affirmarem Udalricum custodem et canonicum huius ecclesie Albensis talem fuisse, hoc est et bonum patronum et bonum amicum.⁶⁴ Volebat quidem res et bona capituli defendere at e regione voluit et prelato nostro congratus esse et Thome quoque provisorii curię gratificari, hoc est quod volo dicere, quod neque rempublicam deseruit neque in eiusdem reipublicę defensione illos offendere voluit.

80r 1/DCLVI. *Omnes attrahens ut magnes lapis.*

Dici potest de custode nostro Udalrico.

235v 3/XMXXIII. *Gaudium dolori iunctum.*

Cum pariter accidit, quod gaudeamus et doleamus, quod genus, sicui parentes opulenti vita decesserint partim excruciatum morte suorum, partim gaudet haereditas obventu atque accessione libertatis...

Sic Udalrico gubernatori episcopatus Transilvanensis contigit, quom enim in festo divi Ladislai regis structo igne ante castrum Albense ut moris est, omnis rebus clerus illac convenisset, mors Anne reginę subito omnia interturbavit.

BUZDI (PUZDI), AMBRUS (canon?) → Nyiresi 128v

CAPITULARES

→ also Várdai 76v, 85r

196r 3/XCIII. *Spes alunt exules.*

Nos quoque capitulares ecclesię Albensis Transilvaniae spes alebat quam maxima, quod Deus optimus maximus nostri misertus nostrasque afflictiones ex alto respiciens liberabit nos a Francisco Vardai episcopo et prelato nostro, qui semper lynceis contemplantur oculis, quo a nobis aliquid auri argentique exterebrare,

⁶³ *Ep. fam.* II,15.

⁶⁴ Corrected from: fuisse.

extorquere, expalpare, harpagare, rapere emungereque possit suis opibus non contentus.

238v 3/XMLXXXIII. *Hydrus in dolio.*

...cum quis occulta calamitate premitur, causa atque autore non extante.

Nos capitulares ecclesie Albensis Transylvane tales hydros permultos habemus, videlicet promum, condum, focariam sive coquam, aurigam et alios id genus domesticos fures, qui sunt prodigi et harpagones et plus furantur quam serviunt.

245v 4/CXXXVI. *Colubrum in sinu fovere.*

Nos viri ecclesiastici et presertim capitulares ecclesie Albensis Transylvane tales servos vel pocius hostes domesticos ad latius fovere tenereque soliti sumus, qui si brevi tempusculo nobiscum manserint, demum in aliquo deprehensi facinore auffugiunt honori nostro et fame theonino dente detrahentes, quos sacius fuisset non novisse.

248v 4/CCXXXII. *Plurium calculus vincit.*

Quoties in consilio ceditur multitudini.

Hoc in consistorio nostro capitulari Albensi persaepe contingit.

DAJKA, ISTVÁN burgher of Buda

103v 1/XMXVII. *Animam debet.*

Erat enim antiquitus lex, ut qui solvendo non esset, is nexus addiceretur creditori, luiturus corpore, id est opera, quod aere non posset.

Dici potest in Stephanum Dayka Budensem.

DAMJÁN canon of Vác, coadjutor (ep. Chalcedonensis), cantor, vicarius of Várdai

1515–1521

65v 1/DXX. *Nequicquam sapit, qui sibi non sapit.*

Hoc adagium est contra Damianum doctorem, canonicum et suffraganeum Vatiensem, qui cum apud Franciscum Vardai antistitem Transylvanum esset gratus et auricularius a secreto ac in prima vacantia ad beneficia quecunque promovendus, magnam fortunam ferre non valens invito patrono discessit, quem denique eiuscemodi facti sui poenituit et perpetuo, ut reor, poenitebit.

GOSZTONYI, JÁNOS bishop of Győr 1510–24, bishop of Transylvania 1524–27†

→ also Sirjei 86r, Várdai 204r

86v 1/DCCXXXII. *Dignus qui cum in tenebris mices.*

Qui certissima esset fide, eum dignum dicebant, qui cum in tenebris micaretur, Cicero libro officiorum tertio „Hoc nonne est turpe dubitare philosophos, quae ne rustici, quidem dubitant a quibus natum est, id quod iam tritum est vestustate proverbium. Cum enim fidem eius bonitatemque laudant dignum esse dicunt, qui cum in tenebris mices.” ...Est autem micare lusus genus quoddam, quod adhuc apud Italos durat, ut repente porrectis digitis uterque numerum divinet.

Ego Thomas Pelei quum Budam ad antistitem Iaurinensem Ioannem Gozthon literas mittere destinassem, rogavi Ioannem doctorem reverendissimi domini mei Francisci Vardai episcopi Transylvanae secretarium, qui Budam iturus esset, scripsit ad me, Ladislaus literatus ibit. Dignus, qui cum in tenebris mices. Hac spe fretus literas dedi Ladislao ad episcopum Iaurinensem, quas bestia ipsa suppressit.

174r 2/DCCLX. *Fames et mora bilem in nasum conciant.*

...*id est latrante stomacho omnis mora bilem movet. 174v...Potest id trahi latius, nempe ad quemlibet vehementius aliquid cupientem cui omnis mora quantumvis pusilla, longissima videtur, attestante Mimo.*

Ut solet plerunque noster p̄latus Ioannes Gozthon intempestivius prandere et coquos urgere, qui vel morulam in accipiendis cibis impacienter fert.

216v 3/DIIII. *Quando id fieri non potest.*

...*Non vivendum ut edas, sed edendum ut vivas.*

Si hec legisset observassetque Ioannes Gozthon episcopus Transylvanus, in tam graves morbos non incidisset.

JÁNOS doctor, Várdai' secretary → Gosztonyi 86v

JÁNOS parish priest of Déva

168v 2/DCLXVI. *Camelus saltat.*

Veluti si quis natura severus ac tetricus affectet elegans ac festinus videri, naturae vim faciens.

Sicut magister Ioannes plebanus de Dewa.

JANOS and JANOS archdeacons

60v 1/CCCCLXXIX. *Deserta causa.*

Cum nemo repugnat.

Hec dictitare in p̄sentia possumus de duobus Ioannibus archidiaconis huius ecclesie Albensis, qui citra pulverem citra sudorem ipsis vix quidem sperantibus ope et patrocinio maiorum suorum beneficia ecclesiastica amplissima adsecuti sunt, quippe uterque fortunatior magis quam sapientior at eos bene nummatos decorat suadela venusque.

KERESZTURI, MIHALY canon 1496–1519

144v 2/CCCXXVI. *Periculosum est canem intestina gustasse.*

Admonet adagium haud facile temperare a peccando, qui semel illecebram illam, velut autoramentum viciorum gegustarit.

Dictum de Michaelē Kerezthwri per Ioannem Lazonem in reddenda ratione super decanatu Albę Iuliae anno 1514.

KOLOZSVÁRI, ERZSE

223v 3/DCL. *Simia fucata.*

De deformi anu, fucata tamen et meretriciis culta lenociniis.

Simia fucata velut Albae Transylvanae Colosvari Erse.

KOLOZSVÁRI, JAKAB canon 1496–1504, vicarius 1499–1500

78v 1/DCXXXVII. *Oleo tranquillior.*

Oleo tranquillior, hyperbole proverbialis, in homines minime iracundos lenique ingenio praeditos, a liquoris natura sumpta, quo nihil magis tacitum magisque lene, Plautus in Poenulo.

Sicut fuit doctor Iacobus Kolosvariensis.

KOPPÁNI (KOPPÁNDI), GERGELY canon, dean 1520 and 1522, cantor 1524–34, custos 1535–40 → Nyiresi 44v

LÁSZAI (LAZÓI), JÁNOS canon 1496–, archdeacon of Telegd 1508–, apostolic penitentiary in Rome 1517–1523†

→ also Keresztúri

24r 1/CXXIII. *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro.*

*Semper vicinus vicino est aemulus, hunc ut condere cernit opes properantem
gnaviter, atqui concertatio conducit mortalibus ista.*

Vicinus vicino aemulus ut mihi Ioannes Lazo.

LÁSZLÓ scribe 1520 → Gosztonyi 86v

MAKRAI, BÁLINT archdeacon of Kraszna 1524–, dean 1526–27, archdeacon of Hunyad 1532– → Nyiresi 44v

MEGYERICSEI, JÁNOS canon 1496–, cantor 1499, archdeacon of Kolozs 1504–17†

228r 3/DCCXLII. *Pauciloquus sed eruditus.*

In eum, qui pauca quidem sed tamen auditu digna loquitur, conveniet illud ex eodem libro, quod illic dicitur de Menelao breviloquo Laconum more, verum suaviloquo et arguto... Non is multa quidem verum argutissima, quippe pauciloquus.

Talis erat Ioannes Megereche archidiaconus Colosiensis et canonicus ecclesie Transylvanae.

MÓRÉ, ISTVÁN dean, parish priest of (Szász)Régen

104r 1/XXIX. *Largitio non habet fundum.*

Si Stephanus More decanus et plebanus Regeniensis hoc adagium aut legisset aut audivisset unquam, ad extremam egestatem sua largitione stulta non devenisset.

NENKEI, GERGELY canon 1511–19, cantor 1511–12

228v 3/DCCLI. *Ipse sibi perniciem accersivit.*

In eum, qui sibi pertinaciter accersit malum, congruet illud ex eodem libro... Istum mortis in exitium mala parca trahebat.

Ut Gregorius Nenkei canonicus Transylvanus.

NYIRESI, JÁNOS canon 1510–1520 (1530)

38r 1/CCXLV. *Nec obulum habet unde restim emat.*

Proverbialis hyperbole in eos, qui maxima rei familiaris inopia laborant.

Ut Ioannes Niresi canonicus Transylvanus.

44v 1/CCCVII. *Ovem lupo commisisti.*

Concinne hoc utimur, quoties ei servandum aliquid committitur, cuius gratia custodem magis oportebat adhiberi.

Sic Blasius Aithaÿ canonicus dissidet cum Coppani et Valentino Makrai et Ioanne Niresi.

112r 1/M. *Aestate penulam deteris.*

Recte dicitur in eum, qui res necessarias temere nec in tempore profundit, aliquando futuras usui, si servantur. Id quod vulgo factitant adulescentes, qui facultates patrias stulte prodigunt in iuventa, qua sustinenda fuerat imbecillitas senectae. Neque male quadrabit in eos, qui corporis vires in voluptatibus frustra consumunt, quas in obeundis negociis feriis, postea sint desyderaturi.

Sicut hic Albae Ioannes Niresi huius ecclesie canonicus.

124v 2/CI. *Hirundinum Musea.*

Sunt ista folia et stulta blateramina, Musea hirundinum, artis ac subversio. Interpres admonet proverbium esse in impendio loquaces et obstreperos, Hirundines enim inepto garritu plus taedii auditoribus adferre quam voluptatis... Apte dicitur in poetas indoctos, oratores loquaces magis quam eloquentes aut in coetum hominum inepte loquacium.

Ioannes Niresi impendio loquax et obstreperus.

128v 2/CLVIII. *Genuino mordere.*

Qui clanculum obtrectant, lacerantque quempiam, eum genuino mordere dicuntur.
Ego Thomas Pelei possem dicere, quod Ioannes Niresÿ et Pwzdi Ambrus instar
apri genuinum in me fregere.

149r 2/CCCLXXVI. *Promus magis quam condus.*

*Sumpta metaphora a rei familiaris dispensatoribus, maximeque penuriae, quos
Graeci ταμίαις vocant. Quorum partes sunt ad usum familiae promere id est
proferre quaedam, alia condere, hoc est seponere.*

Sicut Ioannes Niresÿ huius ecclesie canonicus.

229r 3/DCCLXVII. *Filius degenerans.*

*In filium, qui paterno degenerat instituto sive qui non dui fruitur a patre relictis,
sed excutitur a maiorum facultatibus...*

Sicut Ioannes Niresÿ canonicus Transylvanus.

PELEI, MIKLÓS → Pelei Tamás 7r

PELEI TAMAS

→ also Bocsárdi; Budai 16*r; Gosztonyi 86v; Nyiresi 128v; Sirjei 80v, 82v, 86r–v,
241v; Várdai 168v, 169v, 222v, 231r, 238v, 242v

inner cover: Liber Thomae Pelei Pannonii Budae emptus florenis II. Anno Domini
1515.

2*r Ego Thomas Pelei non solum studiorum, verum etiam studiosorum amantissimus,
nescio quid maius de hoc ipso Erasmo dixerim, quam quod est homo facile
doctissimus et veluti alter Theophrastus divina eloquentia praeditus.

7r 1/II-14. *Unguium criniumque praesegmina ne commingito.*

*Verum conicio sensum hunc esse, siquos habeamus affines aut cognatos humiles
et inutiles, eos tamen non esse usquequaque spernendos et contumeliis
insectandos.*

Hac ratione Nicolaus meus Peleus non est reiiciendus.

12v 1/XXXII. *Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum.*

Ego Thomas Peleus quot mala incommoda iniurias a vicinis meis, puta castellanis,
vicecastellanis, portariis, agasonibus et id genus vilissimis hominibus Albe
Transylvanae annos multos perpessus sum, si hic recensere vellem, tempus quam
res maturius me desereret: fuere omnes harpagones et delatores ad nocendum ad
persequendum proclives. Alienam enim cupiunt vicini scrutere vitam, non suam.

27v 1/CLIX. *Senis mutare linguam.*

Ego quoque Thomas Peleius litteratulus ac elementarius senex et alioqui Graeci
sermonis prorsus ignarus, oppido quam libenter me reciperem aut Viennam aut in
Italiam potissimum ad discendas litteras Graecas tametsi etiam Latinas a limine
dumtaxat salutaverim,⁶⁵ at per aetatem iam sum parum idoneus et tanquam senex
psittacus indocilis ac obliuivus. Et iuxta Horatianum illud: „vite summa brevis
spem nos vetat incohare longam”,⁶⁶ „improvisa enim Laeti vis rapuit rapietque
gentes”,⁶⁷ melius autem est nos recte vivere, quam multa scire.

⁶⁵ Corrected from: Graecarum litterarum discendarum gratia.

⁶⁶ Hor. *Carm.* I,4,15.

⁶⁷ *Carm.* II,13,19–20.

- 48v** 1/CCCXLV. *Fumum fugiens in ignem incidi.*
In vitium ducit culpa fuga, si caret arte.
 Ego Thomas Pelaeus hic Albae multis iniuriis affectus aliisque modis exacerbatus dudum hinc discessissem, nisi hæc adagia obstitissent.
- 49v** Erasmi vitium quam maximum, quod in hoc libro Graecas literas nusquam interpretatus est, id quod mihi, Thomae Peleio, Graeci sermonis ignaro, admodum displicet.
- 77r** 1/DCXXII. *Anser inter olores.*
Confine est his, quod in Bucolicis ait Vergilius. „Sed argutos interstrepere anser olores”.
 Ego Thomas Pelæus dicere ausim conscius ignorantie meae. At argutos anser inter olores strepere nolui. Est enim pernicioosa quorundam labes et macula, ut plus in fronte ostendant, quam in recessu valeant.
- 112r** 1/XMXXIX. *Polypi caput.*
In hominem varium et in quo pariter et vitia quaedam et virtutes invenias, cuiusmodi Catilinam describit Sallustius. ... Porro ex huiusmodi rebus, id quod inest commoditatis conveniet excerpere, quod noxium vitare. Iuxta Simonidis doctrinam apiculas imitari, quae praeteritis reliquis ad ea duntaxat advolant, unde possint aliquid ad mellificium idoneum excerpere, nec aliud colligunt, quam quod sit usui futurum.
 Qui mihi Thomæ Peleo vitio vertunt, quod identidem in libris gentilium versor, illis obicere soleo me apiculas imitari, quæ præteritis reliquis ad ea dumtaxat advolo etc.
- 135v** 2/CCXXXIII. *Quot servus habemus totidem habemus hostes.*
Admonet adagium ne quid fidimus illis, neve ex animo nobis amicos arbitremur, qui nos metu colunt.
 Id quod ego Thomas Peleus non sine rerum mearum dispendio et capitis discrimine saepenumero expertus sum.
- 170r** 2/DCLXXXIX. *Magistratum gerens audi et iuste et iniuste.*
...quidam Romanus Imperator dixisse legitur in civitate libera, linguas, item liberas esse oportere.
 Ego Thomas ni fallor, Augustus dicebat.
- 172r** 2/DCCXXVI. *Magis sibi placet quam Peleus in machaera.*
...in eum competit, qui praeter modum re quapiam insolens est ac tumet. Aiunt autem hunc gladium a Vulcano fabrefactum, a diis dono datum fuisse Peleo virtutis illius ac prudentiae symbolum. Quo quidem ille utens et in praeliis et venatibus consequeretur quicquid optabat.
 Utinam Vulcanus me quoque Thomam Peleum aliquando hoc donasset gladio, qui hactenus fortunam ipsam in cunctis fere rebus meis novercantem mihi cognoverim, sive id ex inscitia mea seu hominum malicia perfidiaque evenerit.
- 189v** Erasmus noster linguae Latinae parens in hoc culpandus esse videtur, quod Graecas literas in hoc libro aut nusquam aut rarer Latine expresserit, id quod nobis Graeci sermonis ignaris non potest non molestum esse et præsertim mihi Thomæ Peleo sciolo. Quippe qui humili loco natus a puero præceptorem nullum unquam in re literaria habuerim.

192r 3/XXIII. *Inimicus et invidus vicinorum oculus.*

Hieronymus Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum. Ne rumigeruli linguis te macerantibus lacerent, alienam enim cupiunt vicini discutere vitam non suam. Id quod ego Thomas Peleius experimento didici, qui Albę Iulię Transylvaniae habeo domum turri proximam et vicinam, in qua turri demorantur castellani et cęteri id genus canes mordaces meam subinde discucientes vitam, decem vitiis instructiores.

235v 3/XMXXV. *Mala senium accelerant.*

Quippe repente homines curisque malisque senescunt.

Sicut ego Thomas Pelei.

242v 4/LXIII. *Postica sanna.*

Persius: posticam sannam. Proverbialiter appellat clanculariam irrisionem. A gestu ridentium aliquem a tergo, posticae occurrere sanna. Idem, „O Iane a tergo, quem nulla Ciconia pinsit. Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis albas. Nec linguae tantum, sitiāt canis Apula quantum.” Nam huiusmodi gestibus ab occipitio derident quidam.

Mihi Thomę Pelei perquam iucundum esset si hoc tempore huiusmodi sanne occurrere possem. At nolo vel potius non queo contra torrentem niti.

242v 4/LXV. *Corvus serpentem.*

Ubi quis suo ipsius invento perit.

Sic ego Thomas Pelei, qui mea manu litteras ad Urbem Rhomam confeci et scripsi et nihil profeci.

244r 4/C. *Perit sus.*

Dici suetum, ubi quis frustratus perdidisset operam et impensam. Natum a quodam qui cum apparasset ad nuptias omnia, non est eas assecutus.

Sic accidit mihi Thomę Pelei, qui semel et iterum misi ad Urbem Rhomam pro episcopatu, interim coemi vestimenta, vina et cum nuncium in horas avertere opperiri, re infecta rediit, consumptis et profusis gravissimis sumptibus sicque et iacturam feci et sum omnibus ludibrio. Ergo ignominiam graviolem pertuli omni vulnere.

247v 4/CXCII. *Inani spe flagrat.*

Inanibus spebus incenditur. In eum, qui frustra sibi magna pollicetur.

Spebus. Hanc dictionem ego, Thomas Peleus nusquam legi nisi hic.

248r 4/CCXXIII. *Manum admovere.*

Translatum a sacris, in quibus nonnunquam fieri solet, ut aliis rem divinam facientibus, alius aliquis adveniens, admota victimae manu, fiat et ipse particeps sacrificii...

Ego Thomas Peleus hoc monitus adagio in pago Pele, hoc est natali solo, nolo sapere quum Albę in rebus et negotiis capituli quocies opus erat dormiverim et magis mutus quam piscis et, ut dicitur, caput sine lingua, verum si talia rudi illi ipsi popello nonnunquam e libris meis dixero, que salutem animarum suorum concernunt, id mihi vicio verti non debet, quandoquidem Albę viri sunt ecclesiastici et per hoc magis sapiunt, quid agendum sit at illi prorsus rudes et semper sine ullo doctore vitam hanc traduxerunt.

PERÉNYI, FERENC bishop of Transylvania 1508–1514, bishop of Várad 1514–26†**134v** 2/CCXV. *Argenti fontes loquuntur.*

Hoc adagio notabantur ii, qui stolide quidem atque indocte, sed arroganter tamen et confidenter loquerentur, opibus videlicet suis freti... Huc pertinet et Mimus ille neutique invenustus. Fortuna quem nimium fovet, stultum facit.

Sicut Franciscum Pereni episcopum Varadiensem.

PESTYÉNI, GERGELY royal councillor c. 1514–, magister curiae regiae 1527, iudex curiae of King John 1535–39 → Szeremlyéni 142r

SIRJEI, IMRE notary 1521–, Várdai's secretary 1521–24 and legate to Rome 1523

→ also Várdai 238v

38r 1/CCXLIX. *De asini umbra.*

Super asini umbra, pro eo, quod est de re nihili... Cuncta asini umbra, hoc est nugae nihilque res.

Contra excusationes Emerici literati, quominus in Urbe episcopatum pro me optinere potuit egoque Thomas Pelei obiicere possem: Cuncta asini umbra.

79r 1/DCLXIII. *Bipedum nequissimus.*

Bipedum nequissimus, de homine vehementer improbato, quique vel pecudes nequitia superet.

Ut Emericus Sirinus litterator, veterator, simulator, impostor, vafer.

80v 1/DCLXI. *Oedipi imprecatio.*

...imprecationibus diris eos est execratus.

Ego quoque Thomas Emericum Sirinum, dum vivo vitam, quotidianis execrationibus devoveo.

82v 1/DCLXXXV. *Tollat te, qui non novit.*

Simile est illud Iuvenalis, Circuit et fatuos non invenit. Nam fatui facile decipiuntur.

Sicut ego Thomas Peleius ab Emerico literatore et Antonio eremita.

86r 1/DCCXX. *In dextram aurem.*

Eodem sensu dixit Plinius in dextram aurem. Ita enim scribit Romano suo. „Nihil quod in dextram aurem, fiducia mei dormias, non impune cessatur”, id est nihil est quod sis securus.

Hoc Plinianum pro dolor. Emericus literator Sirinus homo trioboli ex itinere suo Urbico mihi, Thomae Pelei scribere potuisset, qui accepto a me viatico, ut eius libidini placitum fuit vel superfluo, pro episcopatu in Urbem Rhomam profectus est illincque re infecta rediit, corruptus opinor largitione partis alterius hoc est Ioannis, qui voto suo potitus est, qui nunc laetatur, ipse vero discrucior. Utcunque id acciderit, credo Emerici idest nuntii mei aut nuntii Ioannis perfidia et iniquitate.

86v 1/DCCXXII. *Dignus qui cum in tenebris mices.*

Proinde dignus, qui cum in tenebris mices dicitur, qui sit, usque adeo certa fide ut nec si tuto possit, velit quempiam mendacio fallere.

Ego Thomas Pelei sic Emerico credebam, sed deceptus sum.

108r 1/XMLXXI. *Cerite cera dignus.*

Olim notari dignos atque improbos et nequam homines cerite cera dignos proverbio vocabant, nimirum ceritem ceram insignem ignominiam appellantes.

Emericus Sirinus literator Francisci Vardai servus cerite cera dignus.

143r 2/CCCXII. *Hiberae, naeniae.*

Hiberas naenias divus Hieronymus nugae appellat. ... Opinor Hiberas naenias dici propter prodigiosas maleficorum fabulas vulgo iactatas.

Emericus Sirinus Roma⁶⁸ fato sinistro rediens, quae mihi narrat quominus episcopatum adsecutus sum, hiberas naenias esse puto: meras nugas.

199v 3/CXLIII. *Cantharo astutior.*

Cantharo astutior aut callidior. Zenodotus ait Athenis cauponem fuisse quempiam, nomine Cantharum, quem ob maleficia et imposturas ac prodiones capitis affecerint supplicio, proinde vulgo receptum, ut in versutos et impostores diceretur.

Ut Emericus Sirinus literator, qui voce sua mellea mihi imposuit.

241v 4/XLIII. *Quae dolent ea molestum est contingere.*

Unusquisque inuitus audit sua incommoda, maxime ea, quae sint cum aliqua infamia coniuncta.

Veluti mihi Thomae Peleō contigit in facto episcopatus, qui perfidia Emerici Sirini nuncii impostoris et nebulonis et operam et impensam perdidit.

242r 4/LII. *Ne ligula quidem dignus.*

...dicebatur homo nequam et nullius pretii.

Ut Emericus Sirinus literator vel potius veterator et circumscriptor.

247v 4/CCI. *Astutior coccyce.*

Coccyce astutior dicebatur, qui astu sibi consuleret.

Ut Emericus Sirinus, qui aestu pecunias meas apud se reservavit.

SZENTMIHALYI, TAMAS Várdai's provisor at Gyulafehérvár 1515–23 → Budai, 16*r
SZEREMLYÉNI, FERENC canon 1504–, royal secretary 1509–16, provost 1509–34
(provost of Pozsony 1514–15)

20v 1/XCVIII. *Diomedis et Glauci permutatio.*

Quae refertur apud Homerum Diomedis et Glauci permutatio, in proverbium abiit, quoties inaequalem commutationem significamus, hoc est deteriora pro melioribus reddita...

Sic prepositus noster suam preposituram cum preposito Poseniensi commutaverat.

30r 1/CLXXIII. *E multis paleis paulum fructus collegi.*

Ut Franciscus noster praepositus annos quattuor et viginti in cancellaria regia desudans sola prepositura contentus esse debuit.

80r 1/DCLI. *Intra suas praesepe.*

Simili figura dixit Plautus in Cassina. „Scit si id impetret, futurum, quod amat intra persepeis suas”, pro eo, quod est certum ac paratum. Nam quod intra septa nostra clausum sit, id tuto certoque possidemus.

Noster quoque praepositus Franciscus Zeremlyéni passim hoc est et intra et extra ecclesiam temere et recorderiter ridere solitus est. Immemor illius dicti: risu soluto res ineptior nulla est, et alibi: per multum risum poteris cognoscere stultum.

89v 1/DCCLI. *Bibe elleborum.*

(89r) ...quo dicto significat insanire quempiam, (89v) ... quod ut admonet interpretes, hoc ad simplicem potum referunt grammatici, illud ad potionem pharmacorum.

Sic ego soleo monere Franciscum Zeremlyéni prepositum nostrum, qui sepulchri immemor domos extruit.

⁶⁸ Corrected from ex Urbe.

142r 2/CCXCVIII. *Non omnia possumus omnes.*

Item Odysseae: ... Non ita coelestes tribuunt sua dona quibusvis, Seu formam sive ingenium viresque loquendi Est etenim, informis species cui contingit atque Linguae dote deus pensat dispendia formae.

Informis species cui contingit, ut Gregorio Pesthienÿ et Francisco Zeremlÿenÿ preposito Transilvano.

175v 2/DCCXCIII. *Foedum est et mansisse diu vacuumque rediisse.*

Conveniet, ubi quis longam de se concitavit expectationem, cui postea non respondeat. Veluti siquis studii causa diu peregrinatus, domum redeat nihilo doctior. Aut si negociator post diutinam absentiam revertatur nihilo ditior.

Ut fecit prepositus noster Franciscus.

246v *Vincula Tyrrena.*

Vincula Tyrrena dicebantur odiosa negocia, quibus dstringebatur aliquis.

Hoc posset uti prepositus noster Budÿ agens.

VÁRDAI, FERENC bishop of Transylvania 1514–24†

→ capitulares 196r; Damján segédpüspök; Sirjei 108r

41r 1/CCLXXVII. *Quid distent aera lupinis.*

Id est, novit discrimen rerum vilium et pretiosarum.

Hoc est contra Franciscum Vardai antistitem Transylvanum, qui largitione corruptus caecaque cupiditate ductus beneficia ecclesiastica dignis iuxta et indignis citra discrimen conferre solitus erat.

59r 1/CCCCLXII. *Mala attrahens ad sese uti Caecias nubes.*

Sic mala sibi ipsi ut Caecias nubem attrahens. Versus est senarius proverbio celebratus in eos, qui sibi ipsis litium ac negociorum materiam pariunt accersuntque. Ducta similitudine ab eius venti natura, cui nomen Caecias, quem Plinius media inter aquilonem et exortum regione flare scribit et unum contra aliorum septentrionalium ventorum naturam nubes non pellere sed attrahere. ... Attrahens ad sese divitias ut Caecias nubes... Quemadmodum enim Caecias nubes, itidem improba vita probra ad sese attrahit.

Franciscus Vardai antistes Transylvanus, quem rustici vocitant communiter Ekevezthew Ferencz pÿspek, undique pecunias attrahens ad sese quemadmodum Caecias nubes, eius successores decem vitiis instructiores fuere.

76v 1/DCXVII. *Bos in lingua.*

...in eos, qui non audent libere, quod sentiunt dicere.

Nos capitulares ecclesie Albensis Transylvanae sub Francisco Vardai episcopo tales sumus.

79r 1/DCXLIII. *Adamantinus.*

...pro eo, quod est inexorabilis aut infatigabilis.

Franciscus Vardai in exigendis censibus a nobis sacerdotibus et rusticis adamantinus erat et ferreus.

83v 1/DCLXXXIII. *Male parta, male dilabuntur.*

Est apud Plautum, Male partum, male disperit.

Ut bona et res Francisci Vardai.

85r 1/DCCI. *Ne my quidem facere audet.*

Qui metu non auderent hiscere, ii quondam negabantur my facere audere...

De nobis misellis sacerdotibus ecclesie Albensis Transylvanae hec dici possunt, qui a Francisco Vardai huius ecclesie prelato pecuniam mutuaticam, id est a nobis mutuo acceptam nedum repetere, sed nec hiscere audemus: os aperire et quum reponere non vult, comprecamur, ut cum ad inferos ultra Stygiam transvehitur paludem, det portitori Charonti pro portorio Aeaco presente. Hec meae in illum observantie amoris et devotionis monumenta sint perpetua.

94v 1/DCCCXXVIII. *Boni pastoris est tondere pecus, non deglubere.*

...deglubunt qui nihil reliqui faciunt.

Hoc non consyderabat Franciscus Vardai bonorum divi Michaelis depopulator, qui dicitare solebat: Romana curia non pascit ovem sine lana.

152r 2/CCCCXXVI. *Mendici pera non impletur.*

Aptissime congruunt in illos, qui libidini, cupiditati, ambitioni, reliquisque id genus affectibus addicti sunt. Nam iis illud evenit, ut quo intemperantius explent sese, hoc magis magisque sitiunt efuriantque.

Non solum mendici, verum etiam Francisci Vardai episcopi Transylvani, qui magnas inter opes inops semper aurum sitit et sacrophago contentus erit.

168v 2/DCLXIII. *Ex ore lupi.*

E lupi rictu ubi res quaequam praeter spem recipitur, quae iam plane periisse videbatur veluti cum pecunia erepta a praedonibus aut rapaci tyranno aliquo inopinato casu recuperatur.

Ego Thomas Pelęus ex ore lupi, id est rapacis tyranni Francisci Vardai pecunias meas partim mutuaticas, partim vi a me extortas nunquam eruere potui et tanquam Pluto illachrymabilis nullis flecti potuit precibus ut solveret. Quippe durus inexorabilis, adamantinus, ferreus et corneis fibris.

169v 2/DCLXXX. *Lupo agnum eripere postulant.*

Improbum enim videtur sperare futurum, ut lupo agnum semel arreptum amittat.

Sic ego Thomas Pelęus pecunias meas a Francisco Vardai nullis precibus rehabere potui, interea vita functus est.

169v 2/DCLXXXIII. *Vulturis umbra.*

...Mihi magis quadrare videtur in haeredipetas aut alioqui rapaces inhiantesque praedae. Respondet illi, si vultures cadaver expecta.

Sicuti Franciscus Vardai res et omnia bona sacerdotum defunctorum auferre solebat.

204r 3/CCXXV. *Radit usque ad cutem.*

De eo dicebatur, qui nimium exacte videretur agere cum aliquo.

Dici potest de Francisco Vardai episcopo Transylvano deque eius successore Ioanne Gozthon.

214v 3/CCCCXLVIII. *Aegyptius Laterifer.*

Quadrare videtur in sordidum atque infimae sortis hominem, in quem usum etiam Carum vilitas usurpata est aut in eum, qui molestis negociis premitur.

Rustici sub episcopatu Francisci Vardai passim simili servitutis genere citra ullam misericordiam opprimebantur et ultra hoc graviter eos ipsos taxabat, non tanquam patronus sed tyrannus et depopulator, nec sacerdotes minus, immo durius.

222v 3/DCXXI. *Salem lingere.*

Diogenes cum a Cratero praedivite quodam invitaretur, ut ad se veniret, usurus hospitio suo suaque liberalitate. Respondit se malle salem Athenis lingere, quam apud illum piparis mensis frui.

Franciscus Vardai episcopus Transylvanus frequenti servitute assidua taxatione hostili more passim bona Sancti Michaelis archangeli populabatur, quique iuxta psalmistae dictum devorabat plebem dominicam sicut escam panis et in diem suum obiisset. Ego Thomas malui instar Diogenis ubique in Pannonia salem lingere, quam sub tali tyranno degere.

225r 3/DCLXV. *Non probantis.*

Sive cum quis tyrannico more, sequitur, non quod dictet aequitas, sed quod animo collubitum sit.

Ut Franciscus Vardai episcopus Transylvanus.

226v 3/DCXCIX. *Muneribus res agitur.*

Qui dicet non esse locum recte factis et aequis rationibus, sed largitione et assentatione rem omnem peragi...

Apud Franciscum Vardai.

231r 3/DCCCX. *A sacris abstinendae manus.*

Vulgo quoque creditum est, fatum instare ei, qui sacris rebus ac Deo dicatis manus iniecerit, aut qui pios homines, aut certe fungentes sacris ministeriis oppugnarit, veluti pontificem Romanum, episcopos, abbates, etiam si parum fuerint piis moribus.

Ego Thomas Peleus hoc monitus adagio loquar ne an sileam haereo. Cogit nimirum me non loqui solum, verum etiam obloqui, conqueri, lamentari et doloris et maeroris et damni magnitudo, quo me Franciscus Vardai antistes Transylvanus adfecit. Cui pecunias mutuo dedi, insuper et vi summam non mediocrem a me extorsit, quas eo ipso vivente quociens supplicavi, ut mihi reponeret, aut subridens praeteriit, aut promisit se velle reddere. Numquam tamen reddidit et nec testamento reliquit ut redderentur. Quid igitur faciam? Pessimi debitoris facere creditori convicium.

238v 3/XMLXXXIII. *Hydrus in dolio.*

...cum quis occulta calamitate premitur, causa atque autore non extante.

Ut ego Thomas Peleus. Tamen autores calamitatis meae sunt Franciscus Vardai episcopus Transylvanus et Emericus Sirinus nuntius et famulus eius, qui me ex composito et honore et pecuniis privarunt.

242v 4/LXX. *Laudant ut pueri pavonem.*

...scripsit Iuvenalis in avarum, qui carmina laudant duntaxat, nihil autem largiuntur poetae. „Didicit laudator avarus Tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos, Ut pueri Iunonis avem.” Idem alibi, „probitas laudatur et alget.”

Sic Franciscus Vardai episcopus Transylvanus me Thomam Peleum laudabat, quod doctus sum et in scribendis litteris bonum habeo stilum ac in ecclesia perpulchre canto usque adeo, quod secundus sit mihi nemo et quod arcanorum suorum mihi creditorum fidissimus custos essem. Qui mihi dum vixit, nec assem dedit. Quin potius emunxit me senem auro argentoque.

WOLPHARDUS (ENYEDI), ADRIANUS canon 1496–, archdeacon of Kolozs 1521–, of Kraszna 1533, of Doboka 1535–37, vicarius 1531–41

87r 1/DCCXXX. *Oculatae manus.*

Huc allusit Chaerea in Eunucho, Fac nunc promissa ut appareant.

Ego possem hec non iniuria dicere magistro Adriano canonico.

Part V

THE DIPLOMACY OF A RENAISSANCE KING

ATTILA BÁRÁNY

MATTHIAS' EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY IN THE 1480S*

The paper investigates the diplomatic relations of Matthias Corvinus with Western European states, mainly France, England, the Swiss *Eidgenossenschaft* and the imperial allies of his, Bavaria, Pfalz and Saxony, focusing on the 1480s. Apart from the sole effort of Jenő Horváth and Árpád Károlyi in the early twentieth century, there have been no researches that endeavoured to look further behind the „traditionally emphasized” scope of Matthias’ diplomatic activity, that is, the Ottomans, the Habsburgs and Italy.¹ Few studies have included the relations of Matthias with his German allies, and the links with Switzerland and France have mostly received a disproportionate share. The paper will make an attempt to introduce a wider span of the Corvinian foreign policy and show that in certain periods Matthias’ diplomatic interests were not restricted to Central Europe, but the king was able to look further than Austria and Bohemia and run a leading role in the theatre of the European „grand policie”.

The paper is investigating Matthias’ desperate efforts to find allies in the life-long anti-Habsburg struggle of his after the death of his ‘ideal’ partner, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy in 1477. It gives an overview of the attempts to have the kings of France, Louis XI and Charles VIII involved in an alliance against Emperor Frederick III. However, with the subsequent and serial failures of the French connection and Matthias’ complete disillusion in the Valois, I will also examine the strict refusal of the Valois’ power demands in Italy in the respects of an anti-Venetian, anti-Habsburg and pro-Neapolitan, pro-English political stand. However, here I will not cover here in detail the controversies of the fate of Prince Cem/Djem and only partly touch the negotiations around the marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza.²

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¹ Károlyi, Árpád, *Mátyás nyugati politikája*, in *Mátyás király*. Ed. Márki, Sándor. Budapest, 1902.; Horváth, Jenő, „Mátyás király nyugati diplomáciája”, In: *Mátyás király*. Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulójára. I–II. Ed. Lukinich, Imre. Budapest, 1940. I. 71–94.

² On the Cem-affair see Attila Györkös’ article: „Prince Djem et les relations franco-hongroises, 1486–1490”, In: *Matthias Rex 1458–1490 – Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*. Budapest, under publication, [2009].

In the political vacuum caused by the death of the Grand Prince and after the shock of the Habsburgs gaining the whole of the Burgundian inheritance with the marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, the whole European power system was to be restructured. Matthias' state and the alliance system he was forging for long years with Naples, Burgundy and several German principalities served right and did not cease to exist even after Nancy, as its success is to be seen in the peace of Gmunden-Korneuburg.³ Hungary seemed to be one of the leading forces in Europe and its alliance system gave it a decisive weight in the European political sphere.

Matthias' foreign policy is to be seen as part of a parallel alliance diplomatic system, within the context of a prime antagonism of the 1480s, the French-Habsburg hostility. The paper is to investigate Hungarian diplomacy within the context of "grand diplomacie". France and Hungary at the outset seemed to be bound to be common allies and partners throughout Europe. Nevertheless, Matthias was bound to search for a counter-weight against the Habsburgs, which he was full-heartedly hoping to find in King Louis XI, then, when he got disillusioned in his expectations, he searched for other partners from England to Switzerland.

The King of Hungary was trying to take the former allies of Burgundy over and not let Maximilian to continue Burgundian foreign policy by retaining the traditional allies of Charles. Matthias' prime design was to detach the former Burgundian allies from Maximilian. It was an extremely difficult job since to give up the Burgundian orientation and an anti-Valois diplomacy meant now, accepting the offer of Matthias, a total turnover and an approach towards Louis XI. The mid-1470s Burgundian-Hungarian-Neapolitan-English alliance had already had an anti-Habsburg colour, since the partners were right to guess that France would seek for the help of Emperor Frederick. They were right in their expectations: a few weeks after Louis XI contracted a treaty with Burgundy – Compiègne, June 1474 – betrayed it and allied with Frederick III (31 December 1475).⁴ A united front of France and the Habsburgs was born and was going on in the late 1470s – which demanded the union of Burgundy's former allies and Hungary. It was a hard time for the allies of the Burgundians and the members of the anti-Valois and anti-Habsburg coalition, since to preserve one of the directions of their orientation they had to resign and abandon the other. How to join at one strike the loathsome Louis XI, against whom they were struggling for decades? At the same time, they were threatened by the expansion of Habsburg power from Flanders to the borders of Savoy.

³ I discussed the history of the relationship of Matthias with Burgundy between 1468 and 1477 in another article of mine: "King Matthias and the Western European Powers", In: *Matthias Rex 1458-1490 – Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*. Budapest, under publication, [2009]

⁴ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State*, London, 1972. [2005²] 319.; Werner Paravicini, *Merész Károly*. Budapest, 1989. 113.

IMPERIAL ALLIES

In the struggle to preserve the titular Bohemian Crown and Electoral Principality, Matthias wished to form a united front first against Frederick and the Jagiellonians and have Moravia and Silesia encircled by imperial allies. In the years after 1477 he tried to confirm all his former alliances, e.g. with the House of Wettin, Dukes Albert the Bold [der Beherzte] Duke of Saxony (1464–1500), and Ernest, Elector of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen (1464–86) as well as their uncle, William III the Bold [der Tapfere] of Saxony-Weimar, Landgrave of Thuringia, Duke of Luxemburg (†1482). William had a claim to the Duchy of Luxemburg through his mother, a grand-daughter of Emperor Sigismund.⁵ In 1467 Charles, Duke of Burgundy, assumed the title of duke of Luxemburg, and with the intermediation of Matthias, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and his Wettin nephews could hope to receive the inheritance of the duchy during the lifetime of Charles. However, after 1477 they could only pursue the inheritance that was seized by Maximilian with the help of Matthias.

Matthias relied on the Wettin princes as a background bastion against the Hohenzollerns in the Glogau conflict in the late 1470s. The Wettins were the first of his allies that he notified – the day after (!) – of his declaration of war against the Emperor in 1477.⁶ It was only when he got assured of the backing of the Saxon princes that he declared war against Albert III Achilles of Hohenzollern, Elector of Brandenburg, margrave of Ansbach (1470–86).⁷

It was through the intercession of Matthias' imperial allies that the parties came to an understanding regarding the duchy of Glogau/Głogów.⁸ The duchy was bequeathed by the last duke, Henry to his wife, Barbara von Hohenzollern, a niece of Albert Achilles, but Matthias as liege donated it to his faithful lord, John II [der Böse, or Szalony, „Wicked”] Duke of Sagan/Żagań (1472–1504), Duke of Glogau, who, accordingly remained Matthias' ally and a pillar of the Corvinian rule in Silesia until 1488.⁹ In 1476 Wladislas Jagiello, an open ally of the Habsburgs, questioned the succession in Glogau, invaded the duchy and broke the Hungarian-Jagiellonian truce.¹⁰ In the first months he succeeded to turn the Elec-

⁵ Envoy to Landgrave William, 1473: *Mátyás király levelei*. Külügyi osztály. 1458–1490. I–II. Ed. Fraknói, Vilmos. Budapest, 1893–95. [hereinafter MKL] I. No. 201.

⁶ MKL I. No. 252.

⁷ 12 August 1478: MKL I. No. 383. The alliance of Matthias and Albert, Duke of Saxony was also sealed with the latter's paying homage for his Bohemian fiefs to the King in Breslau/Wrocław in 1477: MKL I. No. Before the declaration of war he also sent an envoy to William, Landgrave of Thuringia: 16 June 1476: MKL I. No. 258.

⁸ See in greater detail: Fraknói, *Mátyás király és a Hohenzollernek*, 46–61.

⁹ Nehring, *Mátyás külpolitikája*, 109.

¹⁰ Complaint to Albert Achilles, Elector of Brandenburg against his son-in-law's aggression in Glogau: 1 October 1476: MKL I. No. 241.; Letter to William, Margrave of Thuringia on Wladislas' violation of the truce: 2 October 1476: MKL I. No. 242.

tor of Brandenburg to his side. Moreover, Albert even had his widowed daughter engaged to Wladislas Jagiello.

In 1477 Matthias relied on the diplomatic assistance of the Wettin dukes. He called upon Dukes Albert and Ernest not to give support to Albert Achilles against the Hungarian-ally Duke of Sagan.¹¹ In 1478 Matthias did even ask *auxilium*, as liege-lord of his Bohemian vassal Saxon princes.¹² From the end of 1477 the Saxons were intervening between Matthias, Brandenburg, Wladislas and Frederick III.¹³ Through their intermediation the parties appeared to get ready for an armistice by December 1478.¹⁴ Duke Albert also offered to present himself at the preliminary talks.¹⁵ With the intercession of the Wettins as well as Duke Albert the Wise of Upper Bavaria-Munich and Otto II of Pfalz-Mosbach (1461–99) an armistice was agreed with the Hohenzollerns early in 1479. A congress was also proposed to be held in May in Olmütz/Olomouc.¹⁶ The ceremony was a feast of the Hunyadi-alliance in the Empire, ranging from Pfalz to the Teutonic Order. Matthias was on the top of his diplomatic career: he asked the above mentioned allies of his to pay homage to him as King of Bohemia.¹⁷

However, Albert Achilles also felt endangered by the immense Habsburg power within the Empire, that is why the peace treaty with Matthias lasted up to 1482. Matthias granted Barbara lands in Bohemia in return. Albert's heir, John Cicero, Margrave of Brandenburg also came to terms with Matthias. The duchy's northern part of Crossen an der Oder/Krosno Odrzańskie was incorporated by the Margraviate of Brandenburg in 1482. In return, at the Reichstag in the early 1480s Albert Achilles protected Matthias' interests against the Habsburgs and their allies.¹⁸

¹¹ MKL I. No. 253.; November 1477: reply: Saxon envoy to Queen Beatrix: *Aragóniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok*, (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria, 29) Ed. Berzeviczy, Albert. Budapest, 1914. No. XXVII. The Queen's answer: No. XXVIII.

¹² 30 October 1478: MKL I. Nos. 271–72.

¹³ MKL I. Nos. 276–77.

¹⁴ MKL I. No. 280. Preparations for the talks: Matthias to the Dukes of Saxony: MKL I. Nos. 285.; 288.

¹⁵ MKL I. No. 286.

¹⁶ The letter of 9 February 1479 to the envoy Georg von Stein speaks of an armistice already contracted which he is to negotiate to extend. MKL I. No. 290.; Intermediators: 1–17 March 1479: MKL I. Nos. 292–93. Envoy, John Guldin to Duke Albert of Bavaria: 17 March 1479: MKL I. No. 294.; When, however, the meeting was postponed, Matthias did again turn to the Wettin dukes to intervene towards Brandenburg. The embassy of the Jan/John Filipec, bishop of Várad: 21 September 1479: MKL I. 300. Matthias also appealed in a letter to the Imperial Princes: undated, probably after July 1479: Karl Nehring, "Angaben zu einer unveröffentlichten Kopie eines Registers aus der Kanzlei von Matthias Corvinus", *Levéltári Közlemények* 43 (1972) 85–96. No. 39.

¹⁷ E. Kovács Péter, *Matthias Corvinus*. Budapest, 1990. 120.

¹⁸ Fraknói, *Mátyás király és a Hohenzollernnek*, 63–65.

Throughout the early 1480s, the Saxon dukes were also very actively involved in the peace-making negotiations between Matthias and the Habsburgs. In 1483 they dispatched a special peace-maker envoy, Nikolaus Köckeritz who was to stay with Matthias and work for an agreement.¹⁹

Matthias was to keep up the old relationships and alliances within the Empire. In his struggles against the Habsburgs he was allied with the House of Wittelsbach, both its Palatinate and Bavarian branches, i.e. Frederick I the Victorious [der Siegreiche], Elector Palatine of the Rhine (1451–76), and his cousins, Louis IX the Rich [der Reiche] Duke of Lower Bavaria-Landshut (1450–79), his son George [der Reiche] (1479–1503) and Albert IV the Wise [der Weise], Duke of Bavaria-Munich (1467–1508). The Bavarians were the first to have Matthias acknowledged as King of Bohemia in 1469.²⁰ Duke Albert also offered to act as Matthias' vicar in Bohemia. The Wittelsbachs all sent representatives to the wedding of Matthias and Beatrix of Aragon. Christopher the Strong, Duke of Upper Bavaria-Munich (†1493) was knighted “with the sword of St. Stephen” and “sat closest to the Queen, on her left hand”. From 1476 onwards Duke Christopher received an annuity from the Household of the king of Hungary.²¹

Duke Louis of Lower Bavaria was an old enemy of the Habsburgs since he invaded the imperial free cities of Dinkelsbühl and Donauwörth. The Palatinate Wittelsbachs continued the alliance since they needed aid after the death of their great supporter, Charles the Bold and were in this way interested to approach Matthias, he was to have support against other opponents such as the emperor's party follower Dieter von Isenburg, Prince-Archbishop of Mainz.²² George and Albert, Dukes of Bavaria were several times acting as mediators in the affairs of Matthias and the Habsburgs.²³ In accordance with George, Duke of Lower Bavaria-Landshut, Matthias promoted his candidate, Friedrich Mauerkircher for the

¹⁹ August 1483: Károlyi, Árpád, “Adalék Frigyes császár és Mátyás király viszályai történetéhez”, *Történelmi Társulat* 37 (1892) 1–41.; 226–66. No. XXVII. Later on, from 1484 Köckeritz entered Hungarian service and also fulfilled missions for Matthias as well, e.g. to the Swiss, then, became a familiaris of Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad. E. Kovács Péter, „Corvin János házassága és a magyar diplomácia”, *Századok*, 137 (2003) 4: 955–72. 965.

²⁰ Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*. München, 1975 [1989²], 41.

²¹ He also excelled in the tournaments: *Magyarország királya, Mátyás esküvője és a királyné koronázása (1477)*, In: *Krónikáink magyarul*. Ed. Kulcsár, Péter. Budapest, 2006. 123–32. 126–9.; *Aragóniai Beatrix*, No. 25.; The Palatinate report: *Mátyás király menyegzője 1476. A pfalzi választófejedelem követeinek hivatalos jelentése szerint*. Ed. Kazinczy, Gábor. Pest, 1863. 117–37.; Christopher is also pointed out by Peter Eschenloer in his *Geschichten der Stadt Breslau*, In: Szamota, István, *Régi utazások Magyarországon és a Balkán-félszigeten 1054–1717*. Budapest, 1891. 106.

²² 4600 florins p.a. Fraknoi, *Hunyadi Mátyás király 1440–1490*. (Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok. Ed. Szilágyi, Sándor. Budapest, 1890, [<http://mek.oszk.hu/05700/05736/>] – 28 October 2008].

²³ Letter to Duke Albert: 8 April 1480: MKL II. No. 245.

see of Passau at the beginning of the 1480s.²⁴ In 1481 Matthias offered his protection to the bishop and the Passau chapter against the charges of the Emperor.²⁵ He also took the bishop's castles and cities (Sankt Pölten, Mauten etc.) in pledge, garrisoned them with Hungarian troops in the autumn of 1481.²⁶ In the years 1481-82 the King did not cease to intermeditate for Mauerkircher in Rome, several times commissioned his envoys at the Holy See to promote the cause of the Hungarian-Bavarian candidate against the Habsburg-backed one, Cardinal Georg Hessler.²⁷

The most important ally in the 1480s was Albert the Wise of Munich, who, got into a sharp conflict with the Habsburgs as he obtained the imperial city of Regensburg and married, without the licence of the Emperor, Frederick's daughter, Kunigunde in 1487. The relationship was one of constant rivalry.²⁸ The Duke was in a close cooperation with Matthias, though he was not brave enough to deny the transfer of imperial troops through his duchy towards the territories of Matthias, and did not give any military support.²⁹

In 1480–81, when the relationship with Frederick sharpened again, Matthias strove to strengthen his alliances with the imperial electors. Already in 1479 he appealed to the Reichstag and made a formal complaint against Frederick III.³⁰ In 1480, when Frederick did not pay the compensation the Gmunden-Korneuburg peace treaty called for, and refused to hand over the treasures of Esztergom, Archbishop Johann Beckensloer had taken away with him, Matthias' armies started an invasion in Styria.³¹ Matthias was afraid that the Habsburgs would stab him in the back when he was preparing a campaign against the Ottomans, and asked his imperial allies, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony to assure the safety of the Hungarian borders.³² He also applied to Pope Sixtus IV to make it certain he would put pressure on the Emperor to prevent him from attacking Hungary while

²⁴ Beginning of 1480: Matthias to Pope Sixtus IV. MKL II. No. 5. In his letter to Duke George the King reports that he wrote to the Pope, upon the request of his, and asked the confirmation of Mauerkircher. MKL II. No. 6.; July-August 1480: Károlyi, Adalék, No. XIV. The Emperor was also willing on certain conditions to accept Duke George as intermediary. Károlyi, Adalék, No. XV.

²⁵ undated [after November 1481]: MKL II. No. 107.; Nehring, Angaben, No. 93.

²⁶ 9-14 October 1481: MKL II. 200.; He confirmed his protection to the chapter: 29 April 1482: MKL II. No. 126.; Nehring, Angaben, No. 107.; Karl Nehring, „Mátyás külpolitikája”, In: *Mátyás király 1458–1490*. Ed. Barta, Gábor. Budapest, Akadémiai, 1990. 104–117. 110–11. [Also published: Karl Nehring, „Mátyás külpolitikája”, *Történelmi Szemle* 11 (1978) 3–4: 427–39. 430.]

²⁷ Letter to John Vitéz, bishop of Szerém: MKL II. No. 122. He also asked for the help of Ferrante, King of Naples on behalf of the bishop of Passau. MKL II. No. 123.

²⁸ Kubinyi, András, *Matthias Rex*. Budapest, 2008. 147.

²⁹ Nehring, Mátyás külpolitikája, 114.

³⁰ Undated, perhaps between 25 June and 4 July 1479: Nehring, Angaben, No. 28.

³¹ March 1480: Károlyi, Adalék, No. VII.

³² In May-June Ștefan cel Mare, Voivod of Moldavia set out on a campaign with Hungarian troops as well against the Ottoman-puppet Voivod Basarab of Wallachia.

on campaign against the Turks.³³ Matthias was eager to appeal to the Wettin princes any time Frederick showed a sign of not meeting the demands of the 1477 peace treaty and let them know of all the grievances he suffered from the Emperor.³⁴ In April 1480 the King made it certain in a letter to Dukes Ernest and Albert of Saxony that his occupation of Radkersburg did not infringe upon the Gmunden-Korneuburg treaty since it was the Emperor that did not meet the requirements.³⁵ He also asked the support and understanding of Otto of Pfalz-Mosbach against the “unjust accusations” of Frederick III.³⁶ In August, when Matthias wished to lead a campaign himself against the Bosnian pasha, Daud, ravaging the countryside in Croatia, he asked the intermediation of George, Duke of Bavaria to agree on an armistice of four weeks with the Habsburgs.³⁷ In return, the Emperor did ask the imperial estates to supply troops against the Hungarians but the Wettin and the Wittelsbach houses did not give any reply. What is more, it was Matthias that could rely on them as they promised, upon the appeals of Matthias, not to give military assistance to the Emperor when he asked a subsidy from the estates at the Nürnberg Reichstag.³⁸ It was Matthias’ success and meant that the alliance system he was building up was working well since that the Reichstag rejected the appeal of the Emperor and decided to send an embassy to Hungary to mediate for peace between the parties to make it possible for Matthias to lead his anti-Ottoman campaign of 1481.³⁹ The King of Hungary also hurried to confirm the rights of the Wettins’ upon their Bohemian fiefs which they were disputing with Wladislas Jagiello, and appealed to Matthias before in the matter.⁴⁰ To make the situation clear Matthias did even send his personal commissioner to calm the Wettin princes, Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad.⁴¹ In November 1480 Matthias found it important to warn Duke Ernest of Saxony not to let himself be “enchanted” by the Emperor for a military action against Hungary.⁴² In December he also repeated his warning and confirming again his “innocence and justice” asked the Dukes not to give credit to the accusations of the

³³ July 1481: MKL II. No. 86.

³⁴ 2 January 1480: Matthias to Ernest and Albert, Dukes of Saxony: MKL II. No. 2.

³⁵ MKL II. No. 8.

³⁶ 17 May 1480: MKL II. No. 17. Before he assured the Duke that his armies would not touch the lands of the the Bavarian-adherent bishop of Freising, Sixtus von Tannberg (1473–95). MKL II. No. 24.; Franz Martin Meyer, „Über de Correspondenzbücher des Bischofs Sixtus von Freising 1474–1495”, *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 68 (1886) 411–501. 486. No. 12.

³⁷ Matthias’ letter to Duke George about a 4-week armistice, brought forward by the Duke of Bavaria: 25 August 1480: Károlyi, Adalék, No. XVII.

³⁸ Fraknói, Vilmos, *Mátyás király és a Hohenzollernek diplomáciai érintkezése*, Budapest, 1914. 63–65.

³⁹ November-December 1480: Károlyi, Adalék, No. XIX.

⁴⁰ 7 October 1480: MKL II. No. 38.

⁴¹ 15 October 1480: MKL II. No. 39.

⁴² 7 November 1480: MKL II. No. 45.

Emperor.⁴³ At the same time, Matthias did issue two letters of the same content, one to the Prince Archbishop of Mainz, Dietrich von Isenburg, the other to the Swiss.⁴⁴ The first one was rather unusual since formerly the Archbishop was seen in Matthias' diplomacy as a faithful follower of the Habsburgs. Yet it means that on the one hand, the King wished to widen his circle of supporters within the empire, on the other, the Habsburgs' front got narrowed in Germany since some of their former allies got threatened by the immense increase of their wealth and properties after 1477.⁴⁵ The Wettin brothers replied very soon and *in amicitia et benivolentia mutua* guaranteed that in the oncoming Nürnberg Reichstag they would oversee the Emperor's charges and promised not to give *auxilium* to the schemes of Frederick III.⁴⁶

Up to the end of the 1480s Matthias and the Wettins coordinated their actions within the Empire. In 1481 Matthias asked them to arrest the Ihleburg barons who attacked Zossen.⁴⁷ The parties were keeping up their anti-Habsburg platform mostly throughout Matthias' reign. In 1484 the King asked again Dukes Ernest and Albert not to give any assistance to the schemes of the Emperor.⁴⁸ However, during the Hungarian-Habsburg hostilities of the late 1480s, Matthias felt that Duke Albert was gradually turning away from his alliance and started a rapprochement with Frederick III. The Duke was also willing to confirm a preliminary agreement of alliance with the Habsburgs.⁴⁹ However, the Duke found it important to let Matthias know that he was only doing his duty towards his Emperor.⁵⁰ In 1487, when Matthias asked the Nürnberg Reichstag not to give assistance to the Emperor against him, the Duke chose to back the Habsburg-party and did even declare war against Hungary.⁵¹ Matthias made all effort to save the Saxon alliance of his and tried to convince the Duke of the righteousness of the causes why he was bound to take up arms against the Emperor. However, all he

⁴³ „pro declaratione innocentie et iusticie nostre [...] bonam pacem et concordiam semper affectasse”: MKL II. No. 49.

⁴⁴ MKL II. 83.; Anton Philipp von Segesser, *Die Beziehungen der Schweizer zu Matthias Corvinus, in den Jahren 1476–1490*. Luzern, 1860. 85.

⁴⁵ Further letters to the Elector Princes: July 1481: MKL II. No. 88.

⁴⁶ MKL II. No. 83–4.

⁴⁷ MKL II. No. 98.

⁴⁸ 10 November 1484: MKL II. No. 168.

⁴⁹ 20 March 1486: Kubinyi, Matthias, 146.; Duke Albert's letter to the Emperor: he was willing to accept Frederick's offer and lead the imperial armies against Hungary: Beginning (?) of 1487: Károlyi, Adalék, No. XXV.

⁵⁰ Károlyi, Adalék, No. XXVI. He even sent an envoy, the abbot of Admont before committing himself with the Habsburgs. 5 November 1487: Károlyi, Adalék, No. XXVII. He was hesitating over the offer of the Emperor for about 8-9 months and did only undertake the position when Matthias resumed his military campaigns in Austria.

⁵¹ To the city of Nürnberg and the Electors: 18 April 1487: MKL II. NO. 189.; Declaration of war: MKL II. 321–22. The Duke even dispatched troops against Matthias's Lusatian and Silesian territories before officially issuing the act of declaration of war: MKL II. No. 193.

managed to earn was an armistice and a prospect of a future meeting with the Duke of Saxony where the parties were about to have talks.⁵² However, the proposed meeting did not take place, as the Duke was still reluctant to have negotiations with Matthias, though the King of Hungary clutched at every straw and urged him to come to a settlement even after it seemed that the Duke was not willing to come to an agreement.⁵³ Nevertheless, at the end of the year 1487 Matthias succeeded and gained a promise from the Saxon prince that he would contract an armistice.⁵⁴ In this critical situation, Matthias was to lean on his other imperial allies more than ever: he hurried to reconfirm his former commitments with the Bavarian princes, Dukes Albert and George.⁵⁵ Finally, Duke Albert of Saxony – for even as Captain-in-Chief of the imperial forces he never ceased to seek for any chance of a peaceful agreement – contracted an armistice with Matthias. Nevertheless, the Emperor did not acknowledge the armistice and was to resume the war in Austria.⁵⁶

At the end of the 1470s the king made all effort at the Papal court to prevent Johann Beckensloer and his Habsburg patrons from gaining the see of Salzburg.⁵⁷ Matthias gained the Pope's approval to have the "traitor" deprived of his archbishopric.⁵⁸ Matthias also wished to represent himself at the Nürnberg Reichstag in 1481 to be able to reply to the accusations himself and discuss the demands of the Gmunden-Korneuburg treaty with the electors.⁵⁹ However, the Hungarian representatives did not gain admittance to the Diet. As opposed to the fact that the illustrious allies of Matthias, the Wettins, the Wittelsbachs and, for the time being, the Hohenzollerns as well were trying to put pressure on the Diet against Frederick III, the anti-Habsburg efforts failed and the Reichstag declared the King of Hungary an enemy of the Empire.⁶⁰ In vain did Matthias make complaints to the Pope and express his bitter displeasure, the matter came to a stand-

⁵² Matthias to Duke Albert justifying his demands against the Emperor; and, on a proposed peace conference in Waidhofen: 31 August 1487; 14 September 1487: MKL II. Nos. 194.; 197.

⁵³ Matthias to Duke Albert: 7 October–30 November 1487: MKL II. Nos. 199–203.

⁵⁴ The letters of 20 December 1487: MKL II. Nos. 204-5. speak of an armistice contracted before.

⁵⁵ 31 March 1488: MKL II. No. 208.; 7 July 1488: MKL II. No. 212.

⁵⁶ Nehring, *Mátyás külpolitikája*, 113–14.

⁵⁷ 24 September 1481: Nehring, *Angaben*, No. 72.; Also to the Chapter of Salzburg, the same date: Nehring, *Angaben*, No. 73.; 10 December 1481: MKL II. No. 106.; Instructions to his envoy, John Vitéz, bishop of Szerém in regard of the sees of Passau and Salzburg: MKL II. No. 122.; In the same matter to Cardinal Giovanni di Aragonia: April 1482: MKL II. No. 124.; Nehring, *Angaben*, 74a. Another letter with the same matter to the Salzburg chapter: undated [after November 1481] Nehring, *Angaben*, No. 92.

⁵⁸ MKL II. No. 50. The Pope also sent an ambassador to Germany in the affair of the deposition of Beckensloer, Prospero Caffarelli, bishop of Ascoli. MKL II. No. 60. Further letters to the Pope: MKL II. No. 78.

⁵⁹ June 1481: MKL II. No. 76.; Procuration for envoys: July 1481: MKL II. Nos. 87; 89.; Nehring, *Angaben*, Nos. 66-68.; To the Imperial Estates: 22 September 1481: Nehring, *Angaben*, No. 71.

⁶⁰ Horváth, *Mátyás király nyugati*, 90.

still: Hungarian armies were being stationed in Austria, but the Emperor was not to be pressed to meet the demands of the treaty, he was playing the card of drifting out Matthias.⁶¹ The King also resented the activities of the papal envoy to the Reichstag, Urbano Orsini, bishop of Teano, and demanded that Sixtus authorize another ambassador to treat with Frederick III.⁶² The disability and rather, reluctance of the Pope to make efforts for peace also led to Matthias' declaration of war against Frederick III in 1482 and the acceleration of military acts (e.g. the sieges of Markenstein, May 1482; and Hainburg, September 1482).⁶³ Even amidst the Austrian campaign of 1482, Matthias hoped to gain the support of the Imperial estates.⁶⁴

Matthias was also trying to form contacts with those of the former allies of Burgundy who were threatened by the increase of Habsburg power in the Western sphere of the Empire: that is, John, archbishop of Trier, of the House of Baden (1456–1503), and his brother, George, bishop of Metz (1459–84) as well as a member of the Wittelsbach dynasty, Ruprecht, Archbishop of Cologne (1463–80), uncle of Philip, Elector Palatine.⁶⁵ The relationship with elector princes meant a lot for the schemes of Hungary and was highly regarded by Matthias. The King consciously strove to maintain good relationships with potential partners within the Empire, in the first place, ecclesiastical princes who were capable of running a more independent diplomatic track and less subject to the overwhelming influence of the Habsburgs.

Matthias, from 1479 onwards was also allied with Bernhard II von Rohr, Archbishop of Salzburg (1466–82), whom he promoted to the see against the Habsburgs' candidate. In 1480 he did even ask him to enter on a joint campaign against the Habsburgs in Austria.⁶⁶ He also appealed to him to make it possible to use his castles in the Hungarian military operations, to which the Archbishop also agreed. Matthias also sought to ally with another potential partner against the Emperor, Heinrich von Abensberg, bishop of Regensburg.⁶⁷ Accordingly, in the 1480s Matthias was still seeking to keep good relations with the following Prince-Archbishop of Mainz, Berthold von Henneberg (1484–1504).⁶⁸ Nevertheless, he failed, since in two years' time the archbishop chose to back the Habsburgs and in 1486 was very active in securing the election of Maximilian as King of the Romans.⁶⁹ The relationship of Matthias to most of the spiritual princes

⁶¹ September 1481: MKL II. No. 94.

⁶² September 1481: MKL II. No. 95.

⁶³ Matthias's complaint against the bishop of Teano's peace-making negotiations: 20 February 1482: MKL II. No. 112.; Declaration of war: March 1482: MKL II. Nos. 113.; 127–30.

⁶⁴ 28 September 1482: MKL II. No. 133.; Nehring, *Angaben*, No. 119.

⁶⁵ Matthias to Ruprecht, Prince Archbishop of Cologne: 1479: MKL I. No. 320.

⁶⁶ MKL I. No. 193.; 19 September 1480: MKL II. No. 35.

⁶⁷ 11 April 1483: MKL II. No. 143.

⁶⁸ 18 November 1484: MKL II. No. 175.

⁶⁹ Kubinyi, *Matthias*, 146.

within the Empire was always unsteady, that is why the king needed newer and newer potential partners. Early in the mid-1470s, Matthias sought to contract an anti-Jagiellonian alliance with the Teutonic Knights and their potential partner, Nicolaus von Tüngen, bishop of Ermland.⁷⁰ Grand Master Heinrich Reffle von Richtenberg offered Matthias an imperial vicariate in Prussia if he would assist them against the Poles in the „Pfaffenkrieg”.⁷¹ The King wished to keep up the alliance of the mid-1470s even at the end of the decade and sought at a number of times to reconfirm his agreements with the Teutons and the bishop of Ermland.⁷² Matthias did also strive to lean on a number of imperial cities (in the first place Nürnberg).⁷³ The King of Hungary also sought to maintain warm relations with influential members of the German clergy such as Philipp von Henneberg, bishop of Bamberg (1475–87), Rudolf von Scherenberg, bishop of Würzburg (1466–95) and Wilhelm von Reichenau, bishop of Eichstädt (1464–97). Matthias was also constantly searching for potential allies within the German princes, such as Heinrich II von Plauen, Burggrave of Meissen (1447–84); Ludwig, Landgrave of Hessen (1474–78); Ulrich V, Count of Württemberg.⁷⁴

The allies were bound with a number of marriages. Duke Louis IX of Lower Bavaria-Landshut married Amalia of Saxony, sister of Ernest and Albert of Saxony. Otto of Pfalz-Mosbach was a nephew of Louis IX of Lower Bavaria. Louis' daughter, Katherine married Philip, Elector Palatine. Ernest, Elector of Saxony married Elisabeth, sister of Albert IV, Duke of Upper Bavaria-Munich. Ulrich V, Count of Württemberg (1442–80) married Elisabeth, Duchess of Lower Bavaria-Landshut.

RAPPROCHEMENT WITH FRANCE

The paper tries to explain the reasons why the king got disillusioned in the expectations to get France in his coalition, mainly because of the Valois stand against his traditional partner in Italy, Naples. Matthias would never have let the French grab the throne of Naples since it would have meant a total subversion of the European balance. That is why in Italy Matthias was constantly promoting the cause of his “original” allies, Ferrara, Milan and Naples, and I would not agree that it was largely due to the influence of Queen Beatrix, but I find it was a definite, independent stand the king was maintaining throughout his reign.

⁷⁰ Jörg K. Hoensch, *Matthias Corvinus. Diplomat, Feldherr und Mäzen*. Graz–Wien–Köln, 1998. 141.

⁷¹ Galla, Ferenc, “Mátyás király és a Szentszék”, In: *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv*, I. p. 95–170. 158.

⁷² Military alliance with Grand Master Martin Truchsess von Wetzhausen zu Dachsbach: 2 February 1479: MKL II. No. 242.; and with Nicolaus von Tüngen: 24 March 1476: MKL II. No. 239.

⁷³ MKL I. Nos. 244.; 254.

⁷⁴ Listed in the *Titula* of the Chancery Register published by Nehring, *Angaben*, 92–94.

Matthias was trying to get allies against Emperor Frederick III and the Jagiellonians, while the Valois were also striving to form an anti-Habsburg block amongst the Imperial princes. Since the situation became acute for Louis XI as Maximilian grabbed Burgundy and clashed with the Valois. This brought forth an abrupt change in the traditional direction of Burgundian policy. In an awkward way Louis put himself into the position of his greatest enemy, Charles the Bold and continued his legacy. As a counter-weight against the enormously increased Habsburg power and territorial growth, Louis XI was to look for partners and allies. That is why Matthias, who also had to face the same problem, expected to bind him in an alliance. They had to take the same political stand to oppose the increase of Habsburg grandeur.

The change of the Hungarian stand towards France is shown by a letter of 30 May 1477 to the *Eidgenossenschaft* in which Matthias proved that he had not had an alliance against the king of France, with whom the Swiss were allied. However, Matthias' French relationship was always instable because of the Valois' attitude towards Naples. The titular monarchical house of Naples-Sicily, headed by *Le bon roi René* of Anjou were in constant antagonism with the Aragonese. In 1477–78 Matthias tried to forge a new marriage scheme and worked for a compromise to reconcile the French-Aragonese antagonism. He offered a betrothal between Louis XI's niece, Anne of Savoy, living in the Valois court and Frederick, Prince of Taranto, Matthias' brother in law.⁷⁵ They seemed to come to compromise, the couple married in 1478.

However, after the Pazzi-murder a new axis was formed in Italy, Venice, Florence and Milan allied against the Pope and Naples, which also touched the French relations.⁷⁶ Matthias chose to support Naples and stand against Milan, which, seemed favourable for the Valois as well, as Louis XI, with Savoyard support at his back, sought to find new ways to expand towards Milanese territory. In addition, Venice needed also to get closer to Frederick III, to be sealed with an alliance in 1483.⁷⁷

However, the death of Princess Anne in 1480 broke all the hopes of Matthias. The French diplomacy returned to the old path of their anti-Neapolitan policies. René II, Duke of Lorraine-Bar (1473/83–1508) bequeathed all his rights for the crown of Naples to dauphin Charles, who started an aggressive policy against Naples. In addition, Charles VIII allied with the Serenissima, which was a threat to Hungary.

⁷⁵ Matthias' letter to Prince Frederick: Nehring, Angaben, No. 16.

⁷⁶ On the diplomatic consequences of the Pazzi-murder, see Attila Györkös' article in the present volume: „La guerre des Pazzi et les relations franco-hongroises (1478–1482)”.

⁷⁷ Venice also set out to promote the candidature of Johann Beckensloer to the see of Salzburg: Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek Mátyás király korából, 1458–90, Ed. Nagy Iván–Nyáry Albert. I–IV. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica IV. Acta extera.) Budapest, 1875–78. [hereinafter MDE] III. No. 16.

The French alliance was put on the agenda again when Mary of Burgundy died in 1482, and Maximilian became the only lord of the whole Burgundian inheritance, and the king of France found that the danger of the expansion of Habsburg power was a much greater and sought to renew the negotiations with Hungary. Nevertheless, the talks were again doomed to failure since the French did not agree to any compromise. Louis XI insisted on declaring the ruler of Naples as illegitimate and proclaimed his son, Charles as the sole rightful ruler.

The year 1482 saw a complete disillusion in Louis XI's policy. Matthias felt betrayed as Maximilian came to terms with King Louis in December 1483 (the treaty of Arras).⁷⁸ From 1483 on Matthias was to stand against the French grandeur in Italy, also fearing the break-up of the European balance and was to strengthen his alliances with Naples, Milan, Ferrara, Florence and Urbino against France.⁷⁹ In 1482 he also offered military aid to Duke Ercole d'Este against Venice and provided troops for Naples.⁸⁰ Reciprocally, Lodovico il Moro Sforza also appealed for Matthias' aid against Venice.⁸¹ The years of 1483–85 saw a Milanese-Hungarian rapprochement, to be sealed with the engagement of Prince John Corvin and Bianca Maria Sforza.⁸²

Milan's rapprochement with France turned Naples against Milan. Matthias did not wish to sacrifice his Milanese concord on the altar of his Aragonese contacts, since he was still hoping to get the French involved in an anti-Habsburg front.⁸³ The traditional ally, Ferrara also assisted Matthias in his French dealings.⁸⁴ Matthias also asked the Sforzas to mediate in Italy and France for the release of Prince Cem.⁸⁵ In 1486 he issued a special envoy to Milan, to negotiate over the auxiliary troops to be sent to aid the King of Naples, with the floating of which he also desired to put pressure on the Papacy and France.⁸⁶ A few months later he did ask Milan to enter an alliance against the Pope, and, dispatched a new

⁷⁸ Charles Ross, *Richard III*. Los Angeles, 1984. 192.

⁷⁹ 1480: MDE II. No. 287.; Matthias to Federico da Montefeltre: 18 October 1478: Nehring, Angaben, No. 15.; To Milan: 10 June 1482: MKL II. No. 132. See Teke, Zsuzsa, „Az itáliai államok és Mátyás”, In: *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára*, Ed. Rázsó, Gyula, V. Molnár, László. Budapest, 1990. 245–76. 263–65.

⁸⁰ MKL II. No. 131.; III. Nos. 7.; 11. ; To Naples: 1486: MDE III. Nos. 66.; 75.; 91.

⁸¹ E. Kovács, Corvin János, 962.

⁸² MDE III. Nos. 36.; 40.

⁸³ E. Kovács, Corvin János, 962.

⁸⁴ 1486: MDE III. Nos. 75.; 79.; Secret commission to the Ferrarese ambassador, Cesare Valentini, to oversee the „secret matter”, i.e. the Cem-affair: MDE III. Nos. 82–3.; To Ercole d'Este: 15 February 1486: MKL II. No. 176.; Another envoy to Ferrara to treat in the Cem-affair: 2 April 1486: MKL II. No. 179. Hungarian-Ferrarese embassies, 1485–88: MDE III. Nos. 60; 61.; 63.; 64.; 74.; 80.; 89.; 90.; 91. ; MKL II. Nos. 188.; 195.; 1489: MKL II. Nos. 219–20. Teke, Az itáliai államok, 266.

⁸⁵ 10 June 1486: MKL II. No. 181.

⁸⁶ Procuration: 1 July 1486: MKL II. No. 182.

envoy, Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad in 1487.⁸⁷ Matthias expected the Sforzas to help in the rapprochement with France, as Charles VIII and Milan were at war with Maximilian in 1486–87. Filipec was to travel to France just after he finished his business,⁸⁸ then, from France he was to travel to Milan again in the autumn and had Bianca Maria and John Corvin *per procuram* married.⁸⁹ When Filipec left for France, Matthias, wishing to have an almost permanent presence at the Sforza court, dispatched another envoy, Nikolaus Köckeritz, who was to go over to Switzerland as soon as he finished his mission, in the summer-autumn of 1487, to negotiate over the proposed Milanese-Swiss-Hungarian league (see below). In 1488 Matthias also assured Milan that he was staunchly sticking to the alliance.⁹⁰ In 1489–90 Milan did also wish to hold up the warm relationship with Hungary.

In a word, the Burgundian-Neapolitan coalition served right well after the death of Charles the Bold, and Matthias was justified in his expectations and he kept the same diplomatic track in his Italian policies. Nevertheless, Matthias as a realist and a pragmatic politician saw that he was not to get involved in the incessant quarrels of the Italian states. Apart from supporting his traditional ally, Naples from afar, he did not wish to get entangled in the instable Italian leagues, but sought to move his priorities over to Central Europe.

France proved not the most ideal ally for Matthias, since the Valois were not present within the Empire, and Matthias' prime motive was to find real partners in the political theatre of the Reich. What is more, the relationship seemed at a loss since in 1486 Charles VIII started a campaign against Naples. In 1487 Matthias made a last attempt and called for the king of France to release Prince Cem, but received negative answer (see below). Matthias was however right in his judgement regarding France: soon, in 1488 Charles VIII came to an understanding with Maximilian who shut his eyes to the French campaigns in Italy for the next years.⁹¹

THE SWISS REALTIONSHIP

Up until the death of Charles the Bold, Matthias was persistently making all effort to keep the Burgundian alliance alive. In 1476 he sensed danger and warned Charles the Bold not to engage into a campaign against the Swiss. Matthias, as a “prophet”, was able to predict the fate of Charles. He felt that the duke was now

⁸⁷ To Gian Galeazzo Sforza: 9 August 1486: MKL II. No. 183.; Procuracy for Filipec: 13 January 1487: MKL II. No. 187.; Filipec's mission: 15 August 1487: MDE IV: No. 171.

⁸⁸ On the mission see Attila Györkös, *Prince Djem et les relations franco-hongroises, 1486–1490*.

⁸⁹ E. Kovács, *Corvin János*, 966.

⁹⁰ 9 December 1488: MKL II. No. 215. Dispatch of an envoy to Milan: MKL II. No. 216. E. Kovács, *Corvin János*, 965. *Embassies*: MKL II. Nos. 218.; 225.

⁹¹ Horváth, *Mátyás király nyugati*, 92.

trying to accomplish something quite beyond his resources.⁹² He felt out that the Emperor was trying to turn the Swiss against Burgundy, having *semper presidia imperii*. The King expresses that the Duke had been “so gravely deceived by the Emperor”. He warned the Prince: “if you attack that invincible people, and you cannot win over them”. “You will either never escape, or escape only with damage and shame [...] you are exposed to the loss of your life [...] and all your people will be slain”. “It will be turned into a tale how a mighty prince was overcome by rustics”.⁹³ His warning was futile. A few weeks later, on 22 June 1476 the Duke suffered a crushing defeat “from the hands of peasants” on the battlefield of Murten.

The catastrophic defeats of the Burgundian army changed everything in the political constellation. Matthias still felt responsible for his ally, and did not wish him to perish at the hands of the Swiss mercenaries. He made a last attempt to save time for Burgundy and bring forward peace between Charles the Bold and the Swiss: in June 1476 he offered his help and sent Georg von Stein as a mediator between the parties.⁹⁴ Matthias wished to keep his commitments towards Burgundy, while at the same time also desired to open towards the Swiss, feeling out that the clash of Burgundy and the *Eidgenossenschaft* was only good for Frederick III. All was in vain, Charles perished on the field of Nancy in 1477. Now, as the Habsburgs being on their way to grab the Burgundian inheritance, Matthias was bound to contact the Swiss again, and have negotiations on new grounds.

A most interesting piece of evidence is Matthias' letter of 30 May 1477.⁹⁵ He wrote it to the *Eidgenossenschaft*, proving that he had not had an alliance against the king of France, with whom the Swiss were allied. He says that he *had sent* Georg von Stein *previously to the Duke of Burgundy*, he speaks of his alliance which “he had been about to conclude with his brother” Charles, that is, one

⁹² 7 May 1476. MKL, II. No. 239.; MDE II. No. 212.

⁹³ „Mirari satis non possumus, quod ita notorie decepta vestra fraternitatis, tantoque cum damno et dedecore prius seducta, nunc quoque ad talem labyrinthum trahi se permisit, ex quo vix aut nunquam exire posit, aut summis cum jacturis cum verecundia illi sit exeundum. [...] cum populo illo indomito insuperabilique bella agere conduceret, quos intellexerit forte sicut solet bellorum eventus esse dubius vincere posse, vinci non metueret. [...] Per quam et regna et bona et personam ipsam suam vestra certis periculis exposituram noverat [...] homines illi exterminarentur. [...] tantum principem a rusticis superatum, quos vicisse nullus aut parvus ad modum honor, a quibus vinci turpe semper fuit”. *ibid.*

⁹⁴ „So hoffen wir durch erber zimlich wege di sachen zwischen eu zu früntlichen vrtage zu bringen; und getrauen, zwieveln auch nicht daran, ir werdet uns solchen gütlischen handel nit abs-laen, und eu in solchen sweren leufften und anligen der Cristenheit als frumen cristen lewten in sulchen geschwinden lewffen der ganzen Cristenheit wol gepüret, auffrechtlich hallten und zimlich wege nicht verschlachen. Das wollen wir gen eu und den ewrn, wo esz u schulden kumpt, gnedlich erkennen”: 10 June 1476: MKL I. No. 240.

⁹⁵ „[...] sunder so senndten wir den edeln unsern lieben getrewen Jörgen von Stein unsern ratt vordem zu unsern bruder dem herzog von Burgund nit wider den gannanten künig [France] noch ew.” 30 May 1477. MKL I. No. 250.

could feel he must have been alive for the time being! It must have been known by the end of May in Hungary that the Duke had died months before in January, though the wording does not even mention him as “late”, i.e. in a way, very surprisingly. On 13 June 1477 Matthias sent another letter to the Swiss cantons, giving a detailed explanation of the causes of his war against the Emperor.⁹⁶ When he received answer in June, he dispatched a Hungarian embassy, on 2 July to negotiate for a treaty, on to which the *Eidgenossenschaft* replied positively on 9 July 1477.⁹⁷ It was only on 1 March 1478 that the envoy returned, and Matthias commissioned a new envoy, Jakob Renetzhauser to continue the talks to have the Swiss involved in an alliance with Sigismund of Tyrol and Albert of Bavaria as well as with Milan.⁹⁸ Renetzhauser, however, did not arrive to Switzerland until November, and had long-lasting talks again in Zürich and Luzern up until the end of March 1479.⁹⁹ Then, in August he dispatched Renetzhauser again.¹⁰⁰ The *Eidgenossenschaft* answered positively, though they did not commit themselves in a real military alliance – it was neither a “Bund”, nor a mutual defence treaty, a “Vereinigung” – but one contracted for mutual friendship (“früntliche verständniss und eynung”) for ten years.¹⁰¹ However, it was Matthias’ success that the Swiss undertook not to let mercenaries into the Imperial army.¹⁰²

After 1477 the Swiss found a new, even more dangerous enemy and sought to move towards the potential opponents of the Habsburgs, Matthias and Sigismund of Tyrol.¹⁰³ At the beginning of the 1480s Matthias wished to get them enter into a united front against the Habsburgs.¹⁰⁴ In 1481 the king asked their understanding against the accusations of Frederick III.¹⁰⁵ Matthias was in need of a reconfirmation of the rapprochement, and, parallelly with an ambassiad to the king of

⁹⁶ Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 75–6. Also see: Johannes Janssen (Hrsg.), *Frankfurts Reichsrespondenz nebst anderen verwandten Aktenstücken von 1376–1519*. Bd. I. Freiburg i. Br. 1863. 381.

⁹⁷ Szabó, Károly, „Egy schweizi követ Mátyás király udvarában”, *Budapesti Szemle* 14 (1862) 142–167. 145.

⁹⁸ The embassy of Jakob Renetzhauser: 9 September 1478: MKL I. No. 265. Also see Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 77. In 1479 Matthias also issued a letter to the *Eidgenossenschaft* on behalf of an imperial bishop, a follower of his: MKL I. No. 296.; Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 80. Sigismund of Tyrol did not feel secure in the growth of the power of his cousin, Maximilian, and approached the members of the anti-Frederick block, Matthias as well. In 1480 the Swiss offered to make up an agreement between Matthias and Sigismund. Parallelly with Frederick’s alliance with Venice to assist, Tyrol got involved in a war with Venice. MKL II. No. 10.; Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 84.

⁹⁹ 26 March 1479.; ratified in October only: Szabó, Egy schweizi, 145.

¹⁰⁰ 23 August 1479: MKL I. No. 299.; Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 81.

¹⁰¹ Szabó, Egy schweizi, 145–46.

¹⁰² Horváth, Mátyás király nyugati, 89.

¹⁰³ Renate Schweers, *Albrecht von Bonstetten und die vorländische Historiographie zwischen Burgunder- und Schwabenkriegen*. (Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit, 6) Münster, 2005. 35.; Horváth, Mátyás király nyugati, 90.

¹⁰⁴ MKL II. No. 9.; Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 83–4. Also see: *Frankfurts Reichsrespondenz*, 385.

¹⁰⁵ MKL II. 83.; Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 85.

France, sent another embassy to the confederates, Renetzhauser again, now with the purpose of entering into a anti-Habsburg alliance with Louis XI as well.¹⁰⁶ However, the Swiss were very cautious, did not undertake to openly supply mercenaries against Frederick III and were not willing to enter into an alliance with France. In the negotiations, the envoy got as far as putting the question of a mutual defence alliance on the agenda, and there was even a draft of an agreement, in principle against the Ottomans, discussed on 3 August 1481, but it was never realized.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in 1481–82 one is to learn that King Matthias had a considerable number of Swiss mercenaries in his army, since in the negotiations with the Neapolitan-Ferrarese alliance to give military assistance against Venice he proposed to attack the Republic with 10,000 Swiss infantry!¹⁰⁸ Nonetheless, he asked such a huge amount – 100,000 florins – for his assistance that it was almost out of the question that he would supply a force in fact.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, the parties were maintaining warm relationship during the mid-1480s and the Swiss showed signs that they were sticking to the demands of the ten-year, 1479 treaty. In 1484 the confederate cantons appealed to Matthias to take an Austrian nobleman, Hans Gradner under his protection, to which the King replied willingly.¹¹⁰ However, the ascension of Maximilian to the Roman kingship brought an abrupt change in the attitude of the Swiss towards Matthias. The King of the Romans set out to organize a pro-Habsburg league in Switzerland, which was in no time opposed by the kings of France and Hungary.¹¹¹ The sources prove that a certain number of the leading dignitaries of the Swiss cantons received for a long time annuities from Hungary. A number of councillors had already been receiving pensions from Matthias as early as 1479.¹¹² In 1486 Matthias sent an envoy to Switzerland and had the pensions confirmed, and even increased.¹¹³ In 1487 as some of the cantons restarted the negotiations with Maximilian, Matthias sent another embassy.¹¹⁴ In return in 1487–88 Zürich and Luzern sent envoys to Matthias, of which a memorandum written by some Mel-

¹⁰⁶ Nehring, Mátyás külpolitikája, 111.

¹⁰⁷ Szabó, Egy schweizi, 146.; 150.

¹⁰⁸ 30 April and 1 May 1482.: MDE III. Nos. 10. 13.; Fraknói, *Hunyadi Mátyás* [<http://mek.oszk.hu/05700/05736/> - 28 October 2008].

¹⁰⁹ E. Kovács, Péter, „Magyarország és Nápoly politikai kapcsolatai a Mátyás-korban”, In: *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc Emlékére*, Eds. Fodor, Pál, Géza Pálffy, Tóth, István György. Budapest, 2002. 229–48. 242.

¹¹⁰ 9 July 1484: MKL II. No. 167.; Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 87–8.

¹¹¹ Traugott Probst, „Die Beziehungen der Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft zum deutschen Reiche im den Jahren 1486–99”, *Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte* 15 (1866) 67–181. 82.

¹¹² Szabó, Egy schweizi, 146. Some canton leaders also received annuity from France. Probst, *Die Beziehungen*, 83.

¹¹³ Szabó, Egy schweizi, 147.

¹¹⁴ The embassy of Nicolaus Köckeritz/Käkeritz with a retinue of 20 knights: Segesser, *Die Beziehungen*, 89–90.

chior Russ is preserved in the Luzern archives. The confederates also contracted treaties with Matthias' allies, George, Duke of Bavaria and Philip, Palatine of the Rhine in 1487.¹¹⁵ The envoys were to assure Matthias that the Swiss would not give military assistance to the Emperor, and would not conclude any kind of an alliance with Maximilian "in order that the king of Hungary be able to fight in Austria more easily", for which they handed over the receipt as well, asking an annual pension of 2–3000 Hungarian florins.¹¹⁶ The *Eidgenossenschaft* expressed that "they were rejoiced to hear that the King of Hungary had fortunately occupied Austria and would also be pleased to have him as their neighbour".¹¹⁷ They also proposed to prevent the *Schwäbische Bund* from giving aid to the Emperor in his struggles in Austria, threatening them at the back.¹¹⁸ The Swiss envoys were also authorized to negotiate over the sale of the treasures of Charles the Bold, jewels, diamonds etc. they obtained at the battle of Nancy to Matthias, whom they thought the best one to offer them. Nevertheless, the prospects of a Hungarian-Swiss league got broken upon the conflict of Luzern and Lodovico Sforza.¹¹⁹

POLICY TOWARDS ENGLAND

In the late 1480s the King of Hungary did even turn to the new king of England, Henry VII Tudor to coordinate their common policies against Maximilian who promoted the concerns of the enemy of the crown of England, the House of York. We know of an embassy from Matthias to Henry VII Tudor in 1488, to congratulate the king on his ascension – and as it was just after the battle of Stoke, on his victory over the rebels –, though, unfortunately, nothing more concrete has survived of the mission.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, I am trying to shed light to the political background of the Tudor-Hunyadi connections.

After the death of Charles the Bold the English diplomacy insisted on continuing the same pro-Burgundian policy and tried to prevent the marriage of Mary with Maximilian. In the same way, Matthias' greatest fear in 1477 was that Maximilian would marry the heiress of Charles. That is why he did everything to close the archduke into the city of Vienna under siege in the spring of 1477, but

¹¹⁵ Probst, *Die Beziehungen*, 98–9.

¹¹⁶ On the pension see: Albert Büchi, *Albrecht Von Bonstetten: Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Des Humanismus in Der Schweiz*. Frauenfeld, 1889. 84.

¹¹⁷ The Memorandum of Melchior Russ, published and translated by Károly Szabó: Szabó, *Egy schweizi*, 149.

¹¹⁸ Probst, *Die Beziehungen*, 84.

¹¹⁹ Nehring, *Mátyás külpolitikája*, 114.

¹²⁰ Bernardi Andreae Tholosatis, *Vita Henrici Septimi*. In: *Memorials of the Reign of Henry VII*. Ed. James Gairdner. (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores. Rolls Series, 10) London, 1857. 47.

somehow the duke was able to flee from the blockade. Even before Maximilian married Mary the dowager duchess, Margaret of York appealed for help to Edward IV, and let him know that Mary would have welcomed a suitable English consort.¹²¹ Edward was to promote one of the most influential members of the Yorkist government, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, his brother-in-law as candidate for Mary of Burgundy, though he was but a 'petty earl and she the greatest heiress of her time'.¹²² The Yorkist were definitely against the Habsburg succession: Edward did send an envoy to Flanders and promised military assistance.

Nonetheless, Mary of Burgundy, having no funds and resources, decided to accept Maximilian. Towards the end of the year 1478, Maximilian, desperately searching for allies against France, proposed a marriage alliance between an English prince and his sister, Kunigunde, daughter of Frederick III. Maximilian was in urgent need of support. However, Edward was more interested in marrying the prince of Wales to a sister of Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza, that is, he wished to maintain the "old" Burgundian-Neapolitan-Milanese axis as opposed to the growing Habsburg sphere of power.¹²³ The Milanese alliance was being floated on the political agenda versus the Habsburg-connection.

However, it was not until the end of 1479 that Edward IV had to abandon his old policy and approach towards the new lord of Burgundy. Edward IV did not break his contacts with the former Burgundian partners, such as Hungary abruptly. We know of the mission of some James Radclyffe, who aimed to fight the Turks in Hungary in 1477, who might have been acting as an agent of England.¹²⁴ Even months before the alliance with Maximilian the king of England made a last attempt to approach Matthias: on 17 April 1479 he sent ambassadors to treat with Hungary.¹²⁵ The members of the embassy – John, Abbot of Abingdon, John Shirwood, archdeacon of Richmond, apostolic protonotary, the would-be bishop of Durham, a pillar of the Yorkist government and John Gyles, decretorum doctor, a papal tax collector in England – demonstrate that the king expected a lot of this mission. Probably Matthias, under the threat of an Anglo-Habsburg alliance, did not give favourable answer to the English commissioners. The envoys were also commissioned to treat with the King of Naples and other Italian princes – that is, Edward wished to negotiate with the members of the former Burgundian alli-

¹²¹ Charles Ross, *Edward IV*, Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1974. 250.

¹²² Michael Hicks, „Woodville, Anthony, second Earl Rivers (c.1440–1483)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edn, 2008 [hereinafter ODNB] [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29937> – 13 March 2009].

¹²³ Ross, *Edward IV*, 246.

¹²⁴ The National Archives/Public Record Office [hereinafter PRO], Kew, Surrey, UK. Exchequer: Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents: E 135/19/63.

¹²⁵ Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae*. I–XX. London, 1704–35. XII. 108.

ance, still addressed *confratres nostri*, before committing himself to Maximilian.¹²⁶ There was another English mission, to Pope Sixtus IV, perhaps by the above mentioned commissioners in 1479, of which the Pope duly notified Matthias.¹²⁷ The English diplomacy set out at that time to support the league of Naples and Sixtus IV, of which, the Pope hurried to let his partner, Hungary know right away.

It was just after these missions, and the failure of efforts to hold the former Burgundian block together that the English diplomacy started talks with Maximilian. Lastly, though in a way reluctantly the Yorks were bound to acknowledge the Habsburgs as their old-new “Burgundian” partners. In a word, the Yorkist orientation meant now the opposite of the mid-1470s platform for Hungary as far as it was to maintain the cause of Maximilian.

In 1478–79 Edward IV signed a secret treaty of friendship and alliance with Maximilian.¹²⁸ To follow up, a daughter of Edward, Anne was to wed the eldest son of Mary and Maximilian, Philip the Handsome.¹²⁹ Another marriage was still under discussion, between Edward V and Kunigunde, a sister of Maximilian, archduke of Austria, which meant a threat to Hungary as well. The turnover of the Yorkist policy is shown by the fact that the former marriage negotiations between Edward V and daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan were broken. In August 1480 England openly declared for the Duke against France.¹³⁰ The year 1481 saw increased pressure from Maximilian for more active English measures against France.¹³¹ Nevertheless, Edward IV did not wish to burn all the bridges behind, and did not commit himself in an aggressive alliance against France. Edward assisted Maximilian with 6,000 English archers, yet made it clear that the troops he supplied to Flanders were not intended to be used against France.¹³² King Richard III resumed the pro-Habsburg policy and in 1483 reconfirmed the Habsburg-alliance. In the years 1483–84 Maximilian was again doing his utmost to persuade Richard even to invade France.¹³³

¹²⁶ *ibid.* Shirwood’s selection for the mission might have been that he, as a great humanist and collector of codices also wished to travel to the Buda court of Matthias himself. On Shirwood see A. J. Pollard, „Shirwood, John (d. 1493)”, ODNB [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25447> – 13 March 2009.]

¹²⁷ Letter to Matthias: *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae ad Romanos Pontefices datae et ab eis acceptae*. 1458–1490. Ed. Fraknói, Vilmos. (Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni illustrantia. Ser. 1., Tom. 6.) Budapest, 1891. CIII.

¹²⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 95–97.; Marriage treaty: 5 August 1480: Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 142–45.; 212–13.

¹²⁹ Marriage treaty: 5 August 1480: Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 142–45.; 212–13.

¹³⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 123–39.

¹³¹ Joseph Calmette–Georges Perinelle, *Louis XI et l'Angleterre, 1461–1483*. (Mémoires et documents, 11.) Paris, 1930. 247.

¹³² Ross, *Edward IV*, 286.

¹³³ James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*. I–II. (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores. Rolls Series, 24) London, 1861–63. II. 23–4.

In the Habsburg-Yorkist rapprochement the anti-Habsburg continental powers, in this way, Hungary also had to search for other partners, and after the fall of the Yorkists at the battle of Bosworth they hoped to find it in the Tudors.

Henry VII Tudor first moves in foreign policy were designed to ensure a breathing space.¹³⁴ The weaving of conspiracies against the Tudors on an international scale, with Habsburg support was a most serious threat to his security. Maximilian promoted and financed the cause of the Yorkist pretenders, centring in the Habsburg court. First, in 1486 Henry VII sent emissaries to the imperial diet in 1486 to come to an agreement with Maximilian, but it was only a short-lived result, since the Duke went on promoting the causes of the Yorkist claimants.¹³⁵ That is why the Tudors needed to find new allies at the back of Maximilian. From 1487 on he provided expeditionary armies and supplied arms against Henry VII. The most dangerous venture, that of Lambert Simnel, with the backing Maximilian's 2000 Landsknechts was broken down in 1487 at Stoke.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the Tudor rule had to face recurrent waves of discontent and numerous riots in favour of the Yorks.

The Tudor policy wished to gain new partners in Europe. That is why Henry VII must have welcomed Matthias' offer for a rapprochement. He also needed continental aid since the Scots began to dabble in Yorkist plots. The Tudor government made sure to reconfirm the alliance with France – fearing of the Yorkist-Burgundian-Habsburg league, which put it on the same anti-Habsburg track with Hungary.¹³⁷ The common anti-Habsburg platform between Hungary and Tudor England was clear. The Duke of Burgundy could also feel out the dangers lying in the understanding of two of his enemies in the West and the East, and even in autumn 1487 sent an envoy to the King of England.¹³⁸

More or less at the same time with the battle of Stoke, Henry's envoy in France, Sir John Kendall was instructed to treat with the ambassador of Matthias in Laval. In 1487 the Venetian ambassador in France, Hieronimo Zorzi/Geronimo Giorgio reported to the Signoria of the Hungarian embassy to France. (The reports were duly copied and sent to the Venetian ambassador in England.) The Venetian ambassador found it very important to let his "colleague" in England know of the embassy of Jan Filipec to Laval and his negotiations with Charles VIII. The Venetian diplomacy was interested to put an obstacle in the scheme of Matthias to take over "the custody of the Turk's brother (Zizim)". It is made absolutely clear in the report that the Signoria instructed her ambassador "to by all ways and means endeavour to prevent him [the Hungarian ambassador] from at-

¹³⁴ S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*. London, 1972. (English Monarchs Series) 280. 279.

¹³⁵ Kubinyi, Matthias, 147.

¹³⁶ Roger Lockyer–Andrew Thrush, *Henry VII*. Harlow, 1997. (Seminar Studies in History) 75–6.

¹³⁷ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 278.

¹³⁸ Bernard Andreae, *Vita Henrici VII*, 57.; *Letters and papers*, I. 52–53.

taining his object".¹³⁹ The reason why Zorzi in no time hurried to send a report to England and have the London ambassador of the Serenissima learn of the Hungarian embassy is that the Signoria was well aware of the close relationship of Matthias and Henry VII Tudor and they were also threatened by the prospect that with the intermediation of the English envoy in France King Charles VIII might be influenced to hand over the illustrious "guest" of his. That is why the Venetian ambassador was also reporting on the activities of the English envoy, Sir John Kendall, Turcopolier, the would-be Prior of the Knights of St. John in England. Kendall was also authorized as a papal nuncius as well as an envoy of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John to treat with the king of France and Hungary over the custody of the Prince.¹⁴⁰ It was not by chance that the King of England dispatched Sir John Kendall, an adherent of the Tudor government, a noted administrator and wished also to be informed of the talks of the bishop of Várad.¹⁴¹ That is why Kendall was to travel together with Filipec, not to leave him for about two weeks, most probably to be able to report to Henry VII any advancement in the affair. The King of France received the Hungarian and the English agents together in Angers. Henry needed precise information on the negotiations of Matthias and Charles VIII in order that he would be able to react if Matthias could have made France to surrender the Prince. The Venetian ambassador also reported that the Signoria was to take the role of the papal nuncius and his Hospitaller and English political background very seriously. It was good news that he had not arrived yet, "there are no tidings of him". That is why the Venetian ambassador first made all effort to prevent the English Hospitaller from meeting the Hungarian envoy and reaching the French court. He also noted that "the King [of France], the Chancellor, and other noblemen suspect that [that he had not arrived yet] has been a device of mine to thwart the negotiations of the King of Hungary". Venice was much concerned to put an obstacle to the cooperation of Hungarian and English diplomacy in the Cem-affair. In a way it seems from the Venetian report that the French government might have intended to surrender Prince Cem to Matthias. The Venetian ambassador was informed "by the Hungarian that the French court gave him hopes of the custody of Zizim", and the king of France was measuring the alternative of handing over the prince since he "had taken 26 days' time for his reply and had sent a messenger to learn Zizim's wishes [!] and "[...] had ascertained from a trustworthy person that Zizim was willing to go to the King of Hungary [...] he said that in France he is a lost man and that the

¹³⁹ 15 August 1487: *Calendar to the English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*. Brown, R., ed. Vol. I. (1202–1509). London, 1864. [hereinafter CSPV] I. No. 522.

¹⁴⁰ The answer of the Doge [Agostino Barbarigo] and the Senate to Hieronimo Zorzi: 15 September 1487: CSPV I. No. 523.

¹⁴¹ On Kendall see: Jürgen Sarnowsky, „Kendall, John (d. 1501)”, ODNB [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15349 – 13 March 2009]

promises made to him had not been observed". That is why Venice had to do her best to hinder the cooperation of Kendall and Filipec, which might have strengthened the negotiating position of Hungary and the support from England and the Knights of St. John might have finally eased the surrender of the Prince. This is the reason why the report was dispatched right away to England, to the Venetian ambassador, to let him know of the state of affairs and ask him to report any kind of English background activity in the affair from Westminster. It seems there might have been a chance that France would hand the prince over. Zorzi also speaks of the advice of Prior "Guy de Blanchefort who had Zizim in custody" to "surrender Zizim to the King of Hungary". True to say, the surrender of Cem would have turned the whole European political constellation upside down, and the Serenissima would have been ready to do everything to prevent it.

Zorzi was then working hard to convince the French diplomacy and even Prince Cem, through intermediaries that the King of Hungary "wanted to deliver him to the Turk for the sole purpose of making an agreement with the Turk", in which case, was putting now pressure on Charles VIII at the same time, "the King of France would break his promise and place the whole of Christendom in very manifest peril, and by such proceeding he would *ill* become the most Christian King".¹⁴² The ambassador "endeavoured to demonstrate the disadvantages and perils" to the Regent, Anne de Beaujeu "which might result to Christendom and the shame to the King of France were Zizim delivered to the King of Hungary". He also "exerted himself to induce" a courtier of Anne de Beaujeu to admit these arguments, who in return offered "to persuade the King and Madame de Beaujeu to the desired result". The Venetian ambassador reports that Filipec also "promised to make her a considerable present", and states that the regent had already received money from Matthias: "besides what she has already had", since she "is very avaricious, and does anything for money". He also reported that the regent should be promised even more money, otherwise she "may, for gain, consent to Zizim being surrendered to the King of Hungary".¹⁴³

The situation was vital for the Signoria, it was fearing that the English Hospitaller might somehow put pressure on the French to the surrender of Cem. The Doge, Agostino Barbarigo and the Signoria answered the ambassador right away: he was instructed to remain with the King, the Hungarian and the English envoys. However, the Signoria was in fact worried that the King of France might surrender the prince, what is also demonstrated in the wording and a very pessimistic colour of the dispatch: "should the ambassador perceive that neither justice nor any act of his are of use, and that *no hope remains* of obtaining the suit

¹⁴² CSVP I. No. 522.

¹⁴³ The French sources partly published by Simonyi also speak of Filipec's negotiations with Madame de Beaujeu: Simonyi, Ernő, „Magyar követség Franciaországban 1487-ben”, *Magyar Történelmi Társulat Tár* 13 (1867) 215–219. 219.

committed to him, he is to employ all diligence”.¹⁴⁴ He was called forth to “lend all favour” to the Hospitaller, who might have been seemed as being of key importance.

The Venetian envoy was not given licence to leave the French court until January 1488, since his services were being needed even after the Hungarian envoy was received by the King of France. He was instructed to stay there and report on the negotiations of Sir John Kendall and Jan Filipec. The procuration makes it clear that Kendall was also acting on behalf of his sovereign, Henry VII and was expecting new instructions from Westminster regarding his talks with the Hungarian envoy he was travelling together to and from Laval. He “continued to remain in France on account of fresh orders he received from *his own* King of England”.¹⁴⁵ As soon as the English Hospitaller left, Zorzi was to return to Venice immediately. It means that until January 1488 Henry VII was notified from the state of the affair and also wished that his envoy, Kendall should have further negotiations, probably in light of the negative answer of the French diplomacy, over the future steps between England and Hungary. Unfortunately, we do not know the affair any further, apart from the fact that by the end of August 1488 Sir John Kendall, and the Order of the Knights of St. John had agreed that Princ Cem would be released to the Holy See, and the scheme of having him surrendered to Matthias failed, probably because of the workings of the French diplomacy. We have a Venetian report that Kendall also agreed that “permission may be conceded to remove Zizim to some castle subject to the Roman Church”.¹⁴⁶

The Venetian ambassador gives a detailed description of the Hungarian embassy – as far as I can judge, so far unknown in Hungarian historiography. The Hungarian envoy had an illustrious entourage, of over a hundred retainers – “with 15 sumpter horses and 10 mules, carrying his baggage covered with scarlet, had 136 youths, well mounted, and two very fine horses of his own”. He also reports Filipec’s “great costs of upwards of 50 ducats a day”, waiting to see the King “at very great inconvenience”.¹⁴⁷ The ambassador also noted the “the king of Hungary expected his business would be settled in a fortnight, whereas four months have elapsed and the ambassador not yet dismissed”.

The English position was also of primary importance to the French diplomacy, concerning Henry VII’s standpoint in the ongoing Breton war, and to-

¹⁴⁴ CSVP I. No. 523.

¹⁴⁵ 4 January 1488: CSPV I. No. 526.

¹⁴⁶ 20 August 1488: CSPV I. No. 533. For his services to the King Kendall „was pardoned of all debts, fines, sums due to the king” in 1492. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*. I–XXVII. London, 1894–1916. [hereinafter CPR] Henry VII. Part I. 405.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

wards Maximilian.¹⁴⁸ Henry VII wished to restore the Yorkist understanding with Maximilian.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, he could not be sure of the pro-Yorkist backing of Maximilian thus was also interested to secure himself from the side of the Valois.¹⁵⁰ The truces, however, were to last until 17 January and 2 February (Candlemas) 1487 and as France and Maximilian were getting involved in the war in Bretagne Henry chose not to renew either of them, but made it dependent upon the result of the talks of the Hungarians with Charles VIII later that year.

Parallely with Matthias' French embassy, Henry VII made an effort to treat with the King of Hungary. On 26 February 1488 a letter of protection was issued for a Robert Champlayn, who betook himself against the Turks, testified by commendation from Matthias.¹⁵¹ The charter relates that he was dangerously wounded and captured by the Turks in Hungary, and the Court was to ransom him for 1500 ducats. It means, bearing in mind that he had all his household wealth valued to 300 ducats paid for his ransom, that the King paid a large sum for a knight of his, on the grounds of which it is to conclude that the knight had been on a diplomatic mission to Hungary just before, or, parallely with the bishop of Várad's French embassy, during 1487. That is, Henry VII felt important to contact the potential anti-Habsburg partner, Hungary.¹⁵²

It was only after Henry VII learnt of the results of talks of Filipec and Kendall over the surrender of Prince Cem that he chose again to reconfirm his friendship with the King of France in March 1488.¹⁵³

As Henry VII learnt he would not receive any help from continental allies – Matthias was involved in the occupation of Austria –, he concluded an alliance with the Habsburgs with the hope that the King of the Romans would balance the English interests against France.¹⁵⁴ Henry was alarmed by the prospect of the Breton ports that offered convenient springboard for an invasion against England, coming under French authority.¹⁵⁵ That is why the King was forced to enter into a common platform with Maximilian, though their relationship was never stable. The king was right, as Maximilian did not cease to support the subsequent pro-Yorkist risings (e.g. Perkin Warbeck taking refuge with the Habsburgs in the

¹⁴⁸ Eugène de Certian (ed.), "Chronique rimée de Guillaume Ledoyen, notaire à Laval a XV^e siècle", *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 13 (1852) 361–93. 373.

¹⁴⁹ Lockyer – Thrush, 76.

¹⁵⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 281.; 320-21.

¹⁵¹ PRO Chancery: Patent Rolls: C 66/567 m 4.; British Library MSS Ashmole 1114. ff. 84–85: serving in Matthias's army in 1479; MSS Ashmole 1114. ff. 78–79.

¹⁵² 26 February 1488: CPR Henry VII. Part I. 188.

¹⁵³ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 337.

¹⁵⁴ Negotiations: March–December 1488: Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 338.; 352.; Treaty: Dordrecht, 14 February 1489: Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 359–61.; 397–400.

¹⁵⁵ Lockyer – Thrush, 77.

early 1490s).¹⁵⁶ Henry still needed to enlist newer foreign allies – the prospect of an understanding with Hungary was always on the agenda.

However, Henry's alliance with Maximilian was broken when the latter settled with the French at Frankfurt in July 1489.¹⁵⁷ The Frankfurt treaty might have also pressed the king of Hungary towards a rapprochement with Maximilian's opponent, Tudor England. The Tudor ruler needed again a reconciliation with his former continental allies, including Hungary.¹⁵⁸ Henry in that situation chose to support the French cause again, feeling betrayed by Maximilian, and took a standpoint against the King of the Romans, thus, was on the same platform as Matthias was preparing to step on. Maximilian's *volte face* at Frankfurt meant also that his principal concern was now Hungary and the liberation of Austrian territories under Hungarian rule.¹⁵⁹ Matthias also needed to gain a potential ally, who could counterpoint Maximilian at the back.

The English relationship of Matthias was also coordinated with that of Milan: the Sforzas at the end of the 1480s also concluded a treaty of mutual friendship with the Tudors.¹⁶⁰ As the Laval notary, Guillaume Ledoyen relates, the Milanese ambassador was also present at Filipec's and Kendall's negotiations with the King of France in 1487.¹⁶¹ The Duke of Milan initiated talks for a marriage alliance with the House of Tudor in November 1489, and in a few months' time the alliance was confirmed.¹⁶² Even in June 1490, probably being aware of the death of Matthias, Duke Gian Galeazzo dispatched a joint envoy to Hungary and England, sending "letters together" via his principal secretary, Bartolomeo Chalco.¹⁶³ The Tudors also wished to make use of the former alliance system of Charles the Bold, signalled by the fact that Henry VII invested the future Alfonso II of Naples with the Garter.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁶ Lockyer – Thrush, *Henry VII*, 80.

¹⁵⁷ Horváth, Mátyás király nyugati, 92.

¹⁵⁸ Chrimes, *Henry VII*, 280.

¹⁵⁹ Lockyer – Thrush, *Henry VII*, 79.

¹⁶⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 429.; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan 1385–1618*. I. Ed. A. B. Hinds. London, 1912. [hereinafter CSPM] I. 250.

¹⁶¹ Chronique rimée de Guillaume Ledoyen, notaire à Laval a XV^e siècle, 371.

¹⁶² CSPM I. 251–52.

¹⁶³ 7 June 1490: CSPM I. 256.

¹⁶⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, XII. 528.

TURNING TOWARDS IMPERIAL ALLIES AGAIN

After Maximilian was installed as titular Duke of Burgundy *de jure uxoris* Matthias had to give up his aspirations to become King of the Romans. In the given political situation Matthias would have been contented with the acknowledgement of his Bohemian crown and electorate. He was only formally acknowledged as King of Bohemia by Frederick. Matthias, as King of Bohemia accepted in the Empire, Matthias would have realized his aims and would have had the Habsburgs ousted from the Central European theatre.

To stand on more feet tried to confirm alliances and inheritance treaties with Silesian princes. In 1478 he made an agreement with Konrad X Biały Młodszy (White), Duke of Öls/Oels/Oleśnica (1471–92), in accordance of which the duchy would pass on to Matthias after the death of he duke. In the 1480s Matthias secured for himself the inheritance of a number of Silesian principalities, parts of Lost, Leobschütz, Ratibor, Kosel, Loslau. Viktorin Podebrady, Duke of Münsterberg resigned of the duchy of Troppau to the house of Hunyadi.¹⁶⁵ Another of the Silesian princes, Frederick I, Duke of Liegnitz (1454–88) served Matthias in his campaigns as captain-general.¹⁶⁶

Towards the end of the 1480s the Hohenzollern-relationship became tense again. During Matthias' campaigns in Austria Brandenburg refused to send troops to the aid of the Emperor. In 1488, Matthias conquered Głogów, since the Duke of Sagan turned away from the Hungarian alliance, and made his son John Corvinus Duke. Nevertheless, the Hohenzollern relationship was always unstable, and Matthias could not full-heartedly rely on them, since they did not agree with Matthias' expansionist policy in Silesia. Towards the end of the 1480s, after the ascension of the new elector, John Cicero Brandenburg, Elector of Brandenburg (1486–99) became neutral, then in 1489 the turned against Matthias again and allied with Frederick III.

CONCLUSION

Matthias sought to build a power sphere centring in the North-Eastern territories of the Empire, and increase his weight in this region against the Habsburgs to be able to put an obstacle of the cooperation of the Jagiellonians and the Habsburgs, in a way to cut the Polish and the Austrian territories. In the late 1480s Matthias became the lord in practice of the Eastern-North-Eastern territories from Lusatia

¹⁶⁵ In return, Matthias interceded at the Holy See on behalf of the Duke's son, Albert Podiebrady for the bishopric of Breslau/Wrocław. Early in 1482: MKL II. No. 109–110.; Nehring, Mátyás külpolitikája, 112.

¹⁶⁶ Friedrich/Fryderyk I, Duke of Haynau/Chojnów-Ohlau/Oława-Liegnitz/Legnica-Brieg/Brzeg-Lüben/Lubin. Kubinyi, Matthias, 101.

to Moravia, supported by allies in Brandenburg, Meissen, Saxony, Bavaria, Anhalt etc. His priorities were to build a strong basis in the Eastern Empire.

After the failures to get France into the coalition, the king returned to the more stable, safer system of imperial partners and strove to achieve a leading role in the Eastern, North-Eastern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, maintaining close links with the House of Wittelsbach and Wettin as well as to gain a firmer ground, he was to get hold of principalities in Silesia. Even up to his last days he was forging an anti-Habsburg and anti-Jagiellonian block within the Empire, with his potential partners, potential opponents of Maximilian's growing power, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Elector of the Palatinate. Matthias wanted to become the chief arbitrator, the major decision-maker in the prime locality of his, that is, on the eastern fringes of the Empire. The most important for him was the prevention of any kind of tension and contrasts within his block of alliances.

ATTILA GYÖRKÖS

LA GUERRE DES PAZZI ET LES RELATIONS FRANCO-HONGROISES (1478–1481)

La période la plus connue de la politique française de Mathias est certainement la campagne diplomatique des années 1486–1487. À cette époque, il voulait négocier avec Charles VIII, le roi de France, pour ajuster leur politique anti-Habsbourgeoise et anti-Ottomane.¹ En fait, ce n'était pas la première fois que le souverain de Hongrie voulait créer une alliance contre son plus grand ennemi occidental, l'empereur Frédéric III. Ses contacts bourguignons avaient servi la même cause dans les années 1460–1470.² Cependant, la mort soudaine du prince Charles le Téméraire en 1477 transforma profondément la situation en Europe occidentale. Mathias voulu ainsi combler le vacuum politique en se rapprochant de la monarchie française. Même si la plupart des spécialistes datent ce revirement politique en 1481,³ nous essayons ici de démontrer que les rois hongrois et français cherchèrent à entrer en contact immédiatement après la mort du prince de Bourgogne, peut-être déjà en 1477 mais assurément en 1478.

Le roi Louis XI, alors en guerre contre les Habsbourg pour l'héritage bourguignon, était un partenaire idéal pour Mathias. Mais certains obstacles entravaient

¹ Cette question apparaît souvent dans l'historiographie de l'époque surtout concernant l'affaire de l'extradiction hongroise du prince turc Djem, vivant en France. Le meilleur ouvrage hongrois sur cette question reste toujours celui de Fraknói, Vilmos, *Mátyás törekvései a császári trónra* [Les aspirations de Mathias au trône impérial]. Budapest, 1914. Sur sa littérature française v. Thuasne, Louis, *Djem Sultan, fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II (1459–1495) d'après les documents originaux en grande partie inédits*. Paris, 1892 et plus récemment Vatin, Nicolas, *Sultan Djem. Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XV^e siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines*. Ankara, 1997.

² Cf. le texte de Bárány, Attila: «Mathias and the Western European Powers», dans les Actes du colloque *Mathias Rex (1458–1490) – Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*. Budapest, 20–25 mai 2008, à paraître cette année.

³ Nehring, Karl, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich*. München, 1975. 152; Teke, Zsuzsa, «Az itáliai államok és Mátyás» [Les Etats italiens et Mathias], In: Rázsó, Gyula–V. Molnár, László (ed.), *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára*. Budapest, 1990. 265; E. Kovács, Péter, «Corvin János házassága és a magyar diplomácia» [Le mariage de Jean Corvin et la diplomatie hongroise], *Századok*, CXXXVII (2003) 962. L'unique ouvrage qui date les premiers contacts en 1479 est: Fraknói, Vilmos, *Hunyadi Mátyás király* [Le roi Mathias Hunyadi]. Budapest, 1890. 277.

leur rapprochement. Le plus important d'entre eux était, sans aucun doute, le différend qui opposait les deux souverains dans les affaires italiennes de l'époque.

La conspiration des Pazzi contre le gouvernement des Médicis de Florence bouleversa le *status quo* de la péninsule. Alors que la Ligue des Etats de Florence, Venise et Milan avait le soutien du royaume de France, leur adversaire, la coalition de la Papauté et de Naples, était aidé par Mathias, le gendre de Ferdinand (Ferrante) de Naples. Indépendamment de ces conflits évidents, il nous semble que la relation entre les rois de France et de Hongrie était cordiale à l'époque même si leurs rapports n'étaient pas exempts de tensions.

Les affaires diplomatiques franco-hongroises de ces années-là ont été pratiquement ignorées dans l'historiographie car les données concernant la question sont rares et sporadiques. Néanmoins, nous pensons pouvoir rétablir les événements majeurs de cette transformation de la politique extérieure de Mathias.

Le premier document qui fait allusion à l'existence des rapports franco-hongrois de l'époque est une lettre de Louis XI datée du 14 mars 1478 destinée à son chancelier, Pierre Doriol.⁴ Nous pouvons y trouver les lignes suivantes: «*Monsieur le chancelier, je vous prie (...) que, incontinent ces lettres veues, vous m'envoyez le double des instructions et lettres que vous avez touchant le roy de Hongrie et que ce soit par ung de vos gens, homme seur et qui face bonne dilligence, et qu'il n'y ait point de faulte (...)*»

La lettre fut écrite lors de la guerre menée pour l'héritage bourguignon. Après la mort du duc Charles le Téméraire, le roi de France voulu acquérir les territoires de Bourgogne et de la Flandre. Il devait donc faire face aux Habsbourg, notamment à Maximilien, fils de l'empereur Frédéric III. N'étant pas capable de s'emparer de la victoire définitive, Louis XI essaya de trouver une solution diplomatique durant les nombreuses trêves du conflit.⁵ Le document mentionné ci-dessus a été rédigé dans ces circonstances.

Comme le texte y fait allusion, avant le printemps 1478 (mais sans doute lors de l'année précédente), une correspondance (dont nous ne possédons pas d'information supplémentaire) existait entre les souverains français et hongrois. L'intérêt de Mathias pour ces relations avait dû naître après le 12 juin 1477 lorsqu'il avait déclaré la guerre à Frédéric III.⁶ Ainsi, la Hongrie aurait pu par-

⁴ *Lettres de Louis XI, roi de France*. Ed. Vaesen, Joseph –Charavay, Etienne, Paris, 1900. VII. (No. MCIII.), 4.

⁵ La guerre de Bourgogne fut marquée par l'alternance des campagnes militaires et des cessez-le-feu successifs. Louis XI conclut des trêves avec Maximilien le 18 septembre 1477 à Lens, puis le 11 juillet 1478 à Arras, mais la guerre recommença et la bataille de Guinegate du 7 août 1479 fut perdue par les Français. Le conflit ne s'acheva que par la paix d'Arras de 1482. Cf. Potter, David, *War and Government in the French Provinces. Picardy 1470–1560*. Cambridge, 2003. 39–40.

⁶ La cause de ce conflit fut la décision de l'empereur qui donna le titre prince-électeur de Bohême à Vladislav de Jagellon et non à son rival Mathias. Cf. Nehring, Karl, «Mátyás külpolitikája» [La politique extérieure de Mathias], *Történelmi Szemle* 1978. 3–4: 430–431.

ticiper à la coalition anti-Habsbourgeoise forgée par les Français qui comprenait déjà la confédération helvétique,⁷ la république de Venise⁸ et le duché de Milan. Louis voulait également que l'Angleterre se joignît à la campagne militaire. Il proposa alors à Edward IV les territoires de la Hollande, du Seeland et du Brabant s'il collaborait.⁹

Même si nous ne possédons aucun document prouvant le rapprochement franco-hongrois en 1477 – l'année la plus cruciale des guerres contre les Habsbourg – des informations indirectes peuvent nous renseigner. Ainsi, le 30 mai, le roi de Hongrie envoya une lettre aux Suisses dans laquelle il confirma que son alliance préalable avec le duc de Bourgogne n'avait pas été conclue contre les intérêts de la confédération ou de la France mais visait uniquement l'empereur.¹⁰

Le 13 juin, au lendemain de la déclaration de guerre de Mathias à Frédéric III, le roi informa la majorité des princes concernés par le conflit en écrivant aux princes saxons Ernest et Albrecht, à Sigismond de Tyrol et une nouvelle fois aux Suisses.¹¹ Connaissant la logique des démarches diplomatiques hongroises, on peut supposer qu'un tel avertissement fut également adressé à Louis XI. On se demande donc si la lettre du roi de France mentionnée ci-dessus fait référence à ces correspondances.

Grâce aux négociations franco-hongroises plus tardives, celles des années 1478–1479, nous pouvons mieux dresser les contours des manœuvres diplomatiques des deux souverains.

L'ambassadeur du marquis de Montferrat en Autriche, dans son rapport du 14 mai 1478, écrivit de Graz que le roi hongrois avait rompu l'alliance avec Louis XI.¹²

⁷ Sur la communauté des intérêts de Mathias et des cantons helvétiques v. Lasserre, David, «Le roi Mathias Corvin et les Suisses», *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* XXXVI (1943 juillet) 51–59.

⁸ Louis conclut un accord avec Venise le 9 janvier 1478. La république était auparavant l'alliée du duc de Bourgogne tout comme Mathias. Cf. Perret, Paul-Michel, «La paix du 9 janvier 1478 entre Louis XI et la République de Venise», *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* XI (1890) 111–135.

⁹ Cependant, les événements surpassèrent la proposition parce que Louis occupa les forteresses les plus importantes de Flandre et de Hainaut. Murray Kendall, Paul, *Louis XI*. Paris, 1974. 371–391; Heers, Jacques, *Louis XI*. Paris, 2003. [1999]. 77–82.

¹⁰ «...sunder so senndten wir den edeln unsern lieben getrewen Jörgen von Stein unsern ratt vordem zu unserm bruder dem herzog von Burgund etc. nit wider den gennanten künig (de France, Louis XI – Gy. A.) noch ew, sunder wieder die, den Ir als wir bericht werden...» In: *Mátyás király levelei* [Lettres du roi Mathias]. Ed. Fraknói, Vilmos, 1893 I. (No. 250.), 367 [V. ci-après: *MKL*]. Georges de Stein, l'ambassadeur de Mathias fut envoyé auprès des Suisses un an auparavant, le 10 juin 1476. In: *MKL* I. (No. 240), 344–345.

¹¹ Le 13 juin 1477. In: *MKL* I. (No. 252), 371–373.

¹² «... la Maesta del Re de Ungheria ha mandato a diffidare per literas, la Maesta del Re di Francia, vero e che gia circa uno mese passato e scripto dalla predicta Maesta Imperiale alle citte imperiali in Allemagna, che tutti debbano mittersi in arme, apparecharsi alla guerra, perche sua Maesta personaliter vole andare a questa impresa di Borgogna». In: *Magyar diplomatikai emlékek Mátyás király korából* [Documents diplomatiques hongrois de l'époque de Mathias]. Ed. Nagy, Iván–Nyáry, Albert, Budapest, 1877. II. (No. 255), 368. [V. ci-après: *MDE*].

Ce document met en évidence non seulement qu'une coalition réelle existait entre les deux rois mais démontre également le caractère vacillant de cette union. Les informations de l'ambassadeur se confirment dans une lettre plus tardive de Mathias écrite à l'empereur le 12 janvier 1479, dans laquelle il affirma sa volonté d'aider militairement la campagne de Maximilien en Flandre.¹³

Nous pourrions estimer la dénonciation de l'alliance française comme un des revirements diplomatiques habituels de Mathias. Les opérations militaires efficaces de sa campagne en Autriche s'achevèrent par la paix de Gmunden-Korneuburg en décembre de 1477.¹⁴ L'accord passé avec Frédéric III comprenait aussi la question italienne: le roi demandait à l'empereur de remplacer le jeune duc de Milan, Jean Galéas Sforza par Federigo (Frédéric) d'Aragon, son beau-frère, favorisant ainsi la famille de son épouse, Béatrice. Même si cette clause de paix n'a jamais été mise en place, elle permit au souverain hongrois de penser à renoncer à l'alliance française qui lui semblait inutile pour se rapprocher de l'empereur.

Les deux derniers propos du rapport de l'ambassadeur de Montferrat sont fort intéressants: «*On dit que Sa Majesté [le Roi de Hongrie] est en ligue avec le sérénissime Roi de Naples.*» (...) Et un peu plus tard: «*Le roi de Hongrie, on dit, attaquera les Vénitiens.*»¹⁵ En effet, le roi de Hongrie était en conflit avec certains Etats italiens bien avant l'affaire des Pazzi.¹⁶ C'est justement à cette époque-là qu'il romput toute relation avec Milan à cause du traité de Gmunden-Korneuburg déjà mentionné. Concernant Venise, la question des territoires dalmatiques provoqua une tension si forte entre la République et la Hongrie qu'en 1478, Mathias avait déjà pensé mener une campagne militaire en Italie du Nord.¹⁷

L'intérêt de l'ambassadeur de Montferrat envers la politique italienne de Mathias est fort compréhensible dans ces circonstances. Le souverain de ce petit marquisat à proximité de Milan était Guillaume VI (1464–1483) et il maintenait des rapports amicaux avec les cours lombarde et française. Il est significatif que deux de ses trois épouses furent françaises et la troisième milanaise. Le marquis fut le tuteur de Galéas Maria Sforza, assassiné en 1476. Après la mort de ce dernier, il soutint son fils – le jeune Jean Galéas – contre son oncle Ludovic le More.

¹³ Mentionnée par Fraknói, *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 276.

¹⁴ Kubinyi, András, *Matthias rex*. Budapest, 2008. [ed. anglaise] 98.

¹⁵ «*Dicesi pur che Sua Maesta [del Re de Ungheria] e in liga col Serenissimo Re de Napoli. (...) Lo re d'Ungharia dicitur, rompera contra Venetiani.*»

¹⁶ L'unique membre de la Ligue avec lequel Mathias continua de maintenir des rapports amicaux était Florence. Il nous semble que les événements politiques n'avaient pas perturbé les échanges culturels: entre 1477 et 1479 non seulement des artistes arrivèrent en Hongrie (par exemple: l'architecte Chimenti Camicia et ses collègues), mais le philosophe Marsile Ficini y fut également invité. Nous pouvons aussi signaler à la même époque la présence de Ladislas Farkas, chargé de divers achats et de missions diplomatiques à la cour des Medici. Balogh, Jolán, *Mátyás király és a művészet [Le roi Mathias et l'art]*. Budapest, 1985. 50, 146–147 et 439.

¹⁷ Mathias voulait reprendre l'île de Veglia (aujourd'hui Krk en Croatie) des comtes Frangepan qui, quant à eux, acceptèrent la tutelle de Venise. Teke, «*Az itáliai államok...*», 260–263.

La mère du duc mineur, Bonne de Savoie, exerçant la régence, se sentit menacée par les aspirations du roi de Naples et chercha l'appui de Venise. En effet, Ferdinand était en faveur de l'accession au pouvoir de Ludovic. Ainsi, il est naturel que le marquis s'intéressa aux affaires hongroises c'est-à-dire au rapport de Mathias envers les alliés de Milan.

Allant dans le sens de la paix de Gmunden-Korneuburg, Mathias pouvait espérer – il est difficile de dire à juste titre ou non – que l'empereur réponde à ses demandes concernant Milan. Voyant la montée de la tension entre la Hongrie et la République vénitienne, le roi hongrois pouvait penser que son alliance avec la France empêcherait la réalisation de ses projets en Italie du Nord.

Les conflits entre Mathias et les divers Etats italiens ne faisaient qu'amplifier lorsque l'attentat florentin qu'on appelle communément «la conspiration des Pazzi» bouleversa l'équilibre de la péninsule.

La crise qui partagea l'Italie pendant des années commença le 26 avril 1478 lorsque certains membres de la famille Pazzi, profitant de l'approbation pontificale, essayèrent d'assassiner les chefs de la famille Médicis pendant la messe de Pâques. Le neveu du pape, le cardinal Raffaello Riario, ainsi que Francesco Salviati, l'archevêque de Pise et quelques membres du clergé local furent également impliqués dans cette intrigue.¹⁸

L'attentat ne réussit que partiellement : Laurent de Médicis survécut, mais son frère Julien fut assassiné par un des comploteurs, Bandino Bandini.¹⁹ Les conspirateurs furent tous punis mais à cause de l'exécution de Salviati et des autres personnages ecclésiastiques, Sixte IV excommunia Florence et demanda l'expulsion de la ville de la famille des Médicis.

La conspiration résulta en un conflit dans lequel l'Italie fut divisée en deux parties: Florence fut soutenue par Venise et Milan et cette Ligue réussit à obtenir le soutien de Louis XI.²⁰ La partie adverse se composa du pape Sixte IV et du royaume de Naples qui assurait la force militaire et dont le souverain était Ferdinand, le beau-père de Mathias.

Les deux monarques, Mathias et Louis XI, qui soutenaient donc dans le conflit italien des réseaux d'alliances opposées, essayèrent à leur façon d'appeler les adversaires à la paix. Tandis que ce genre de messages furent envoyés de la cour française à Rome et Naples, Mathias, lui, menait sa propre «guerre diplomatique» contre

¹⁸ Sur l'attentat v. Martines, Lauro, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici*. London, 2003.

¹⁹ Il est intéressant de mentionner que Francesco, le frère de Bandino Bandini, vivait à la cour de Mathias et fut souvent chargé des missions diplomatiques en Italie. Après l'attentat des Pazzi, Francesco n'hésita pas un instant avant d'écrire à Lorenzo de Medici afin de lui dire toutes ses condoléances à cause de la mort de Julien. Cf. Vasoli, Cesare, «Tra la Firenze de Lorenzo de' Medici e la Buda di Re Mattia Corvino», In: Jankovics, József–Monok, István–Nyerges, Judit (ed.), *La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo*. Budapest–Szeged, 1998. I. 184–186.

²⁰ Hibbert, Christopher, *A Medici-ház tündöklése és bukása* [titre original: *The Rise and Fall of the House of Medici*]. Budapest, 2007. 115–129.

Milan et Venise. Dans le raisonnement des souverains français et hongrois, il y a tant de ressemblances que la question mérite d'être envisagée plus profondément.

A l'automne 1478, Francesco Fontana, l'envoyé de Mathias, reçut comme mandat de persuader les grands pouvoirs péninsulaires, Venise, Florence, le Saint-Siège et le roi Ferdinand d'opter pour la paix en Italie: «*Il [Fontana] a le mandat de son Roi aux Vénitiens, Florentins et au Pape et finalement au roi Ferdinand pour persuader ces pouvoirs d'Italie sur la paix...*».²¹ Cette réconciliation serait expliquée – selon les termes du roi hongrois – par la nécessité d'une action commune des pays chrétiens contre les Infidèles. Fontana rapporta que le roi hongrois serait prêt à mener les forces chrétiennes à une campagne militaire anti-turque après la conclusion de la paix en Italie.²²

Par l'intermédiaire de son ambassadeur Giustiniano Cavitello, Mathias envoya à Milan une lettre forte semblable. Nous ne connaissons que la réponse de cette correspondance dans laquelle le duc Jean Galéas (ou la régente, Bonne de Savoie) refusa les accusations du roi de Hongrie, notamment celle qui accusait leur Ligue d'avoir été créée contre le Pape. Milan essaya d'attester ses efforts déjà accordés à Venise dans la guerre contre les Ottomans et de démontrer que c'était justement l'activité du pontife qui empêcha la politique commune chrétienne.²³

La lettre relatait amplement les causes de la guerre en Italie, la responsabilité du roi de Naples et du pape. C'est particulièrement ce dernier qui était critiqué. Le duc déclara que les actions du pontife ouvriraient la porte aux Infidèles en ajoutant que le roi de France avait l'intention d'organiser un concile général pour la réformation du Saint-Siège et pour le salut de tous les Chrétiens.²⁴

Louis XI, l'allié transalpin le plus important de la Ligue, utilisa une argumentation très semblable dans sa campagne diplomatique en voulant défendre Florence. Ses envoyés italiens parmi lesquels on retrouve le célèbre historien, Philippes de Commines, voulurent faire pression avant tout sur le Saint-Siège.²⁵

²¹ Mentionné dans la lettre du 26 octobre du duc de Ferrare, beau-frère de Mathias, écrite à son ambassadeur milanais «*che le mandato dal suo Signor Re ad Venetiani, Fiorentini et al Papa et finalmente ad Re Ferrando per suadere ad questi potentati d'Italia la pace...*» In: *MDE II*. (No. 256.), 369.

²² «*predicto Signore suo Re desiderara firmata questa pace Italica, essere facto Capitano Generale contro el Turco*».

²³ Le 21 novembre 1478. *MDE II*. (No. 259.), 375–385.

²⁴ «*per reformatione de Sancta Chiesa et salvezza di tutti Christiani...*» *MDE II*. (No. 259), 384. Venise utilisa le même type d'argumentation lorsqu'une année plus tard, dans ses lettres du 10 et 22 novembre 1479, elle essaya de défendre devant Mathias la raison de sa paix avec les Turcs, disant que la République devait conclure la paix à cause de la guerre italienne. *MDE II*. (No. 270. et 271.), 400–412.

²⁵ Concernant le même sujet, Louis XI écrivait également en septembre 1478 au duc de Ferrare, à la duchesse de Milan et à Ferdinand. In: *Lettres de Louis XI*. VII. (No. MCCXIX), 168–169; (No. MCCXXI), 172–173. et (No. MCCXXV), 180–181.

Dans les instructions écrites à son ambassadeur de Rome, en novembre 1478 (donc pratiquement en même temps que Mathias), le roi de France se présenta comme le défenseur de la foi catholique (faisant allusion à la formule traditionnelle du «Roy Tres-Chrestien»). Il ajouta également que, ayant des nouvelles sur les attaques incessantes des Turcs dans les confins de la Chrétienté, il demanderait au pape de l'aider à faire arrêter les Infidèles. Afin d'atteindre ce but, il lui était primordial d'assurer la paix en Italie et la coalition générale des différents Etats chrétiens. Par conséquent, il proposa un concile général à Lyon, ville facilement accessible pour tous les délégués européens. Dans son argumentation, la Hongrie était également mentionnée: *«pour résister à l'entreprise des ennemys de la foy, qui jà sont si près, comme chacun sait, et les quelz, puis peu de temps en çà, ont conquesté toute la Grèce, le royaume de Bosnie et plusieurs aultres pays et seigneuries, tant ès Marches de Poulogne, Honguerie et aultres pays d'Almaigne, qu'en la terre des Vénissiens et près des Marches d'Ytalie...»*.²⁶ Il est toutefois intéressant de noter que, sur la liste des Etats à inviter au concile, il manque non seulement Naples mais aussi la Hongrie, c'est-à-dire les deux plus importants partisans du pape.

Nous pouvons donc voir combien les propos des deux souverains se ressemblèrent concernant la paix en Italie: en raison de la guerre entre les Etats chrétiens il était impossible d'organiser une quelconque action efficace contre les Turcs.

Pourtant, à ces fleurs de rhétorique des deux souverains, concernant la coalition chrétienne et la paix générale en Italie, sont ajoutées des menaces beaucoup plus concrètes qui représentent mieux leurs arrière-pensées et leurs intérêts politiques immédiats. Par voie diplomatique, les deux rois faisaient allusion à leur possible participation dans le conflit italien – même si, en réalité, aucun des deux ne le faisait.

Fontana déclara devant le duc de Ferrare, Hercule d'Este que Mathias avait la volonté d'aider son beau-père, le roi de Naples: *«celui qui offensera le roi Ferdinand, son père et son beau-père, offensera le roi de Hongrie, lui-même»*.²⁷ De la même façon, le roi hongrois provoqua le doge à la fin de l'année (sans date, mais sûrement après octobre) en affirmant qu'il protégera le pape même par force militaire: *«pour défendre l'honneur du Siège apostolique et la foi de notre très saint seigneur pape Sixte, nous exercerons notre pouvoir contre les rebelles de la Sainte Mère Eglise et contre les ennemis publics de toute la Chrétienté...»*.²⁸ Mathias voulait aussi faire pression sur Venise en utilisant l'argument de la

²⁶ Desjardins, Abel, *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*. Paris, 1859. I. 175–177.

²⁷ *«che chi offendera il Re Ferrando, suo padre et socero, offendera esso Re d'Ungheria.»* Le 26 octobre 1478. *MDE* II. (No. 256), 370.

²⁸ *«pro honore apostolice sedis et pro defensione fidei sanctissimo domino nostro Sixto pontifici pro viribus vim et hostilitatem, tanquam contra rebelles sancte matris ecclesie et totius christianitatis hostes publicos, exercebimus...»* *MKL* I. (No. 283), 424.

coalition anti-turque. La République défendait dans sa lettre du 10 novembre 1479 que c'était justement en raison de la guerre italienne qu'elle devait renoncer à toute action chrétienne et c'était aussi la raison de sa paix avec les Ottomans.²⁹

Louis XI, quant à lui, admonesta le souverain napolitain et le pontife de cesser la guerre contre Florence, «*parce que s'ils le refusent, par nos forces armées envoyées contre eux, nous arriverons que la guerre soit transformée en paix*».³⁰

Utiliser l'idée d'une union générale des pays chrétiens afin de servir leurs objectifs politiques immédiats n'était étranger ni pour Mathias,³¹ ni pour Louis XI. Pourtant, le roi de France – comme nous l'avons vu – y ajouta une autre arme politique souvent employée, le concile général. L'allure anti-pontificale d'une future assemblée ecclésiastique à Lyon était claire surtout que la proposition était complétée par d'autres mesures: la révocation des prélats français de Rome ou la retenue des prébendes ecclésiastiques. Le roi convoqua également des synodes gallicans d'abord en septembre-octobre 1478 à Orléans, puis en mai 1479 à Lyon et ce dernier remit en vigueur la Pragmatique Sanction de 1438.³² Ces menaces n'étaient pas inhabituelles dans la politique ecclésiastique de Louis. Nous pouvons constater que la même méthode a été utilisée lors de l'appui français du grand plan européen de Georges de Podiebrad sur la «paix-éternelle» au début des années 1460,³³ ainsi que dans la proposition de Louis XI de mettre en place un autre concile général deux ans avant l'affaire Pazzi, en 1476.³⁴

S'il y avait une quelconque rupture entre les souverains français et hongrois en 1478 – ce que l'exposé de l'ambassadeur de Monferrat laisserait supposer – elle ne devait pas durer longtemps et c'est justement autour de ces projets conciliaires que les négociations ont reprises.

Guidantonio Vespucci, délégué de Florence auprès du roi de France, nous informe par sa lettre du 6 août 1479 (écrite de Paris) que Louis XI négocia avec

²⁹ MDE II. (No. 270), 400–402. Venise signa une paix avec les Turcs en janvier 1479 après seize ans de guerre. Setton, Kenneth Meyer, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*. Philadelphia, 1978. 327.

³⁰ «*quod si facere recusaverint, curabimus copiis nostris armatorum quas ad illos transmittetur, taliter peragere ut ex bello pax sequatur*». Août 1478, lettre de Louis XI au duc de Milan, citée par Combet, Joseph, *Louis XI et le Saint-Siège*. Paris, 1903. 163.

³¹ Le meilleur exemple est la propagande que Mathias faisait après la prise du château de Szabács (aujourd'hui Sabac en Bosnie) en 1476 ou suivant de la bataille de Kenyérmező (aujourd'hui en Roumanie) en 1479. Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, 107–112.

³² Combet, *Louis XI...* 159–160 et 168. La Pragmatique Sanction ne fut jamais acceptée par les pontifes. En 1472, Louis XI passa un accord avec Sixte IV pour sa révocation, mais le Parlement de Paris refusa de l'insérer. Même si la Pragmatique Sanction fut rarement utilisée en France, elle permit à Louis XI de tenir en respect le clergé du royaume. Cf. *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen Age*. dir. par André Vauchez, Paris, 1997. II. 1248 (article de Jean-Louis Gazzaniga).

³³ Macek, Josef, «Le mouvement conciliaire, Louis XI et Georges de Podebrady», *Historica* XV (1967) 5–63.

³⁴ Ce concile fut convoqué lors du conflit entre le roi et Sixte IV concernant la juridiction sur le territoire ecclésiastique d'Avignon. Cf. Lavis, Ernest, *Histoire de France illustrée*. Paris, 1911. IV/2. 415.

un ambassadeur hongrois (dont le nom n'était pas mentionné) sur les affaires italiennes. Ces tractations étaient suivies par l'envoi d'une députation française dans les différentes cours d'Europe centrale (en Hongrie, en Bohême et en Pologne).³⁵ La tradition historiographique hongroise identifie le personnage de cet ambassadeur hongrois anonyme (d'après une mention de Galeotto Marzio) à Jean Vitéz le Jeune, qui était à l'époque prévôt de Várad, puis évêque de Szerém.³⁶

Selon le rapport de Vespucci, l'objectif de la diplomatie française était de créer une entente entre les royaumes centrale-européens afin qu'ils soutiennent l'idée du concile général. Mathias se montra d'abord hésitant et s'opposa finalement à ce projet parce que «*il savait que cette chose serait contre la volonté du Pontife et du roi de Naples, envers lesquels il avait des obligations*».³⁷

C'est dans ce contexte qu'un autre détail de la lettre de Vespucci nous paraît intéressant: l'ambassadeur hongrois fut présenté à la cour française par le fils du roi de Naples, Frédéric (ou Federigo, prince d'Otrante).³⁸ La présence du prince napolitain en France s'explique par sa relation avec la nièce de Louis XI, Anne de Savoie,³⁹ qu'il avait épousé l'année précédente à Milan. Plus tard, le jeune couple s'était installé en France.⁴⁰ La branche napolitaine de la maison d'Aragon réussit, par ce mariage, à améliorer ses relations avec Milan et le royaume de France; ce qui permit finalement de trouver une solution au conflit d'Italie.

La littérature hongroise s'accorde à souligner le rôle actif et initiateur de Mathias dans ce mariage.⁴¹ Pourtant, aucun des auteurs ne mentionne de sources qui

³⁵ Publiée dans: *Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok* [Documents concernant la vie de Beatrice d'Aragon, reine de Hongrie]. Ed. Berzeviczy, Albert, Budapest, 1914. (No. 30.), 42–43.

³⁶ «[Rex Mathias] *Nam primo in Franciam oratorem Iohannem Vitez in arduis negotiis misit, deinde reversum ditissimo episcopatu ornavit; est enim Sirmiensis episcopus.*» In: Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae ad ducem Johannem, eius filium liber.* Ed. Juhász, Ladislaus, Lipsiae, 1934. cap. 27. Selon Fraknoi, l'ambassade devait avoir lieu à la fin du printemps de 1479 parce que Vitéz était en Hongrie en juillet. Fraknoi, Vilmos, «Mátyás király magyar diplomatái» [Les diplomates hongrois du roi Mathias], In: *Századok*, XXXIII (1899) 299. En revanche, le rapport de Vespucci date l'ambassade au 6 août; ce qui rend l'identification de l'ambassadeur douteuse.

³⁷ «...*sappiendo questa chosa essere facta contro alla volontà del Pontefice et del Re Ferrando, a quali era obligatissimo ...*». In: *Aragoniai Beatrix ...*, 42–43.

³⁸ «*Il quale oratore unghero, giunto alla Corte, fu presentato al Re per Don Federigo...*». V. *supra*

³⁹ La fille de Yolande de Savoie, elle-même soeur de Louis XI.

⁴⁰ Heers, *Louis XI*. 318. Richard Walsh souligne que par ce mariage, Louis voulait renforcer ses positions en Espagne parce qu'il demanda le Roussillon en dot à la branche espagnole de la maison d'Aragon. (*Charles the Bold and Italy (1467–1477) Politics and Personnel*. Liverpool, 2005. 321–323.). Murray Kendall (*Louis XI*. 400) montre que l'amélioration des relations franco-napolitaines fut également assurée par la décision du souverain français d'accepter l'accession au pouvoir du pro-napolitain Ludovic Sforza à Milan le 8 septembre.

⁴¹ *Aragóniai Beatrix...* 110.; Horváth, Jenő, «Mátyás nyugati politikája» [La politique occidentale de Mathias], In: Lukinich, Imre (ed.), *Mátyás király emlékkönyv*. Budapest, 1940. I. 90.

prouveraient cette hypothèse. Ainsi, nous pouvons penser qu'il s'agit d'un topo historiographique créé à la fin du 19^e siècle et repris lors des décennies suivantes sans aucun contrôle. En tout cas, l'hésitation et l'argumentation de Mathias concernant le concile général étaient assez ambiguës puisqu'il devait y avoir des informations sur le rapprochement de Naples et de la France.⁴² Il nous semble donc qu'il voulait simplement trouver un prétexte pour ne pas se confronter à Sixte IV.

Grâce à la réconciliation franco-napolitaine en novembre 1479, Louis XI réussit à convaincre le roi Ferdinand des avantages d'une paix avec Florence.⁴³ Laurent de Médicis, quant à lui pouvait donc se rendre à Naples pour consolider les rapports.⁴⁴ En raison de la pression diplomatique française, les deux «hommes forts» italiens firent la paix⁴⁵ et trouvèrent une solution concernant la partie la plus problématique de toute la guerre d'Italie. Les opérations militaires menaçant la Toscane se terminèrent et le 25 juillet de l'année suivante, Naples, Florence, Milan et Ferrare conclurent une entente pour 25 ans.⁴⁶

D'autre part, à l'automne 1480, Sixte IV tenta d'améliorer les relations franco-pontificales en envoyant en France son neveu, le cardinal Julien de la Rovère (le futur pape Jules II)⁴⁷ et le secrétaire de ce dernier, Christophe de Raguse.⁴⁸

Finalement, malgré tous les efforts du prélat, c'est la menace turque – si souvent mentionnée dans la correspondance diplomatique de l'époque – qui permit d'obtenir la paix entre les parties encore opposées. En août 1480, les Otto-

⁴² Plus tard, en 1486, Béatrice incita Mathias à demander Charlotte, la fille de Frédéric d'Aragon et d'Anne de Savoie pour son fils Jean Corvin. Selon elle, par ce mariage, Mathias pourrait obtenir Djem, le prince turc exilé, gardé en France. Voir Horváth, «Mátyás nyugati politikája», 90. Pour les sources concernant cette question, v. *Aragoniai Beatrix ...*, 109–111. Mathias refusera l'idée du mariage proposée par la reine et demandera Blanche Marie Sforza, la fille du duc de Milan pour son fils. E. Kovács, «Corvin János házassága...» 963.

⁴³ Il est intéressant de noter que l'ambassadeur napolitain en France soit le même Lanzalotto Macedonio (Murray Kendall, *Louis XI*. 396–398.) qui assura l'escorte de la reine Béatrice en Hongrie en 1476. *Aragoniai Beatrix...* 22.

⁴⁴ Combet, *Louis XI...* 173.

⁴⁵ Heers, *Louis XI*. 318.

⁴⁶ Venise, exclue de cette coalition, se rapprocha du Siège apostolique qui provoqua deux ans plus tard la guerre de Ferrare. Cf. Mallett, Michael E., «Venice and the War of Ferrara, 1482–1488», In: Chambers, D. S.–Clough, C. H.–Mallett, M. E. (ed.), *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice*. London, 1993. 58.

⁴⁷ Décsényi, Gyula, «Olaszországi történelmi kutatások» [Recherches historiques en Italie], *Századok XXVI* (1892) 557. Julien fut chargé entre autre d'apaiser les conflits entre Maximilien et Louis. Combet, *Louis XI...* 175–178. Ses capacités diplomatiques étaient marquées par le fait qu'il avait pu trouver une solution à la crise d'Avignon de 1476 en France. Lavisse, *Histoire de France...* 415.

⁴⁸ Notons que le secrétaire avait des rapports avec les affaires hongroises: le pape le nomma évêque de Modruš (ville en Croatie donc sous domination hongroise à l'époque) sans l'accord de Mathias créant ainsi une tension considérable entre Buda et Rome au début des années 1480.

mans capturèrent la ville d'Otrante qui mobilisa tous les Etats de la péninsule.⁴⁹ Le 22 septembre, le pape, dans son bref apostolique adressé aux monarques européens, souligna l'importance de la coopération chrétienne et imposa une entrevue en novembre pour sortir du conflit⁵⁰. Louis XI ne tarda pas à répondre favorablement à cet appel. Dans ce climat d'apaisement, la réconciliation entre Florence et Rome pouvait également voir le jour. A la suite d'une demande d'absolution très formelle de la part de Medicis en décembre, Sixte IV leva l'interdiction ecclésiastique sur la ville et le conflit se termina.⁵¹

En ce qui concerne la politique de Mathias, même si le roi n'avait pas apporté son soutien au plan français du concile général en 1479, il nous semble que ce refus n'endommagea pas ses rapports avec Louis XI. En tout cas, pour les contemporains, l'existence d'une alliance franco-hongroise était évidente: au printemps 1480, le prince électeur de Brandebourg demanda l'aide d'Albrecht, duc de Saxe, contre Mathias sous le prétexte que ce dernier était allié des Français.⁵² Certes, en août le souverain de Hongrie proposa que les rois de France et d'Espagne soient médiateurs dans son nouveau conflit avec l'empereur.⁵³

La continuité de ces rapports s'explique toujours par la possibilité de mener une politique commune contre les Habsbourg. Mathias, en 1480, entreprit une campagne militaire de courte durée en Autriche (en capturant des forteresses en Styrie).⁵⁴ En conséquence, il fut déclaré ennemi de l'Empire à la Diète germanique de Nuremberg un an plus tard.⁵⁵ Après cet échec diplomatique, Mathias essaya d'assurer une base internationale étendue à sa politique anti-impériale. Dans sa lettre du 26 octobre, écrite à Brandebourg, il affirma sa volonté de

⁴⁹ Le 2 août 1480, Ferdinand proposa au pape de cesser le conflit italien à cause de l'attaque turque. Setton, *The Papacy...* 344.

⁵⁰ Le pape voulait ramasser 150 000 ducats pour la croisade dont le tiers fut destiné à Mathias. Setton, *The Papacy...* 356 et 366–368. Même si ce projet de croisade et le subside financier ne se réalisèrent pas, Mathias envoya 800 soldats à Naples pour participer à la reprise d'Otrante. Voir E. Kovács, Péter, «Magyarország és Nápoly politikai kapcsolatai a Mátyás-korban» [Les relations politiques entre la Hongrie et Naples à l'époque de Mathias], In: Fodor, Pál–Pálffy, Géza–Tóth, István György (ed.), *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*. Budapest, 2002. 240–242. Grâce à cela, il pouvait à la fois aider son beau-père et montrer son engagement – souvent contesté par le Saint-Siège – dans la lutte contre les Ottomans. Cf. Rázsó, Gyula, «Mátyás törökellenes politikája» [La politique antiturque de Mathias], In: *Hunyadi Mátyás...*, 185–186.

⁵¹ Heers, *Louis XI...* 318–319.

⁵² La lettre du 29 mai 1480 est citée par Fraknói, «Mátyás király magyar diplomatái», 299. Le conflit commença en 1478 entre l'électeur de Brandebourg et Mathias pour la domination du duché de Glogau en Silésie. Cf. Nehring, «Mátyás külpolitikája...» 432.

⁵³ Teke, Zsuzsa, *Mátyás a győzhetetlen király* [Mathias, le roi invincible]. Budapest, 1990. 152.

⁵⁴ Gyalókay, Jenő, «Mátyás király a hadszervező és hadvezér» [Roi Mathias, le stratège et le chef militaire], In: *Mátyás király emlékkönyv*. I. 287. et Fraknói, *Hunyadi Mátyás*, 278.

⁵⁵ Horváth, «Mátyás nyugati politikája», 90.

rechercher l'appui des princes allemands et italiens tout comme celui du roi de France dans le conflit.⁵⁶

Louis XI qui se sentait menacé par une coalition formée cette même année entre les Habsbourg, l'Angleterre et la Bretagne,⁵⁷ pouvait réellement paraître l'allié désiré. Cependant, nous ne sommes même pas sûrs que les envoyés de Mathias réussirent à gagner la cour de France. Nous savons seulement qu'une délégation hongroise a été arrêtée par les forces de Maximilien près de Metz en cette année.⁵⁸

Sans document, nous ne sommes pas en mesure de prouver la pérennité de ces rapports après 1481 – même si la plupart des spécialistes traitent cette date comme le commencement de l'alliance entre les deux monarchies.⁵⁹ Bien que la Hongrie continua sa guerre contre Frédéric III, Louis XI signa la paix d'Arras avec Maximilien en décembre 1482. Ainsi, toute actualité d'une coopération franco-hongroise était perdue.

C'est en avril 1483 que Mathias s'adressa pour la dernière fois au souverain français. Mais cette lettre⁶⁰ signalait déjà la première page d'un nouveau chapitre dans les relations des deux royaumes: à cette occasion, il demanda la remise du prince Djem pour qu'il puisse l'utiliser dans sa politique anti-Ottomane.⁶¹

En conclusion, nous avons ici tenté de démontrer que les efforts diplomatiques franco-hongrois dans les années 1477–1481 présentaient beaucoup de points de convergence. Citons par exemple la lutte des deux rois contre les Habsbourg ou les affaires italiennes dans lesquelles ils étaient réciproquement embarqués. Le résultat de leurs intérêts communs fut la recherche d'alliés présentés ci-dessus.

Cependant, nous avons également eu l'occasion de voir que l'engagement de Mathias et de Louis XI dans les luttes internes d'Italie les a placés dans des camps adverses; ce qui a nuit à leurs relations.

Quelques années plus tard, en 1486–1487, ces relations se sont ravivées: les efforts permanents de Mathias pour obtenir l'extradition de Djem de la France, de trouver un allié ferme contre les Habsbourg ou encore de renforcer ses positions en Italie, créèrent de nouveau un moment optimal pour le rapprochement des deux royaumes.

⁵⁶ *MKL II.* (No. 96), 173–174.

⁵⁷ Lavisso, *Histoire de France...* 409.

⁵⁸ Barante, Prosper Brugière, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois.* Paris, 1858. VII. 76–77.

⁵⁹ V. note 3.

⁶⁰ *MKL II.* (Nos. 141–142.), 246–248.

⁶¹ Sur cette question v. mon article: «Prince Djem et les relations franco-hongroises, 1486–1490» dans les Actes du colloque *Mathias Rex (1458–1490) – Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance.* Budapest, 20–25 mai 2008, à paraître cette année.

ALEXANDRU SIMON

**THE OTTOMAN-HUNGARIAN CRISIS OF 1484:
DIPLOMACY AND WARFARE IN MATTHIAS CORVINUS'
LOCAL AND REGIONAL POLITICS**

One may say that a *weak* sultan, a diplomat, caused more damage to Christendom than his predecessor, the *godless* warlord as his son called the strategist. Bayezid II *Veli's* (the Holy) Christian career could justify such a surprising assessment, given the fact that his father was Mehmed II *Fatih* (the Conqueror), bringing forward here not only the 'Djem affair', which should have been fatal to Bayezid. Under his reign, for instance, Bosnia and Herzegovina were turned into Ottoman provinces (1482-1483), the harbours of Cetatea Albă (Akkerman) and Chilia were conquered (1484), Malaga was burnt (1487) and Modon was taken (1500). It underlies that the reign was a race for survival that ended badly, in the early 1510s, following the actions of Bayezid II's sons, namely those of the Selim I *Yavuz* (the Cruel). During this political run, the summer of 1484 seems to have been the great turning point in Bayezid's II political career. After only three years of difficult rule, Bayezid II, in his mid thirties, had to face much more experienced opponents.¹

Contested by his own subjects, mocked by the Muslim world, despised by the Christian powers who debated over the custody of Bayezid II's brother and rival, Djem, the sultan won the 'decisive victories' of his. He took the harbours in southern Moldavia, viewed by Christians and Muslims alike as the keys to Hungary

¹ E.g. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice. BNM. Ufficio Manoscritti: Codici Italiani. Cod. Ital. classa VII. *Storia ecclesiastica e civile veneziana*, no. 421. [[=1067] ff. 584^r-585^r. on 10 August 1500, Bayezid II informed Wladislaw II Jagiello of Hungary that he had taken Modon because the Venetians had done him wrong, had broken their word; abstract: *Ausgewählte Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Maximilian I. 1493-1519*. [[=J[ohann].F[riedrich]. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, XIV. general-Ed. Hermann Wiesflecker, III-2. *Österreich, Reich und Europa. 1499-1501*. Ed. H. Wiesflecker. Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 1998. no. 14338, 890); Haus-, Hof- und Saatsarchiv, Wien. HHStA. Reichshofkanzlei. R.H.K. *Fridericiana. 1442-1493*. [Karton] 5, 1481-1483, 1483-1485, fasc. 5-3. 1482. f. 75^r. 3 August 1482. Pierre d'Aubusson, grand-master of the Hospitaller Knights, to emperor Frederick III of Habsburg on Djem's arrival on Rhodes and Bayezid II's Ottoman troubles); [Giovanni Maria Angiolello] Donado Da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*. Ed. I[uan]. Ursu. Bucharest 1910. 182-188. *Historia*); Nicoară Beldiceanu, „La conquête de cités marchandés de Kilia et de Cetatea Albă par Bayezid II' *Südost-Forschungen*. Munich). XXIII. 1964. 36-90. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, „Le règne de Selim I^{er} *Turcica*. Paris-Leuven. VI. 1974. 35-37. in particular); Adel Al-louche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict. 906-962/1500-1555*. Berlin 1983. 49-54. Anna Masala, „La prima spedizione ottomana Spagna. 1487' *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*. Rome. VIII. 1983. 122-123. further research is however much needed in this peculiar respect).

(alongside Belgrade) and Poland. Christian powers far and wide failed to react. Venice kept her Ottoman course, set by the peace of 1479, which resulted in the fall of the island of Zante in 1484. She blamed Matthias Corvinus and Stephen III for the events. Matthias' Ottoman double-dealings and Stephen's military shortcomings were named as the disaster's main causes. The predominantly negative Italian picture of Hungarian and Moldavian actions, though being closer to the truth, can also be ascribed to the Ottoman diplomatic channels operational in the peninsula. Bayezid made use of Mehmed's ties, as well as of his own, established during his fights with Djem. Venice's Ottoman concerns, Milan's and Florence's eagerness to protect their Italian stands, gave credibility to his speech.²

THE RECEPTION AND IMPACT OF THE OTTOMAN CAMPAIGN OF 1484

In late spring 1484, Venice, Naples, Rhodes, Buda and Suceava felt (equally) threatened by Ottoman war preparations. To different degrees, their fears were justified. Eventually, Moldavia, the harbours under her control, was the target of the attack. In fact, Moldavia had been the Porte's cible since the beginning of the year. In spite of his costly power displays, Bayezid was unwilling, at the time, to risk an open confrontation with a Catholic power. Faced with major foreign and domestic troubles, he had been compelled to promise a highly profitable campaign for all those, who would have followed him on his endeavour. In particular, the Janissaries, who had rebelled against him in the winter of 1483–1484, were asking for money and, at the same time, for a proof of the sultan's military abilities. The unique privileges issued by Bayezid II on the occasion of his 'sudden' campaign also show that the campaign was a matter of survival.³

² Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice. ASVe. Senato Secreti. S.S. *Senato Mar*, reg. 12. 1484–1490, c. 25^r. 2 November 1484 Zante is returned to the Venetian republic); Franz Miklosich, Joseph Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, III. *Acta et diplomata graeca res Graecas Italasque illustrantia e tabulariis Abconitano Florentino Melitensi Taurinensi Veneto Vindobonensis*. Vienna 1865. nos. III-23. 24, 317–333. the Venetian-Ottoman arrangements of the late 1470s as foundation for any future evolutions); 22 *Dispacci da Constantinopoli al doge Giovanni Mocenigo*. Ed. Giuseppe Calo. Venice 1992. no. 24a, 96–100. no. 40a, 226–228. Marino Sanudo II Giovane, *Le vite dei dogi. 1474–1494*. Ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò. Padua 1989–2001. 497. *Vite 1474–1494*); Franz Babinger, „Lorenzo de Medici e la Corte ottomana”, *Archivio Storico Italiano* [Florence] 121 (1963) 3. 305–361. Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and Levant. 1204–1571*. II. *The Fifteenth Century*. [=Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 117] Philadelphia 1978. 378. Riccardo Fubini, „Diplomacy and Government in the Italian City-States of the Fifteenth Century. Florence and Venice”, In: *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*. Ed. Daniela Frigo. Cambridge 2000. 25–48.

³ *Historia politica constantinopoleos a 1391 usque ad 1578 annum Christi. Historia Politica* In: *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica*. [=Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, III.] Ed. Immanuel Bekker. Bonn 1849. 54. The Greek point of view on the rebellion and the ensuing campaign; the text should be re-edited because of its particular importance, as it confirms Ottoman sources and it reflects, within the limits dictated by the circumstances of the mid 1500s when this version of the text was probably written down, the point of view of the Ecumenical Patri-

The campaign was a success. Within less than a month (July 5-prior to August 2), Stephen lost around 6 harbours (Chilia, Licostomo, Cetatea Albă, *Czernigrad*, *Sevastople* and Ilice). Moldavia lost its entire maritime façade, which at the time stretched apparently beyond the Dniestr Mounds. Ottoman-Moldavian talks and arrangements, namely those of 1486 and 1501–1503, failed to change significantly the situation in Moldavia's favour. Half of her urban population now belonged to the *Turk*. For a time, Stephen III seems to have lost his capital city of Suceava too. He no longer held the *keys* to Hungary (Chilia) and Poland (Cetatea Albă). Nonetheless, neither Poland, nor Hungary had rendered any efficient aid, though Stephen had requested it. In August, after the harbours had fallen, Krakow still believed that Bayezid would not attack Stephen. Due to the treaties of 1475 and 1480–1482, Matthias was bound to aid him. Hungarian military legislation and the domestic context prevented him from rendering any useful support to his ally and vassal.⁴

archate, which might have played a more influential part in the events of 1484 than previously assumed). *Aus der Chronik des Oruç, Aus dem Anonymus Hanivaldanus*. In: *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft. 1481–1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus*. [=Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, 9] Ed. Richard F. Kreutel. Graz–Vienna–Cologne 1978. 43–44, 212–215. (Rather rare Ottoman perspectives on the events of early and mid 1484) Ovidiu Cristea, „Campania din 1484 în lumina unor noi mărturii venețiene” [The Campaign of 1484 in Light of New Venetian Sources]. *Campania*. In: *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt: Atlet al credinței creștine* [Stephen the Great and Holy: Athlete of the Christian Faith] [Eds. Ștefan Sorin Gorovei, Maria-Magdalena Székely]. The Holy Monastery Putna 2004. 187–274. Mihai Maxim, „Stephen the Great and the Sublime Porte: New Turkish Documents” *Transylvanian Review*. Cluj–Napoca. XIV. 2005) 1: 19–21. Bayezid's deeds issued prior to his campaign).

⁴ See *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*. [=Monumenta Medii aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, II. XI–XII. XIV. III. III. 1392–1501. Ed. Anatol Lewicki. Krakow 1894. no. 224, 382. no. 309, 330. 22 *dispacci*, no. 24a, 82. [Bernard Wapowski], *Chronicorum Bernardii Vapovii partem posteriorem 1480–1535*. Ed. J[ózsef] Szujski. In: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*. Krakow. II. 1874. 3–5, 10. [Antonio Bonfini] Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. Ed. József Fögel, László Juhász, Béla Iványi, IV. Leipzig 1941 [Budapest 1945]. 124, 129. [Domenico Malipiero], *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500 del Senatore Domenico Malipiero ordinati e abbreviati dal senatore Francesco Longo*. [=Archivio Storico Italiano, VII. 1. Ed. Agostino Sagredo. Florence 1843. 135. *Aşık Paşa Zade*, In: *Cronici turcești privind țările române. Extrase* [Turkish Chronicles regarding the Romanian Countries. Selections], I. *Secolul XV-mijlocul secolului XVII* [15th Century–Mid 17th Century], Eds. Mihail Guboglu, Mustafa Mehmet. Bucharest 1966. 99. *Historia politica*, 54. *Historia*, 187. *Vite 1474–1494*, 472. N. Beldiceanu, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Matei Cazacu, „Recherches sur les Ottomans et la Moldavie ponto-danubienne entre 1484 et 1580s, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* [London–Oxford] 45 (1982) 50.; Tahsin Gemil, „Quelques observations concernant la conclusion de la paix entre la Moldavie et l'Empire Ottoman (1486) et la delimitation de leur frontière”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* [Bucharest] 22 (1983) 3: 233–234.; Ștefan Andreescu, „Moldavia's Pontic Policy: Stephen the Great and Ilice Castle” *Il Mar Nero*. Paris–Rome. III. 1997–1998. 185–186. Maxim, „Stephen the Great”, 24–25. Most likely the city of Cetatea Albă surrendered to the sultan on July 23 or 24, a day or two after he had set camp in front of it. Nevertheless, it is possible that this/these date(s) is/ are not the one/those when the sultan's campaign was concluded. For instance, we do not know when he conquered the other cities/harbours in the area, on one hand because the exact location of *Sevastople* mentioned by Sanudo remains unknown. It seems that it lay in the area of the Dniestr and not Danube Mounds. and, on the other, because the castle of Ilice. If it was still in Moldavian hands at the time) was in the vicinity of the Dniestr Mounds, where the Tartars operated.

The events of 1484 were an embarrassment for the Christian powers of East-Central Europe in particular. They had failed to defeat, to repel or at least to contain, the ‘weakling’ Bayezid II. Still, the sultan did not over-emphasize these matters not even when he hurried to announce his victory in August to both his subjects and neighbours. This was not so much a question of balanced tactics, but of methods of conquest, contrary to Bayezid’s diplomatic image that he was trying to build. Around July 14, Stephen’s had come to the rescue of Chilia and was crushed outside the city walls. According to an anonymous Lithuanian chronicle, he lost only 200 men.

1484. Mehmed [i.e. Bayezid] sultan of Turkey, with Turkish and Tartar armies, left against the Moldavians. Stephen, voivod of Moldavia, gathered his troops against him. First, he defeated the Tartars, then, crossing the Danube he struck the Turks, but, because of the size of the <Turkish> army, he was defeated by the Turk. Still, through a defensive flank, he retreated, losing no more than 200 Moldavians, and attacked the Turks in narrow corners. And the Turks, defeating the Moldavians up to Hotin, raided Podolia and burned many villages.

His losses had been far greater. All Moldavian survivors were executed at the city gates, which fell shortly after, if it had not fallen prior to the clash. The massacre shocked the inhabitants of Cetatea Albă. They surrendered almost immediately after Bayezid set foot in front of the city on July 22. The Venetian representatives in Istanbul reported the events to the senate. Due to the context, the latter was however more interested in accepting the Ottoman version on the falls.⁵

[extracts from Marino Sanudo’s *Vite dei dogi* regarding the events of 1484].

⁵ See Viaceslav Makusev, *Monumenta Historica Slavouorum Meridionalum vicinorumque populorum et bibliothecis italicis derompta*, I-1. Ancona–Bononia–Florentia. Warsaw 1874. no. 9. 554. I-2. Genua, Mantua, Mediolanum, Panormus et Taurinum. Belgrade 1882. no. 14, 134. (MHS); *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae Regis epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices datae et ab eis acceptae*. [=MVH] I. 6. Ed. Vilmos Fraknoi. Budapest 1891. no. 169., 216. [EMC] Andrei Antalfy, Două documente din biblioteca egipteană de la Cairo [Two Documents from the Egyptian Library of Cairo], *Revista Istorică* [Historical Review] [Bucharest] 20 (1934) 1–3: 38–40. (*Documente Cairo*); *Vite 1474–1494*, 472., 476–477. based on the same manuscript in the BNM, the quoted passages were edited prior to their Italian edition in Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], VIII. 1376–1650 [Ed. Ioan Slavici] Bucharest 1894. nos. 29–30., 27–28.; Al. Simon, „Între porturi și cer. Chilia, Cetatea Albă, Istanbul și Veneția în vara anului 1484”, [Between the Harbours and the Sky: Chilia, Cetatea Albă, Istanbul and Venice in the Summer of 1484] *Acta Musei Napocensis* [Cluj–Napoca] 39–40 (2002–2003 [2005]) 2: 229–271. For the news on the fall: A.S.Ve., S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32. 1484–1485, c. 92^f. 16 September 1484: Instructions for *Ioanni Dario, secretario nostro in Costantinopoli/ Redditae nobis fuere litterae tuae diei V et VI mensis Augusti nuper decursi: quibus post progressus Illustrissimi Domini Turci contra Stephanum Vaivodam: et deditioem Licostomi, et Moncastru...*. *Dispacci Constantinopoli*. S.D.C. F[ilza].1A, 1484–1567, *Dispacci al Senato del Segretario Giovanni Dario, 1484, 31 maggio–28 febbraio* [1485], no. 24a. 5 August 1484 edited in 22 *dispacci*, no. 24a, 82. The letter from August 6 was probably lost in the great fire that swept through the Venetian archives in 1570s. On the other hand, it should be noted that prior to this event the report in question, like the report of Bembo to which Sanudo alluded in his work (The remaining reports were edited in *Campania*) was re-

In questo tempo [prior to 5 September 1484] per uno grippo venuto da Corphù con lettere di Sier Piero Bembo<figlio> quondam sier Lorenzo, Baylo nostro a Constantinopoli, et di Zuan Dario, Secretario nostro [these letters or other letters on the fall of the Moldavian harbours had been sent from Istanbul to Venice already on August 5 and 6], se intese come il signor Payseta turcho, che andò nel paexe dil Valacho di [passage missing from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana of Venice; probably the missing passage of text of the chronicle read either Carabodan or Moldavia], havia preso la terra fortissima chiamata Nicostomo, et roto 25^m cavalli de' coradori di ditto Valacho, per il che li custodi et habitatori di Moncastro, vedendo la crudeltà dil Turcho fata a Nicostomo, li mandoe le chiave di ditta città, et senza altra bataglia avé quel Dominio [...].

A dì 18 [September 1484] dil dito mexe arivoe in questa città uno ambascador dil signor Bayseto, Principe d' i Turchi. El qual fo honorato iusta el solito, et venuto in Colegio apresentoe la lettera dil suo Signor, che avisava la vittoria auta e l'aquisto di le terre dil Valacho, et che, come nostro bon amico, mandava ad alegrarsi di la sua vittoria. Poi esso orator, qual havia inzegno, havendo per camin inteso di la paxe fata, si congratulò col Principe, dicendo il suo Signor l'averà molto a grato ad intender tal nova, per la bona amicitia e paxe l'ha con questa Signoria. Et, stato dito orator qui alcuni zorni, fo risposto a la lettera dil Signor ralegrandosi di tal vittoria; et lui fo vestito et la soa fameglia, et apresentato; poi se partì molto contento.// Ma pocho dapoi, se intese esso Signor Turcho havia auto una rota di molta di la soa gente da Hongari et Croati adunati insieme con le zente dil Valacho, li in Valachia. Per il che, di novo esso Signor feva exercito per andar im persona contra di questi.

The Ottoman sources kept a perfect silence on the not particularly heroic actions. The Venetians, who recorded what had actually occurred, did not remind the sultan of them, but greeted his envoy with the news of his master's victory. Regardless of their rite, for motifs that stretched from personal shame to collective failure, the Christians played along. As time went by, the duration of the Ottoman sieges was prolonged, up to a month in later Ottoman sources. Back in Chilia, on 2 August, Bayezid II had announced his complete victory to Ragusa. He soon real-

moved from the folder containing the rest of Dario's reports, respectively from the folder encapsulating Bembo's reports, which might suggest that these reports, two or more, contained data disturbing for the Venetian senate and for its Ottoman politics. For the contemporary anonymous (Russian-) Lithuanian chronicle: Damian Bogdan, „Știri despre români în cronici publicate la Moscova”, [Romanian Data in Chronicles published in Moscow] *Revista Arhivelor* [The Review of the Archives] [Bucharest] 54 (1977) 4: 443–446. (It is however more likely that the main cause for Stephen III's defeat was that he was caught between the Ottoman army cores, which had divided themselves prior to the Moldavian attack in view of Stephen III's imminent military action, as the ruler seemingly and naturally preferred direct combat to a prolonged siege; in this respect, see the reports edited in 22 *dispacci*, no. 26a, 102. *Campania*, no. 12. 245.)

ized that his victory could be detrimental to him, if he did not provide an alternative perspective regarding what had happened in July, and also in the previous months. Other examples of such *Christian* acceptance of a *Muslim* story are hard to find. In time, several explanations were therefore offered, namely in regard to the actions of Stephen III of Moldavia, for the events of mid and early 1484.⁶

I. THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

By his Moldavian campaign, Bayezid II had tried to settle the domestic and foreign troubles caused by his ‘captive’ brother and contender Djem. What was to become over time, in particular, a major Ottoman success seemed for the moment to have brought more reasons for concern for the Porte. Since early 1484, a clash with the Catholic world seemed unavoidable. The same appeared to be (more than) true at the end of the same year. In spring, the *War of Ferrara* (1482-1484) broke out against pope Sixtus IV. As in the 1470s, his way out of the crisis was the crusade, both to the West (Granada) and to the East. Yet, to the East, basically, he had no ruler to rely on. Matthias negotiated with Bayezid. Casimir IV of Poland and Frederick III did the same, directly or by Venetian means. All three were hostile at the time to the dying pope. Still, prior to 1 April, Sixtus IV launched the crusade. Only a *Greek* seems to have responded in the East: the former favourite of the Venetian republic, which had become the Genoese pope’s main nemesis.⁷

⁶ For instance: Iván Nagy, Albert B. Nyáry (eds.), *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek. Mátyás király korából 1458–1490* [Memorials of Hungarian Diplomacy: The Age of King Matthias. 1458–1490] [= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, IV. 1–4] III [1481–1488]. Budapest 1877. no. 33.; 36–37. a copy from 24 December 1484, of Bayezid’s letter to the Ragusans was preserved also in Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan. ASM. Archivio Ducale Sforzesco/ Archivio Visconteo Sforzesco. A.D.S. Potenze estere, *Illiria, Polonia, Russia, Slavonia*, cart. 640 [1450–1531], fasc. [1], *Illiria*, nn; 22 *Dispacci*, no. 34a, 174. Andrea Cambini, *Libro della origine de Turchi et imperio delli Ottomanni*. Florence 1537. ff. 49^r–51^v. *Arhiva Istorică a României* [Romania’s Historical Archive] Bucharest I. 1865. 2. no. 310., 55–56., 58–59.); *Letopisețul de la Putna I–II*. [The Chronicle of Putna] In: *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV–XVI publiccate de Ioan Bogdan* [The Slavic-Romanian Chronicles of 15th–16th Centuries] Ed. P[etre] Panaitescu. Bucharest 1959. 51–54. Theodor [Spandugino] Spandounes, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*. Ed. trans. Donald M. Nicol. Cambridge 1997. 56. For the original Italian text see *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani, ordini della corte, forma de guerreggiare loro, religione, rito, et costumi della natione*, In: *Documents inédits relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*. Ed. C[onstantin]. Sathas. IX. Paris 1890. 171–172. (*Grèce*); *Vite 1474–1494*, 476. *Tursun Bey, Aşık Paşa Zade, Mehmed Neşri, Menaki-i Sultan Bayezid-Han Ibn-i Muhammed-Han, Tevarih Al-I Osman*, In: *Cronici turcești*, I. 77–79, 99–101. 130–131. 137, 187. Al. Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin. O co-existență medievală*. [Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus: A Medieval Coexistence] Cluj–Napoca 2007. 211–216. It is worth noting that the geographically remote contemporary Russian-Lithuanian chronicle came closest to the story outlined in the Italian Peninsula by Sanudo, based on Bembo and Dario’s reports from Istanbul. See the edition and commentaries of Bogdan, „Știri despre români”, 443–446.

⁷ E.g. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City. ASV. Miscellaneorum Armarium/ Miscellanea Armadi [also known as Varia Politicorum]. Misc. Armarium. Arm. [series] II. [reg.], 30, ff. 104.

1. BETWEEN THE ITALIAN AND THE OTTOMAN CRISIS

In 1484 Christendom's Ottoman inland and maritime frontier was divided up between Rhodes, Venice, due to her Albanian and Aegean colonial remainders, Hungary, Ragusa, Moldavia (the latter were Buda's vassals), and Naples (due to the 'crusade of Otranto'), if we accept the eastern coast of the Italian Peninsula as a frontline. In 1483-1484, Rome could neither rely on Venice, her enemy and the Porte's (reluctant) ally, nor on Naples. The Hospitaller Knights kept Rhodes safe by their 'Djem deal' with Bayezid II. Ragusa paid tribute to the Porte. Hungary was the only one left for Rome in the Latin world. Matthias was in a Catholic political dead-end. His Habsburg and Jagiellonian conflicts had already severely limited his anti-Ottoman actions. Even under different circumstances, Matthias' chances of success in a confrontation with the Porte would have been rather small. This had best come to light in the mid 1460s and early 1470s. John Hunyadi's son therefore did what he had been doing for at least a decade. He threatened Rome with siding with her enemies both within and outside Christendom and negotiated with the Ottomans.⁸

(109)^v–105. (110)^f. (On 1 April 1484 Sixtus IV informed King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile that he had sent the crusade bulls. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 30, 1481–1482. cc. 65^v, 93^r; reg. 31. 1483 [–1484], cc. 117^{r-b}, 136^v; 23 March, 9 June 1482, 16 December 1483, 17 February 1483: *More Veneto* [= 1484; *Codex*, [IV] *Index auctorum saeculi XV ad res publicas Poloniae spectantiam*. Ed. A. Lewicki. Krakow 1888. no. 4435, 503. no. 4462, 506. MDE, III. nos. 9–15., 12–20. 22 *dispacci*, no. 28a, 124. *Historia politica*, 54. Halil Inalcik, „The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1451–1522”, In: *A History of the Crusades*, Gen. ed. K.M. Setton, VI. *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*. Eds. Harry W. Hazard, Norman Zacour. Madison 1989. 337., 339. István Nyitrai, „Sultan Bayezid II as the Only Legitimate Pretender to the Ottoman Throne. (A Persian Sahnâme dated from 1486)”, In: *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica. Akten des 13. OEPO-Symposiums vom 21. bis 25. September 1998 in Wien*. Ed. Markus Köhlbach, Gisela Prochazka-Eisl, Claudia Römer. Vienna 1999. 261–266. For the events between 1471/1472 and 1475/1476 see Al. Simon, „Matthias Corvinus' Anti-Ottoman Policies in the Early 1470s: Political Patterns, Military Actions and Late Medieval Propaganda”, In: *Matthias Rex. Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*. Ed. István Draskóczy, Ildikó Hórn, Iván Horváth, András Végh. Budapest 2009. [forthcoming].

⁸ E.g. ASVe, S.S., *Senato Mar*, reg. 12, c. 12^r. 21 (June 1484; [Imre Kelcz], *Epistolae Matthiae Corvini Regis Hungariae ad pontifices, imperatores, reges, principes, aliosque viros illustres*. Kosice 1743. pars IV. no. 27, 56–57. Vilmos Fraknoi, *Mátyás király levelei. Külügyi Osztály* [King Matthias' Letters. Foreign Section], II. 1480–1490. Budapest 1895. no. 140., 244. no. 162., 273. no. 169., 286. [MKL]; MDE, III. no. 17, 23. Louis Thuasne, *Djem Sultan, fils de Mahommed II. frère de Bayezid II. 1459–1495) d'après les documents originaux en grand partie inédites. Étude sur la question d'Orient à la fin du XV^e siècle*. Paris 1890. 67–71., 268–271., 281–282. Setton, *The Papacy and Levant*, II. 378–384. For the Italian „Ottoman background” of late 1460s-early 1480s: Geo Pistarino, “La politica sforesca nel Mediterraneo orientale”, In: *Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro rapporti con gli stati italiani ed europei. 1450–1530*). *Convegno internazionale, Milano, 18–21 maggio 1981*. Milan 1982. 335–368. Vicente Ilardi, “Towards the *Tragedia d'Italia*: Ferrante and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Friendly Enemies and Hostile Allies”, In: *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–1495. Antecedents and Effects*. Ed. David Abulafia. Aldershot 1995. 91–122.; Oliver Jens Schmitt, „Skanderbegs letzte Jahre. West-östliches Wechselspiel von Diplomatie und Krieg im Zeitalter der osmanischen Eroberung Albanien (1464–1468)”, *Südost-Forschungen* 44–45 (2004–2005) 56–123.

Matthias had negotiations with Bayezid who wanted to reach an arrangement with him. The king had also talks with Djem who wanted to be entrusted to the king, the only one he saw capable to place him on the Ottoman throne. Matthias was also in contact with those Ottoman beys who wanted to poison Bayezid II. The king's confidence grew as everybody seemed to turn to him. Though he was at war with Frederick III, he avoided over the first half of 1484 sealing a treaty with Bayezid. Throughout the last four years, upholding a similar political stand in Christendom's inland Ottoman front, of which he controlled, directly, around 70 per cent. This had repercussions on his vassal Stephen III of Moldavia, who ruled over some 20 per cent of this land frontier. In the summer of 1482 Stephen III had nearly lost his throne. Still, he did not conclude any official long term deal with Bayezid II. In spring 1484, Stephen III even challenged the sultan, as testified by all the sources, Christian and Muslim, though it is not known whether it was prior or after the fall of the harbours. The ruler relied on Rome's calls and Buda's promises, which had in fact brought him to a desperate situation in 1482.⁹

At any rate, the Christian context was inauspicious for the Moldavian gestures. Genoa's crusader enthusiasm of 1481–1482 had been lost due to Italian

⁹ ASV, Misc., Arm., II–56, ff. 356. 357^v–357. 358^f. 28 October 1483: a better, yet less used, copy of the Buda reports of Bartolomeo Maraschi, bishop of Castelli. Città di Castello) and papal legate, which contain most of the data on Matthias' Ottoman plots and deals of 1483, can be found in Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice. BMC. *Manoscritti*, Mss. 364. [=Archivio Morosini e Grimani 461] ff. 352^r–367^r; 26–29 October 1483: a rather accurate transcription of these very important letters, following probably however a different copy of this set of reports, was provided from *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Cod. Ms. 3901 in 1702[!], according to an annotation, by György Pray. 1723–1801; this modern transcription is preserved in HHStA, Handschriftensammlung, Hs. W[eiss]. 156, ff. 119^r–125^r/ 235–241; ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 31. cc. 10^v, 45^v. 10 April, 22 July 1483; HHStA, Staatenabteilungen. S.A. Ausserdeutsche Staaten. A.D.S. *Hungarica. Ungarische Akten. Allgemeine Akten*. A.A. I. [Karton] 1. I-1. 1. 1423–1525, fasc. 1-1. A. 1463 Juli–1490 Mai, f. 116^r. 26 April 1483; Magyar Országos Levéltár [National Hungarian Archives], Budapest. MOL. Q section) Diplomatai Levéltár [Diplomatic Archive]. DL. [no.] 38886. 11 April 1483 the original archival location of the letter sent by Matthias to bishop Sixtus von Tannenberg, bishop of Freising, by which the emperor is accused of Ottoman dealings, is unknown; it belongs now to department Q, no. 281. Vegyes provenienciájú oklevelek [Documents of Various Origins], *Vétel útján bekerült vegyes provenienciájú iratok* [Purchased Documents of Various Origins]; Masarykovy Universitni knihovny [The Library of the "Masaryk" University], Brno. UKB. Mk 9, *mikulovsky rukopis* [The Mikulov Manuscript], ff. 276^r–277^r. two letters of Matthias to Stephen III, the first one dated 20 August 1482, while the other has no date, but belongs to the same time span; copy: MOL, Filmtár [Microfilm Archive], *Karl Nehring gyűjtése* [Karl Nehring Collection], rols. 30173–30174., the two letters were repeatedly misdated, usually under 1475, e.g. MKL, I. nos. 220–221. 313–314); *Actae et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia*. [=Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum, IV, VI.] Ed. Endre Veress, I. 1468–1540. Budapest 1914. nos. 32–34. 34–37. MHS, I-2, no. 14. 134. MDE, III. no. 33. 36–37. *Oruç*, 38. *Hanivaldanus*, 201. *Historia politica*, 54. Mustafa A. Mehmet, „Un document turc concernant le kharatch de la Moldavie et de la Valachie aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles”, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* [Bucharest] 5 (1967) 1–2: 265–274.

warfare. Still, hope of retaking Caffa was kept alive. After Venice had been excommunicated (1483), keeping peace with the Porte was more than ever a necessity for her. Like Mehmed before him, Bayezid exploited Venice's weakness towards the Ottomans. In 1480 Mehmed II had taken Otranto from Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Naples and Venice's archenemy. In 1484 Ferdinand was still Venice's adversary. He was also Matthias' influential father-in-law. In spite of the mutual attempts of reconciliation (late 1483-early 1484), Matthias was still at odds with Rome (officially Naples' ally) and namely Venice. Nevertheless, he had to take consideration of Ferdinand's interests and also his own ones. In both cases, the goodwill of the papacy was of considerable importance for Matthias left without a legitimate heir.¹⁰

After the fall of Venetian Negroponte (1470), in a dramatic gesture intended for Italian eyes, which he hoped Mehmed II would not take too serious, Ferdinand, Venice's friend at the time, broke off the relations with the sultan. He became a prime Ottoman target. In later years, he unsuccessfully tried to restore his Ottoman ties. In particular, after Otranto, his kingdom was a constant potential Ottoman cible. The very contested monarch needed Rome's Italian and crusader support and Matthias' influence and military pressure, in order be protected, by diplomacy and warfare, in front of the *Turk*. In his turn, without Rome's consent, Matthias could not become master of Djem. Abducting the sultan's brother was not a real option, although it was attempted. Furthermore, Ferdinand's downfall would have increased Matthias' isolation. Since 1481-1482, on the continental level, he could 'rely' only on Bavaria and Moldavia. Already trapped between North and South on the political level, because of his dynastic conflicts, Matthias

¹⁰ E.g. Archivio di Stato di Genova, Genoa. ASG. Archivio Segreto. A.S., *Diversorum*, [reg.] 742, 1480-1490, c. 4^v; *Litterarum. Officium Monete*, 1804. reg. 1481. cc. 44^r-45^r; *Materie Politiche. Scritti in lingua orientale ed africana*, 2737 D, 1118-1707, nn. [Documenti Greco-Bizantini], [dos. G]. 13 September 1480, 2 February, 31 December 1481; BMC, *Manoscritti*, Provenienze Diverse, 594. ff. 39^{r-v}, 41^r. 3, 18 July 1481; ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 31. cc. 132^r, 136^r-137^r. 3, 17 February 1483 MV [=1484] Venice's talks with Bayezid on Frederick III's behalf further increased pressure on Matthias, also because the sultan made it clear that he preferred the King to the emperor. Lajos Thallóczy, *Frammenti relativi alla storia dei paesi situati all'Adria*. [offprint *Archeografo triestino*, 3rd Series, VII. 1]. Trieste 1913. 40. EMC, nos. 159-161., 206-207. no. 166., 212. *Acta graeca*, III. no. III-23., 317-332 [December 1482-April 1483: Bayezid II to Pierre d'Aubusson in view of a lasting peace and of the "better" solution of the Djem matter: *Malipiero*, 122., 133. Fabio Cusin, *Il confine orientale d'Italia nella politica europea del XIV e XV secolo*. II. Milan 1937. 213-214. Gian Giacomo Musso, „Le ultime speranze dei Genovesi per il Levante. Ricerche d'archivio!”, In: *Genova, la Liguria el'Oltremare tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi e ricerche d'archivio*. Genoa. I. 1974. 22-23. Șt. Andreescu, „Autour de la dernière phase des rapports entre la Moldavia et Gênes” *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 21 (1982) 2: 257-282. (For the events and plans between 1476 and 1482.)

had to protect himself and Ferdinand from Bayezid II either by arms (the option favoured by Rome) or by treaties.¹¹

2. THE PORTE, THE PENINSULA AND THE HARBOURS

The only way out of the ‘domestic crisis’ that tormented Christendom, that is, in the Italian Peninsula and in East-Central Europe, was an attack on the sultan. It was also a far-fetched solution, given that it was the same context that brought it forward. The same was true for the Porte. Antonio Bonfini’s wording, lending a term ‘from’ the reign of Louis I of Anjou to denote Matthias’ rule (*pacem domi foris bellum*), applied also to the politics of Bayezid II. Since 1402, the Ottoman Empire had not known a crisis similar to that of the early 1480s. Such a high-ranking Ottoman figure as Djem had never before found its way into *Christian* hands. These facts diminished the proven practical (military and financial) advantages of the Ottoman Empire. By his attack on Moldavia, Bayezid II took on a significant risk. At the same time however, he fully exploited the misunderstandings that had already rendered inefficient the Moldavian and Hungarian campaigns in Wallachia and Bosnia after Mehmed II’s death and during the Ottoman civil war, fought in Asia Minor (1481–1482).¹²

¹¹ Giacomo Grasso, „Documenti riguardanti la costituzione di una lega contro il Turco nel 1481”, *Giornale linguistico di scienze, lettere ed arti* [Genoa] 6 (1879) no. 119., 488. Dezső Csánki, „Oklevelek a Hunyadiak korából”, [Documents from the Age of the Hunyadis] II. *Történelmi Tár* [Historical Archive] [Budapest] 15 (1902) 2: no. 48., 362. no. 50., 364. Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem. Un prince ottoman dans l’Europe du XVI^e siècle d’après deux sources contemporaines: Vâkicât-i Sultân Cem/ Œuvres de Guillaum Carousin*. Ankara 1997. 95–102. Péter E. Kovács, „Magyarország és Nápoly politikai kapcsolatai a Mátyás-korban” [The Political Relations between Hungary and Naples in Matthias’ Time] In: *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére* [Studies in the Memory of Ferenc Szakály]. Eds. Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy, István György Tóth. Budapest 1998. 229–231., 236–237. Al. Simon, „The Use of the *Gate of Christendom*. Hungary’s Mathias Corvinus and Moldavia’s Stephen the Great Politics in the late 1400s”, *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* [Venice] 3 (2004) 207–209., 218–219. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, II. 373–378.

¹² ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze estere, Ungheria*, cart. 649, 1437–1480 [1484], fasc. [3], 1466–1480 [1484], nn. 27 April 1484; Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires*. Ed. Joseph Calmette. II. Paris 1925. 308. *Bonfini*, 1936–1941. II. 249. F. Babinger, „Bayezid Osman. Calixtus Otomanus. Ein Vourläufer und Gegenspieler Deschem Sultans”, *Nouvelle Clio* [Bruxelles] 3 (1951) 349–388. Norman Housley, „King Louis the Great of Hungary and the Crusades 1342–1382”, *The Slavonic and East-European Review* [London] 52 (1982) 192–208. Dimitris Kastritsis, „Religious Affiliations and Political Alliances in the Ottoman Succession Wars of 1402–1413”, *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* [Leiden] 13 (2007) 2: 222–242. Due to 1480s, it is worth remembering that, in 1473–1474 the „circle’ of the fourteen year old Djem was involved in the attempted Venetian *coup de palais* in Istanbul: (Theocharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of the Vezirs. The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović. 1453–1474*). Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 2001. 232–234.; Nicolae Iorga, „Veneția în Marea Neagră. III. Originea legăturilor cu Ștefan cel Mare și mediul politic al dezvoltării lor”, [Venice’s ‘Involvement’ in the Black Sea ‘Area’] III. The Origins of the Relations to Stephen the Great and the Political Environment of their Development] In: Idem, *Studii asupra evului mediu românesc* [Studies on the Romanian Middle Ages]. Ed. Șerban Papacostea. Bucharest 1984. nos. 1–2, 244. Al. Simon, „Lumea lui Djem.

Since mid-May 1484, Venice knew that Moldavia was Bayezid's target. The information did not reach Naples, which was the other major Ottoman cible, according to rumors. Venice remained cautious. The memory of 1480 was vivid. The Ottomans had simultaneously attacked Rhodes and Otranto. Moreover, the Porte was usually after false goals before the attack took place elsewhere. Venice's fears were illustrated also by her efforts to conclude, in her favour and to Rome's obvious disadvantage, an Italian peace. The peace was sealed, at Bagnolo (August 7) and made allies out of the former enemies Venice and Naples. In late July she had politely refused to accept the Ottoman fleet in her harbours, as requested by Bayezid. Even so, he had other important Italian supporters. Milan's Ottoman tradition was no secret. Florence was equally glad to welcome Ottoman envoys before Lorenzo di Medici clearly overstretched his abilities, trying to put pressure on Bayezid by his involvement in the Djem crisis. In such times, Frederick III's, Cazimir IV's and Matthias' shortcomings seemed to be only a bonus for the sultan.¹³

The Ottoman question was connected the Italian problems of Hungary and Moldavia. The connection had grown stronger since the mid 1470s. In the summer of 1484, due to the Djem affair and the parties involved in the War of Ferrara, it reached an all-time peak, prior to the events of 1497–1499 (which led to another Venetian-Ottoman war), as Milan took detailed notice of the Ottoman plans, via Naples. In certain respects, Milan's network of spies and envoys was even better than that of Venice. In early July it was an almost unique piece of information, even though a month old, since the first reports that had already been sent from Istanbul to Ragusa reached Milan. Bayezid was ready to take the former Genoese colonies (under Moldavian control), viewed as *the harbours of the Hungarians*, designation to be found only in late Byzantine and Ottoman sources. The efforts made by Matthias to gather troops against him seemed to be the only

Suceava, Buda și Istanbul în anii 1480s", [Djem's World. Suceava, Buda and Istanbul in 1480s] *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu* [The Yearbook the *George Barițiu* Institute of History] [Cluj–Napoca] 48 (2005) 11–43.

¹³ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, 1484 *Giugno-Dicembre*, fasc. [2], *Luglio*, nn. 1, 7, 12 July 1484; ASVe, S.S. *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32, 1484–1485, c. 68^r. 21 July 1484 BMC, Mss. 364. ff. 352^r–367^r. 26–29 October 1483; F. Babinger, „Sechs unbekannte aragonische Sendschreiben”, In: Idem, *Spätmittel-alterliche fränkische Briefschaften aus dem großherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul*. Munich 1963. no. 1. 91. *Dokumente pëe historinë e Shqipërisë*. [Documents on the History of Albania] IV-1. 1479–1499. Ed. Injac Zamputi. Tirana 1979. no. 101. 87–88. 22 *Dispacci*, no. 36a, 188. no. 40, 224. *Campania*, nos. 3–4. 224. 228. Jacopo Gherardi Da Volterra, *Diarium romanum dal VII settembre MCCCCLXXIX al XII agosto MCCCCLXXXIV*. Ed. Enrico Carusi, In: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. [Città di Castello–Bologna] 22 (1904) 3: 135–136. *Malipiero*, 136–137. Emilio Motta, „Un ambasciatore tartaro a Venezia 1476”, *Ateneo Veneto* [Venice] 19 (1889) 145–148. Hans Peter–Alexander Theunissen, „Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The Ahdnames. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political Commercial Instruments”, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* [Leiden] 1 (1998) 2: 137–138.

actual reaction to the threat. The royal efforts of mid June or late July however prove to be largely ineffective.¹⁴

[...] *Delle cose del Turco: aviso la Vostra Excellentia noviter essere venuto di Constantinopoli/ uno nepuote del conte camerlengo, che referisse essere partito da Constantinopoli trenta giorni fa, et lo Grande Turco essere levato da dicta cita per andare ad campersi contra/ lo Signor di Valachia, et questo per che era stato tre anni che non haveva pagato lo censo de/ certe castelle che tene censuario nomine da sua Signoria, et havendogli mandato ad offerire/ di pagarli di presente, lo ha recusato, con dire che vole le castelle, et ch'el prefato Signor di Valachia hagli risposto che le castelle non sono sue, ma sono del serenissimo Re di Un-*

¹⁴ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Napoli*, cart. 244. fasc. 2, nn. 9 July; the highly damaged report, given by Milan's able spy in Naples, Branda di Castilono was entirely edited in: Al. Simon, „Chilia și Cetatea Albă în vara anului 1484 Noi documente din arhivele italiene” [Chilia and Cetatea Albă in the Summer of 1484: New Documents from Italian Archives], *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXVI. 2008. 184–185; MDE, II [1466–1480]. Budapest 1876. no. 46, 76. IV [1488–1490, 1458–1490]. Budapest 1878. no. 129, 182. Milan and the Porte in 1498–1499: *I diarii di Marino Sanuto. MCCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII cod. CDXIX–CDLXXVII*. Eds. Guglielmo Berchet, Frederico Stefani, Nicolò Barozzi, Rinaldo Fulin, Marco Allegri, II. *1 Ottobre 1498–30 settembre 1499*. Venice 1879–1880. cols. 289, 910, 953, 958. *Sanudo*). For Matthias Corvinus' troubles, in his attempts to come to Stephen III's aid, both prior and after the conquest of the harbours. 18 June, 26 July, 1st, 10th–11th, 16th, 18 August, 16 September: Esztergomi Székesfőkáptalan Magánlevéltára. Primási Levéltára) [The Primatial Archives of Arch-Chapter of Esztergom], Esztergom. ESM. Acta radicalia, 27-2-15. copy: Diplomatkai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic Collection of Copies]. DF. [no.] 236551; Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár [The Archives of the County Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok], Szolnok. JNSzML. Oklevelek, no. 2. copy: MOL, DF 283754; MOL, DL 56173. 83909–83911. 83916, 101774. 102629. Státny Okresný Archiv Bardejove [State Archive of the Bardejove District], Bardejove. Bártfa). SOAB. Archiv Mesta Bardejove/Bártfa Város Levéltára [The Archive of the City of Bardejove]. B.V.L. *Középkori gyűjtemény*. [Medieval Collection] no. 2350. copy: MOL, DF 215104; Státny Oblastný Archiv Levoča [Regional State Archive of Levoča], Levoča. Lewocza, Leutschau, Lócse). SOAL. [Section] L. Rody i panstavá [Families and Domains], I. Rody [Families]. L-I. Andráši. z Krásnej Hôrky) Archiv/ Andrassy család levéltára [Archive of the Andrassy Family]. A.C.L. [Section]: *Mohács előtti oklevelek* [Documents prior to Mohács], 17–59. copy: MOL, DF 265307. Veszprém Megyei Levéltár [The Archives of the Veszprém County], Veszprém. VML. Szentgál, no.74. copy: MOL, DF 282709; L. Thallóczy, *A Kamara Haszna (lucrum camerae) története kapcsolatban a magyar adó- és pénzügy fejlődésével* [The History of the Lucrum Camerae from the Beginnings in Relation to the Hungarian Fiscal and Monetary Economy]. Budapest 1879. Appendix, no. 71. 205. Marius Diaconescu, Géza Érszegi, „Documenta quibus Hungariae, Valachiae et Moldaviae relationes melius illustrantur”, *Mediaevalia Transsylvanica* [Satu-Mare] 2 (1998) 2: no. 6., 287–288. Csánki, „Oklevelek”, no. 50, 364. For the harbours of the Hungarians of the Hungarians, e.g. *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae*, IV, *Scriptori și acte bizantine, secolele IV–XV* [Byzantine Writers and Documents], Eds. Horațiu Mihăilescu, Radu Lăzărescu, Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, Tudor Teoteoi. Bucharest 1982. no. LXXII-5, 6, 7, 560–562. no. LXXIII. *Manolis Slavos*. 567. FHDR). In this last respect, it has to stressed out also that, in December 1485, Cetatea Albă was also named *dy Deuthsche Weysenburgk. Akta Stanów Prus królewskich. Acta statuum terrarum Prussiae regalis*. [=Fontes Towarzystwa Nauko-wego w Toruniu, XLI. XLIII. L., LIV, LVII, LXIV–LXVI. LXVIII. LXXI. LXVII. Ed. Karol Górski, Marian Biskup, I. 1479–1488. Toruń. I. no. 212, 392. in comparison, see also *Vite 1474–1494*. 476–477).

garia. Questo/ medesimo etiam se affirma per lettere de Ragusei del primo del presente, per le quale refferiscono/ esse Gran Turco havere misso nel Mar Maggiore centocinquanta velle per volere debellare/ questo Signor di Valachia, dicendo che questa armata l'haveva instructa ad effecto di/ mandarla parte in Puglia ad instantia di Venetiani, et parte contra Rodiani, perche gli era significato suo fratello essere morto. Et che essendoli persuaso da uno grande/ maestro suo assistente de drizare questa armata contra lo Signor di Valachia haveva/ mutata sententia, et sequito il suo consiglio facilitando questa impresa, et persuadendoli/ <verso> [...]ta puoi poteria venire alla impresa di qua. Narrando apresso/ [...] Re di Ungaria havere mandati li soi ambasciatori per/ [...] pace et havere nominato in essi capituli per adherente lo dicto Signore/ [...] non haverli voluto consentire ne accettare la pace; parendoci/ [...]gnosa cossa havere facto tante apparato contra esso Signore per ritrarsi puoi/ [...], et per questo lo prefato Re di Ungaria li haveva mandato/ [...] uno valoroso capitaneo con grande copia di gente per aiutarlo. Et che esso/ [...] sera munito et fortificato talmente che non temeva lo advento suo/ [...]evasi anchora in dicte lettere che la gentedarme del prefato Signore Gran Turco/ era malcontenta da la sua Signoria et che universalmente desideravano lo fratello/ confortaria essi Ragosei la sua Maiesta di havere esso fratello nelle mano/ per secureza dello stato suo et di tutta la Christianità, significandoli ch'el/ prefato Signor Gran Turco haveva preso gran sdigno ad emulatione che Venetiani/ havessero preso Galipoli, et intrati in questo reame [...] (Naples, 9 July 1484).

The main focus of the report was however Bayezid II's delicate Ottoman situation. His domestic problems of the sultan that had compelled him to order a campaign became known in Milan six month after they had reached their peak. Venice seemingly kept them in secret. The delay is rather eloquent and befitting for the uncertainties and rumors that marked 1484. In return, Stephen's provocations and Matthias reluctance to sign a treaty with Bayezid indicate that the sultan's troubles were no secret in Buda and Suceava. The 'news' on the Venetian conquest of Gallipoli in the early summer of 1484 is intriguing. Venice would not have taken such a risk. However, after refusing to comply with the sultan's maritime demands and eager to retake some of her lost possessions in the Aegean, Venice was determined to make the most of the crisis of 1484. A conflict with the Porte was seemingly not ruled out as an option. Still, this depended on the outcome of the eastern clashes. The sultan won. Any anti-Ottoman plan which might have been drawn in Venice had to be postponed.¹⁵

¹⁵ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Napoli*, cart. 244. fasc. 2, nn. 9 July); ASVe, S.S. *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32, cc. 20^r, 25^r, 49^v, 67^v–68^v, 92^r. 28th, 31 March, 14 July, 21 July, 16 September 1484; MHS, I-1. nos. 13–14. 554–555. I-2, no. 14. 134. Stephanus [István] Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae ex fide domesticorum et exterorum scriptorum concinnata*, [C] *Stirpis mixtae*, IX. XVI. *Ab Anno Christi MCCCCLXXVI-Ad Annum usque MCCCCXC*. Buda 1793. *Ad annum 1484* no. 185. 1095. 563. *Oruç*, 37–38. *Hanivaldanus*, 200–201. *Historia politica*, 54. Maria Pia Pedani, *In Nome del Gran Signore. Inviati Ottomani a Venezia dalla Caduta di Con-*

II. PONTIC AND DANUBIAN COORDINATES AND CONSEQUENCES

Matthias jailed his chancellor, Peter Varádi, archbishop of Kalocsa, ‘chief-negotiator’ with the Porte (August-September 1484). He had just learned from Bayezid II that he could not rely on any provisions in the drafted treaty in order to reclaim the harbours. Whether the *Turk* had bribed Varádi or the Hungarian copy of the treaty was stolen, it was a shock. The 1488 edition of Thuróczy’s ‘official history’ of Hungary did not even make a single mention of these events. Matthias stood under great domestic and foreign pressure. Throughout 1483, news of his anti-Ottoman war preparations had reached Rome. Equally great attention, however, should have been given to Naples’ Ottoman deals. In March 1483, while Bayezid prepared an attack on Hungary, Ferdinand sent, without consulting with Matthias, a token of goodwill and a peace offer to Istanbul. Italian-Ottoman arrangements could always be backfired on the Danube frontier.¹⁶

1. REGIONAL RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

According to the Milanese report from Naples (early July 1484), Bayezid and Matthias, as well as Stephen, having already been almost exhausted, viewed the harbours (*castelle*) as fiefs entrusted to the Moldavian ruler in exchange for a census. From Bayezid’s point of view, the Porte had granted these ‘fiefs’ to Stephen III. In Matthias’ and Stephen’s perspective, the harbours were possessions of the Hungarians crown entrusted to Suceava. This concerned not only Chilia, at the Danube Mounds, a major source of Moldavian-Wallachian and Moldavian-Hungarian military and commercial conflicts, but Cetatea Albă too. It help to develop the formula of *the fortresses of the Hungarians* for two cities, a

stantinopole alla Guerra di Candia. Venice 1994. 110, 204. Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 99–100. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, II. 384–385. See, in comparison, Maria Matilda Alexandrescu Dersca Bulgaru, ‘L’action diplomatique et militaire de Venise pour la défense de Constantinople. 1452–1453’ *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, XIII. 1974. 2, 253–255.

¹⁶ ASV, Misc., Arm., II-30, ff. 88. 93^r–95. 100^r [Early 1485]; *Grèce*, VI. Paris 1884. *Dispacci da Napoli di Romania. 1479–1483* 213. 1483; *Hurmuzaki*, II-1. 1451–1575, Ed. Nicolae Densușianu. Bucharest 1891. nos. 18–19, 15–16. VIII. no. 30, 27. N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Documents and Fragments on the History of the Romanians], III. [1399–1499]. Bucharest 1897. 63–65. EMC, no. 175, 221. 22 *dispaci*, no. 40a, 222. Hans-Joachim. Kissling, *Sultan Bajezids II. Beziehungen zu Markgraf Francesco II. von Gonzaga*. Munich 1965. 42–45. Al. Simon, ‘Anti-Ottoman Warfare and Crusader Propaganda in 1474: New Evidences from the Archives of Milan’ *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, XLVI. 2007. 1–4. 25–39. Idem, ‘The Limits of the Moldavian Crusade. 1474, 1484’ *Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica*. Venice. IX. 2007. 273–326. Idem, ‘The Costs and Benefits of Anti-Ottoman Warfare: The Case of Moldavia. 1475–1477’ *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, XLVII. 2008. 1–4. in press). For Varádi: V. Fraknói, ‘Váradi Péter’ In: Idem, *Egyháznagyok a magyar középkorból* [Medieval Hungarian Prelates]. Budapest 1916. 106–171. Rabán Gerézdi, *Egy Magyar Humanista: Váradi Péter* [A Hungarian Humanist: Peter Váradi]. I–II. *Különlenyomat a Magyarországtudomány*. Budapest. I. 1943. 3. 305–328. 4. 527–563.

syntagm to be found in smaller Byzantine and post-Byzantine chronicles. After the fall of the harbours, Matthias tried to reclaim, by diplomatic means, at least Chilia from the sultan. Bayezid politely refused any requests.¹⁷

The 'Hungarian status' of the harbours went back to as early as John Hunyadi's time. However, unlike Chilia, retaken from under Wallachian-Ottoman control by Stephen, with Matthias' approval (1465), Cetatea Albă had never housed a Hungarian garrison. Like Hunyadi had demanded Messembria from Constantine XI Palaeologus and was thus granted by the emperor (1452–1453) in order to support Byzantium (and his interests), Cetatea Albă could have just as well been requested from one of the Moldavian rulers loyal, at least for a while, to him (Peter II, Bogdan II, Stephen III's father) or Alexander II). The Hungarian version of the provisions of the Moldavian-Hungarian treaty of 1475 stipulated that the Moldavian-Wallachian border system was to be re-established according to the course agreed by Mircea I and Alexander I in the early 1400s. The entire route linking Hungary to the Danube Mounds and the harbour of Licostomo were to be lost by Moldavia through the favour of Wallachia, as being much easier to be controlled by Buda. As the other treaties between Matthias' and Stephen, remain largely unknown, it is difficult to go any further.¹⁸

¹⁷ ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze Estere, Napoli*, cart. 244. fasc. 2, nn. 9 July 1484; MDE, III. no. 98, 135. *Hurmuzaki*, II-1. nos. 18–19, 15–16. VIII. no. 31. 28. EMC, no. 169, 216. 22 *Dispacci*, no. 28a, 124. *Acte*, III. 85. 22 *dispacci*, no. 28a, 124. FHDR, no. LXXII-5, 560. Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, 205–208, 531. See in comparison the two editions of János Thuróczi/Thuróczy's, *Chronica Hungarorum*, In: *SRH*, I. 1746. 39–291. and in 3 volumes. Budapest 1985–1988); I. *Textus*. Ed. Erzsebet Galántai, Gyula Kristó; II-1. 2, *Commentarii*, by Elemér Mályusz, with Gy. Kistó. Matthias diplomatic and military problems in the late 1470s and early 1480s: Ferenc Szakály, *Phases of Turko-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács. 1365–1526*, In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Budapest. XXXIII. 1979. 88–94. see András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*. Budapest 2008. 109–115. in particular).

¹⁸ For instance: I. Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare* [The Documents of Stephen the Great], II. *Hrisoave și cărți domnești 1493–1503. Tractate, acte omagiale, solii, privilegii comerciale, salvconducte. Scrisori 1457–1503* [Princely Charters and Documents. 1493–1503. Treaties, Homages, Commercial Privileges, Safe-conducts, Letters 1457–1503]. Bucharest 1913. nos. 146–147, 335, 337. Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare* [Moldavian Documents prior to Stephen the Great], II. *Documente interne. Urice. ipsoace. Surete, Regeste, Traduceri (1438–1456). Documente Externe. Acte de împrumut, de omagiu, tractate, solii, privilegii comerciale, salvconducte, scrisori (1387–1456)* [Domestic Documents: Charters, Regests, Translations. 1438–1456. Foreign Documents: Letters of Credit, Hommage Deeds, Treaties, Embassies, Trade Privileges, Safe-Conducts and Letters 1387–1456]. Iași 1932. II. nos. 215–216., 733–740., nos. 220–224., 749–755. I; Francisc Pall, „Byzance à la veille de sa chute et Janco de Hunedoara (Hunyadi)”, *Byzantinoslavica* [Prague] 19 (1969) 1: 123–124.; Șerban Papacostea, „Aux débuts de l'état moldave. Considerations en marge d'une nouvelle source”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12 (1973) 1: 148–150. For the other arrangements between Stephen III of Moldavia and Matthias Corvinus: 1462–1463, 1464–1465, 1466–1467, 1480–1482, in particular, or 1489, see also Al. Simon, „The Arms of the Cross: The Christian Policies of Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus”, Idem, „Antonio Bonfini's *Valachorum regulus*: Matthias Corvinus, Transylvania and Stephen the Great”, In: *Between Worlds. [=Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, nouvelle série, I. 1–4. I.] Stephen the Great, Matthias Corvinus and their Time*. Eds. László Koszta, Ovidiu Mureșan, Al. Simon. Cluj–Napoca 2007. 45–86., 207–234.

These territorial disputes were not the main cause for Bayezid's II success. It was a much deeper problem that in terms of military machinery and personnel, Stephen was not a match any more for the Ottoman armies, as he had been in 1474–1476. Deprived of a major Tartar support, following the failure of Venice's Scythian plans and the Crimean and Volga victories of Mengli Ghiray, loyal to Mehmed II and later to Bayezid II (1476–1479), Stephen was vulnerable both to the East and to the West. By refusing in (late) spring and early summer of 1484 to include Stephen in the Ottoman-Hungarian treaty, as Matthias requested, Bayezid was exploiting the Pontic trump of his. Although, in March, Matthias' denial of his peace proposal gave him a reason for concern, the sultan was not willing to yield in to the king's demands, who, like Stephen, had misjudged the sultan and his powers. Since the beginning of the negotiations in the autumn of 1483 and until probably the late spring of 1484, Matthias did not take the explicit inclusion of Moldavia or at least of the harbours in the projected treaty into serious account. Seemingly, Matthias did not want to ratify the (preliminary) treaty. However, he had formally approved the treaty.¹⁹

Bayezid made full use of it. With or without (most likely with) aid from the ranks of the royal chancery, he could show the king that the treaty did not protect Matthias' Moldavian interests. (He repeated his demonstration after the conquest of the harbours.) Bayezid claimed he had made far too large war preparations for him to give up on his Moldavian campaign. Scared by the fact that he had been diplomatically and militarily outmanoeuvred by the sultan, Matthias sent troops, rather few in number, to Stephen III's aid, as his main army was in Austria and he rightfully feared an Ottoman attack on Hungary. The Banate of Severin was raided. A final Hungarian-Ottoman treaty was therefore probably never concluded, in spite of any rumours. The destructions of the Ottoman outposts near the harbours by Hungarians, Croatians and Wallachians, as recorded in Venice, delayed the royal acceptance of Bayezid's renewed offers. Yet, Matthias seemed more preoccupied in finding scapegoats for his

¹⁹ E.g. ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Napoli*, cart. 244. fasc. 2, nn. 9 July); MOL, DL 56731. 26 July. 102629. 18 June, edited in: *Relationes*, no. 6, 287.; DF 265307. 16 September 1484; *Acta vitam Beatricis reginae Hungariae illustrantia. Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok.* [= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, I.] 39. Ed. Albert Berzeviczy. Budapest 1914. no. 43. 64. MHS, I-1. nos. 13–14. 554–555. I-2, no. 14. 134. Thallóczy, *Lucrum camerae*, Appendix, no. 71. 205. *Akta Stanów*, I. no. 158, 231. Naghi Pienaru, „Confruntare și diplomație la Dunăre. Tratatetele de pace otomano-ungare încheiate de Bayezid II și Matia Corvin” [Confrontation and Diplomacy on the Danube: The Ottoman-Hungarian Peace Treaties between Bayezid II and Matthias Corvinus] *Revista Istorică* 14 New Series (2003) 3–4: 175–181.; Idem, „Proiectul scitic. Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Hoarda Mare” [The Scythian Project: Stephen the Great's Relations to the Great Horde] *Revista Istorică* 24 (2003) 5–6: 121–136.; O. Cristea, „Matthias Corvinus et l'expédition de Bazeyid II contre la Moldavie (1484)”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 42 (2003) 14.; 81–88. Maxim, „Stephen the Great”, 22–25. a detailed discussion of the matter.

failures and planning his Austrian actions. More than before, the capture of Vienna had become his ‘conquest of Byzantium.’²⁰

2. STRUCTURES AND INSTRUMENTS OF POWER BETWEEN CHILIA AND VIENNA

The Porte had a Serbian spy among the high-ranking officials of the royal Hungarian chancery. *Vuk* proved to be instrumental in the Hungarian-Ottoman affairs of 1486-1487. It may well be that he had already made an impact on the relations in 1484. In terms of logistics Bayezid was in a better position than Matthias. In spite of his talks to Ottoman beys, Matthias did not get closer to Bayezid’s inner circle of power. Bayezid seemed (and was) to be more mobile than Matthias. According to a Milanese report from Naples, he also had an alternative plan, following the rumour that Djem had died. In April-May he still thought of turning the troops against Rhodes and Venice. Under the influence of a Muslim ‘grand master’ (a *lālā*?), he decided to go on with the initial plan. His soldiers’ discontent forced him to attack quickly. His *gentedarme* wanted *universalmente* Djem as sultan. As it had become known in Ragusa too, if Djem, *per secureza dello stato suo et di tutta la Christianità* came into Matthias’ hands, his downfall would have seemed inevitable. But Djem stayed in France and Bayezid crossed the Danube.²¹

²⁰ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Napoli*, cart. 244. fasc. 2, nn. 9 July); HHStA, R.H.K., *Fridericiana*, [Karton] 6, 1484–1487, fasc. 6-2, 1484, f. 114^r. 13 November 1484; Árpád Károlyi, *Adalék Frigyes császár és Mátyás király viszonyai történetéhez* [Contributions to the History of the Relations between Emperor Frederick and King Matthias] II. *Történelmi Társulat* 15 (1892) 2. no. 24. 257. 22 *Dispacci*, no. 28a, 124. *Campania*, no. 7., 233. no. 14., 251. *Bonfini*, 1936–1941. IV. 129. *Vite 1474–1494*. 477. O. Cristea, „Antecedentele campaniei lui Baiazid al III-lea în Moldova. Noi mărturii venetiene” [The Preliminaries of Bayezid II’s Moldavian Campaign. New Venetian Evidence] In: *Ștefan cel Mare la cinci secole de la moartea sa* [Stephen the Great on the 500th Anniversary of his Death]. Ed. Petronel Zahariuc, Silviu. Iași 2003. 231–232, 245–246. Matthias sent a *valoroso capitaneo* to support Stephen. He was neither Paul Kinizsi, count of Timiș, nor Stephen Báthory, voivod of Transilvania, the heroes of Câmpul Pâinii, the last and most important Hungarian anti-Ottoman success during Matthias reign (1479). Both had defensive tasks inside the realm and suffered a hard time in controlling their own areas of authority. E.g. MOL DF 265307. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VII. 1474–1489, Ed. Konrad G. Gündisch. Bucharest 1991. no. 4559, 357. [Ub.]; *Relationes*, no. 6, 288. Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, 346.

²¹ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Napoli*, cart. 244. fasc. 2, nn. 9 July); MDE, III. nos. 26–30, 29–35. *Dokumente*, IV-1. no. 103. 90. György Hazai, „A Topkapı Szeráj Múzeum levéltárának magyar vonatkozású török iratai” [Turkish Writings/ Documents from the Archive of the Topkapı Seray Museum regarding Hungary], *Levéltári Közlemények* 26 (1955) no. 11. 294. note 47. (hereinafter *Topkapı*); Csánki, „Oklevelek” no. 48, 362. no. 50, 364. *Oruç*, 35–37. *Malipiero*, 134–140.; Sidney N. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481–1512*. Urbana 1948. 34. T. Gemil, „Un izvour referitor la moartea lui Dimitrie Jaakšič, solul lui Matia Corvinus la Bayezid II”, [A Source on the Dea Dimitar Jaksic, Matthias Corvinus’ envoy to Bayezid II], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol* [Yearbook of the A.D. Xenopol Institute for History and Archaeology]. (Iași) XXII² (1985) 599–603. Cusin, *Il confine*, II. 229.; Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 45. Maxim, „Stephen the Great”, 21. For the significant number of high-ranking Ottoman officials of Christian origins during the reign of Bayezid: Hedda Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid II. Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bayezids II. (1481–1512)*. Berlin 1983.

The Chilia massacre was only a means to an end. The eloquent and elegant portrayal of the victory that had saved his throne was not Bayezid's, but his envoys' and biographers' task. Moreover, by perhaps Váradi's and probably *Vuk's* actions too, Bayezid had made sure that Matthias could not use (Ottoman) documents against him but would turn to a mutual agreement. Military legislation (1458 and 1468) prevented the king from using Hungarian troops, except for the ones under his direct command, unless Hungary herself was under attack. Moldavia was at best Buda's vassal-state, not a member of the realm. It was only the harbours that could have been presented as Hungarian fiefs to which Stephen was installed. Matthias' conduct during the early stages of the Djem crisis and his taxation policies had increased the discontent of the realm's elite. His income had risen up to 1,000,000 ducats. Bayezid's revenues, though being smaller than his father's, ran to about only 1,500,000. But Matthias' expenses started to exceed his annual income by up to 50 per cent. In this context, Bayezid II's chances of success were not that low when he faced the mob in Istanbul.²²

In spring 1484, like in late 1474, when the Ottoman army of Scutari had entered Moldavia, putting an end to talks between Suceava and Istanbul, Stephen had not been paying tribute to the Porte for three years. Unlike in 1474, in 1484, regardless of the anti-Ottoman intentions ascribed to the republic, Stephen could not rely on Venice. In return, in 1484, like in 1474, the military collaboration between Hungary and Moldavia was a political and logistical problem. The Voivodate of Transylvania, the royal province, which separated Hungary proper from Moldavia and direct contact with the Ottomans in the south-east, had grown from an anti-Ottoman link into a negotiation channel between Buda and Istanbul. In 1484 Hungarian (Transylvanian) and Moldavian troops did not fight each other, as in 1474, when there were basically no Transylvanians troops to come to Stephen's aid. The king was to an even greater extent forced to send forces from the west than during Mehmed II's 1476 Moldavian campaign. They reached the

²² BMC, *Manoscritti*, Mss. 364. ff. 352^r–367^r. 26–29 October 1483. *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns*. Eds. Ferenc Döry, György Bónis, Géza Érszegi, Zsuzsa Teke, Vera Bácskai, [II], 1458–1490. Budapest 1989. 24 January 1458: art. 2. 84. 8 June: art. 2. 91. 1468. art. 3. 173–174. 1476: 232. (hereinafter GVU); *Bonfini*. 1936–1941. IV, 75–79, 92. *Tursun Bey, Aşik Paşa Zade, Mehmed Neşri, Menaki-i Sultan Bayezid-Han Ibn-i Muhammed-Han, Tevarih Al-I Osman, Kemal Paşa Zade*, In: *Cronici turceşti*, I. 78., 95., 98., 127., 130., 137., 187., 208. The events of 1474 and 1484 seen in parallel perspective.; *Vite 1474–1494*, 472. Ferenc Szakály, „Mecenatismo regio e finanze pubbliche in Ungheria sotto Matia Corvino”, *Rivista di Studi Ungheresi* [Rome] 4 (1989) 19–35.; Şevket Pamuk, „Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326–1914”, In: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*. Ed. Halil İnalcik with David Quataert. Cambridge 1994¹. 951–956.; Gyula Rázsó, „Military Reforms in the Fifteenth Century”, In: *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*. Eds. László Veszprémy, Béla K. Király. New-York 2002. 65–66.; Simon, „Între porturi și cer”, 235–238., 414–415., 491–492.

border after the harbours had fallen. The fact that the Transylvanians were charged by Matthias afterwards did not change anything.²³

Because he had a *foedus* with Stephen III, who, *societatis iure*, had called for his help, King Matthias left, *societatis et catholicae fidei gratia*, with his royal army. He reached Oradea and stopped, before entering Transylvania, when he heard the fall of the harbours. Nonetheless, troops, also from Croatia arrived in Moldavia. Their actions were rather successful. Until the end of the year, the Ottomans lost control over the *hinterland* of the harbours. The Tartars, having an instrumental role during Bayezid II's summer campaign, could not prevent this loss.

[...] *De le novelle vi dano aviso l'altero giorno venne qua la galea de Rodos/ la quale menava il nepote del Summo Pontifico, e andava a la coia/ de Urbino; et qualo nepoto habbe a dire ch'el Gran Turcho haveva/ ordinato de fare tagliare le grano, per una gran quantita de le/ galee, che diceva per andare in Alexandria, che diceva in altre/ et che diceva che non sapeva de certo. El nostro ambasciatore e ritornato/ dal capitaneo di Bosna del Turcho vicino nostro, lo quale gli haveva dicto che il Gran Turcho faceva gran paregiamento per/ mare et per terre, et haveva ordenato gran numero de galee/ nove et recomenzato le vegie, et che andareno sopra il Signore/ de Moldonia zoe de Vlachia per caxare che quelli che foreno/ lassati in risguardo de le citta, quelli epse la Signoria sua/ e tutti quelli Turchi che farevo andati in correria tuti fuerono/ presi et amazati, senza essere campato alchuno Turcho; le quale due cittate sono rimaste senza alchuno risgurado.// Etiam come la Maiesta del Re de Ungaria ha fatto pace/ con el Turcho, che dice per anni duy, et che*

²³ MOL, DF 265307. József Gelcich, Lajos Thallóczy (eds.), *Diplomatarium relationum reipublicae regasane cum regno Hungariae. Raguza és Magyarország összekötetéseinek oklevéltára*. Budapest, 1887. no. 385., 631., *Ub.*, VII. no. 4559. 357. *Actae et epistolae*, nos. 18–20, 20–23. *Cronica moldogermană* [The Moldo-German Chronicle], In: *Cronicile slavo-române*, 31–32., 35–36. *Vite 1474–1494*, 477, 497. *Malipiero*, 43. Al. Simon, „*Valahii și Imperiul Otoman în primăvara anului 1474*” [The Wallachians and the Ottoman Empire in Spring 1474], *Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis* [Alba Iulia] 44 (2007) 99–112. It seems that three years was the longest delay accepted by the Porte for the non-payment of the tribute, at least, in the case of Wallachia and Moldavia. In 1462 Vlad III *Țepeș* the Impaler) did not pay the tribute for three years, but prior to late 1461 we do not have a knowledge of any anti-Ottoman from Wallachia. Likewise in 1474 Stephen III did not pay the tribute for three years. Similarly, prior to late 1473 we do not know any anti-Ottoman action from Moldavia. In 1484, according to Bayezid II, Stephen III did not pay the tribute for three years again. But in mid 1476 Mehmed II asked him the tribute due for the last three years, though he stopped paying it in 1472. This peculiar time span is probably not just a product of timely circumstances and calls for further research. See: ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze estere, Ungheria*, cart. 650, 1452–1490, fasc. 3. 1467–1490, nn. 23 May 1476); Tursun Bey, *La conquista di Constantinopoli*. Ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Michele Bernardini, Luca Berardi. Milan 2007. 150–152. (for 1462); 235–236. (for 1474–1475); *Aşık Paşa Zade, Mehmed Neşri*, 95, 127. (1474); *Historia*, 23. (1462); For Stephen III see: Mihail Guboglu, “Le tribut payé par les Principautés Roumaines à la Porte jusqu’au début du XVI^e siècle d’après les sources turques”, *Revue des Études Islamiques* [Paris] 37 (1969) 1: 68–71.

dice per anni tre,/ et che dicto Gran Signor ha ordonato de mandare ambasata/ a la Maiesta del Re de Ungaria con grandissimi doni, zoe/ de cavalli gamboille et multe; a la quale ambasata andara/ Inbrachor, zoe el magistro de la stala del Gran Signor./ Hieri fuereno venuti desegni, quelì dixeva che la Maiesta/ del Re de Ungaria sta con la Regina in Posonia, zoe a le confine/ de lo Imperatore de Alamagna, ch'el tuto lo exercito suo/ sottovenire in obsidio de la prefata citta de Vienna [...] (Ragusa, 31 December 1484).

Still, in December, in spite of the not too modest Hungarian-Wallachian successes, King Matthias seemed to have finally reached an agreement with Bayezid II, according to the dispatch from Ragusa to Milan. Matthias could not continue the conflict without giving up his war with Frederick III and the conquest of Vienna, his major objectives. On the other hand, Matthias' anti-Ottoman actions and statements of August-November 1484 were enough to get himself a better *Turkish* deal. When he took Vienna in mid-1485, he had genuine Ottoman troops too at his side.²⁴

III. THE MASTERS OF THE HARBOURS

Both prior and after Sixtus IV's death and the election of Innocent VIII in 1484, the continent was largely under the influence of the Italian, Roman, Iberian and Ottoman crisis. Crusader indulgences and bulls were announced in the East and the West in the first half of the year. The Iberian front, where *los Reyes Católicos* were in difficulties, was once more part of the same 'continental' crusader theatre of war as the Danube front. Bayezid II tried to profit from this turmoil, which engulfed the Eastern and Western parts of Christendom. A *Greek* envoy of the *imperial sultana* (most likely of Mara Branković) went as far as Bern, as the Swiss were most likely to stir up the turmoil in the west. Ottoman efforts became in general more successful than the Christian ones. In early 1484 Ottoman civil unrests and Christian disputes called for a crusader solution and anti-Ottoman campaign much more than Sixtus IV's bulls did. In late 1484, things changed. The Italian peace and the shock caused by

²⁴ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Illiria, Polonia, Russia, Slavonia*, cart. 640, fasc. [4], *Ragusa-Ungheria*, nn. 31 December 1484: the author's name is unreadable; EMC, no. 176, 223. *22 dispaci*, no. 40a, 226. no. 41. 228–230. *Topukapu*, no. 6, 291. *Bonfini*. 1936–1941. IV, 124. 129. *Vite 1474–1494*, 477.; Gy. Hazai, „Eine Urkunde zur Geschichte des ungarisch-türkischen Grenzgebietes”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. [Vienna] 76 (1986) 125–133.; Gy. Rázsó, „Die Türkenpolitik Matthias Corvinus”, *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* [Budapest] 32 (1986) 1–2: 45–48.; Susanne Wolf, *Die Doppelregierung Kaiser Friedrich III. und König Maximilians. (1486–1493)*. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 2005. 151–152. (For Matthias' Ottoman troops near Vienna, according to German archival sources.) See also *Regesten Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440–1493). Nach Archiven und Bibliotheken geordnet*. [=J[ohann].F[riedrich]. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, XIII. general Eds. Heinrich Koller, Paul-Joachim Heinig, *Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken des Freistaates Sachsen*, bearbeitet von Elfie-Marita Eibl. Vienna–Cologne–Graz 1998. no. 548., 290. In early January 1485 Frederick III complained that Matthias had allowed the Ottomans to raid his lands for many years: *Vite 1494–1494*, 503.

Bayezid's victory enforced the crusader spirit, but did not change the context at all, which was evolving in favour of the contested sultan.²⁵

1. CHRISTIAN DEALING WITH OTTOMAN DEFEAT

Stephen III kept on fighting Bayezid II even after Matthias made it clear that his support for Moldavian anti-Ottoman actions was only a means to a better arrangement with the sultan for him. Stephen's continued anti-Ottoman actions eventually placed Hungary and Poland in a very delicate position, both of whom tried to win Stephen's allegiance following Matthias' failures of mid 1484. Krakow wanted to preserve peace with the High Porte. The Moldavian attacks of early 1485 proved equally disturbing to Venice as the crusade proclaimed by Innocent VIII had little effect.

Additio data per Collegium litteris scriptis ad Johannem Darium [...]// Erga tuis litteris directivis ad capita consilii nostri ex significas Illustrissimum dominum Turcum Andrianopoli digressurum ad/ solitas venationes sive aucupia et alias eius voluptates: et tamen missurum dominos Bassades cum/ exercitu versus Vallachiam, ut intelligas mentem nostram, volumus omnino te conferas ubi persona sue (Venice, 16 May 1485)

Following the mass-deportation by the Ottomans after the conquest of the harbours and trying to exploit the Hungarian and Wallachian victories of late 1484, Stephen attempted to retake Cetatea Albă in February 1485. He failed, but his action, as well as the strengthening of his ties with Tartar factions and Podolian lords, under Casimir IV's control only formally, made Matthias think that he could gain more from the sultan. He consequently postponed any response to Bayezid's proposals intended to confirm the Ottoman-Hungarian truce of December.²⁶

²⁵ ASV, Misc., Arm., II-30, ff. 104(109)^v–105(110)^f. 1 April 1484; ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32, cc. 67^v–68^v, 104^f–112^v, 132^{f-v}, 141^f–142^v, 156^v. 21 July, 28 November 1484, 19 February 1484 MV[=1485], 27 April, 7 July 1485); Valerius Anshelm, *Die Berner-Chronik*, I. Bern 1884. 257., 300. Claudius Sieber-Lehmann, „An obscure but Powerful Pattern: Crusading, Nationalism and the Swiss Confederation in the Late Middle Ages”, John Edwards, „*Reconquista and Crusade in Fifteenth Century Spain*”, In: *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*. Ed. N. Housley. New York 2004. 89–90., 173–175. Benjamin Weber, „La croisade impossible. Étude sur les relations entre Sixt IV et Mathias Corvinus (1471–1484)”, In: *Hommage à Alain Ducellier. Byzance et ses périphéries. monde grec, balkanique et mu-sulman*. Ed. Bernard Doumerc, Christophe Picard. Toulouse 2004. 309–321.

²⁶ ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32, c. 148^f. 16 May 1485.: addenda to doge Giovanni Mocenigo's instructions to Giovanni Dario, the republic's *secretary* in Istanbul; *Codex*, III. nos. 312–315, 332–335. *Index*, nos. 4476–4477, 507.; N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Studies and Documents regarding the History of the Romanians], XVI. Bucharest 1909. no. 17, 123. XXIII.; *Acte străine din arhivele Galiei, vechii Prusii și Țerilor de Jos* [Foreign Documents from the Archives of Galicia, Old Prussia and the Lower Countries]. Bucharest 1913. no. 89, 318. (SD); *Akta Stánow*, I. no. 180, 273. no. 200., 288–290.; *Campania*, no. 20, 267. *Aşik Paşa Zade*, 103–104.; Beldiceanu, „La conquête” 72, 84–86.

Much concerned in Matthias' attitude, being though far away throughout April and May 1485, Bayezid sent his troops to Moldavia. The clash was probably undecided. Still, alongside his renewed failure to retake Cetatea Albă and Matthias very reduced support, it forced Stephen to accept Casimir IV as his suzerain (September 1485). He hoped for a major Polish support. The aid he received, though useful, was well under his expectations. His allegiance also turned into a bitter victory for Krakow. It plunged her into a war with the Porte that the kingdom was not prepared to fight. Casimir only managed to finish it up in early 1489. At that time, both Moldavia and Hungary had peace with the Ottoman Empire. With the aid of Innocent VIII, who freed him of his Polish oath (spring 1489), Stephen became Matthias' vassal once again, for a new crusade was being planned. According to the provisions drafted in view of the crusader congress of Rome (March-July 1490), Hungary and Moldavia had to open the way into the Empire. Bayezid felt threatened. Urgent defensive works were commissioned at Cetatea Albă in spring 1490.²⁷

In late 1489 and early 1490, prior to Matthias' death in April (alongside Maximilian of Habsburg, Frederick's 'rebel son', Matthias should have led the inland crusade), the – eventually vain – hope of defeating Bayezid was much greater than in 1484. Bayezid's Moldavian victory and the threat that lay on Rhodes, *the Turk's next target*, led to Innocent VIII' crusader call of November 1484. Allegedly, Sixtus IV, already sickened by the conclusion of the peace of Bagnolo, in Venice's favour, died immediately after receiving news of the Moldavian disaster. Nothing happened. With Djem in their custody, the Hospitallers had an advantageous treaty with Bayezid. In spite of talks and rumours, *Latins* and *Greeks* failed to react properly. Still, in Naples, in early 1485, after Stephen's first failed attempt to retake Cetatea Albă, it was said that one harbour had been reconquered. In Pskov, in the remote Muscovite lands, monks noted that Matthias Corvinus and Stephen III of Moldavia, Moscow's allies, and Casimir IV and the Teutons, Moscow's enemies, had retaken the harbours and rode towards Istanbul (1486).²⁸

²⁷ ASV, Misc., Arm., II-56, f. 376. 377)^v [after March 25, 1490]; *Codex*, I. no. 265, 293. MDE, III. nos. 275–276, 435–437. [Kaspar Weinreich], *Die Danziger Chronik von Pfaffenkriege*, In: *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*. Leipzig. IV. 1870. 687–688.; N. Pienaru, „Moldova și Hanatul din Crimeea. 1484–1492” [Moldavia and the Khanate of Crimea. 1484–1492], *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 22 (2004) 130. note 26. (The Ottoman defensive works at Cetatea Albă in the spring of 1490); O. Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte. Ștefan cel Mare în documente inedite venețiene* [The Ruler from the North: Stephen the Great in Unedited Venetian Documents]. Bucharest 2004. 110–114. See also Lajos Elekes, *Nagy István moldvai vajda politikája és Mátyás király* [The Politics of Stephen the Great and King Matthias]. Budapest 1937. 78–79.

²⁸ E.g. ASV, Armaria, Armarium. Arm. [series] XXXIX, [reg.] 18, *Innocenti VIII brevia. 1484–1485*, ff. 63. 74)^f, 64. 75)^f–65. 76)^f, 101. 112)^f–102. 113)^f, 118. 129)^{f-v}. 30 November 1484; 2, 23 February 1485. the Roman data from those months can be found also in [Odorico Rinaldo], *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronibus auctore Odorico Raynaldo accedunt*, XIX. Cologne 1693. 1484, nos. 64–68, 345b–346a; no. 71. 346b; 1485, nos. 3–5, 349b–350a); HHStA, R.H.K., *Fridericiana*, fasc. 5-3. f. 75^f. 3 August 1482); fasc. 6-2, f. 114^f. 13 November 1484; *Correspondenze degli ambasciatori fiorentini*. [=Fonti per la Storia di Napoli Ara-

It was only a dream after Stephen III's celebrated victory of Vaslui in January 1475. It was made possible by disaster. Less than a decade earlier, the fall of Venetian Scutari (1478), the stronghold whose defence made Matthias Corvinus' return to anti-Ottoman warfare and Stephen challenge Mehmed II's power, brought forward a peace between the republic and the empire. In 1470 the fall of Negroponte launched a shockwave. Still, the Orthodox-Catholic-Muslim anti-Ottoman dealings of 1473–1474 were too remote in time and too fragile in the long run to be considered an immediate as well as effective military response to the Ottomans. Taking credit for non-existent 'crusader' actions, as long as the truth had not come up to light, was easier. For instance, before news of Stephen's Wallachian failure reached Italy, Venice announced his action as a great success in early 1474. A decade later, in late June 1484, some Polish nobles depicted the heroic actions of their cavalry at Chilia, in mid May, when *Turk* had not even crossed the Danube.²⁹

2. GREEK AND LATIN ROADS TO MUSLIM VICTORY

In a different continental context, the events of 1484 would have been just a part, an important part nonetheless, of local anti-Ottoman warfare, which, as so often, ended badly for the Christians. The conflict had not grown simply out of a sultan's hope to save his throne. The roots went deep into the late 1470s and early

gonese, II.] II. *Corrispondenza di Giovanni Lanfredini. maggio 1485–1486*. Ed. Elisabetta Scarton. Naples 2002. 140–141.; P. Panaitescu, „Ștefan cel Mare în lumina cronicarilor contemporani din țările vecine” [Stephen the Great in Light of the Contemporary Chroniclers from the Neighbour Countries], *Studii și cercetări științifice. Istorie* [Studies and Scientific Researches. History]. [Iași] 11 (1960) 2: 219–220. It is also noteworthy, alongside the better known, in comparison, relation of Moscow to the crusade, that Ivan III though his heir was married to Stephen's daughter, kept his distance from the Ottoman front and when Casimir asked him to come to Stephen's aid, Ivan responded that those who were Stephen's neighbours had to help him, for he, Ivan, could not do that, even though he wanted to aid Stephen, for Moscow was too far away from the front. *Relațiile istorice dintre popoarele URSS și România în veacurile XV-începutul celui de al XVIII-lea* [Historical Relations between the Peoples of the USSR and Romania 1400s-Early 1700s], I. 1408–1632. Bucharest–Moscow 1966. no. 10, 64.; In this context, the chronicle of Pskov illustrates a rare Orthodox stand towards anti-Ottoman warfare, not only because of Ivan III's policies, but also because of the largely negative image of the crusade, of an alliance with the Latins, namely after the Union of Florence, in Greek rite Christian territories, image supported also by major Moldavian church figures, in close ties to Muscovite hierarchy on the eve of Bayezid's campaign.

²⁹ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Venezia*, cart. 361. 1474, fasc. 3. *Marzo*, nn. 25, 28 March 1474); N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei și Cetății Albe* [Historical Studies on Chilia and Cetatea Albă]. Bucharest 1899. Appendix, nos. [I] 2–4, 279–281. *Acta graeca*, III. nos. III-11. 12, 13. 14. 293–298. MHS, I-1. no. 4. 310. I-2, no. 18, 50. nos. 14–16, 101–104. *Malipiero*, 41–43. 98–99. *Wapowski*, 5, 10–14. N. Beldiceanu, „La campagne ottomane de 1484: ses préparatifs militaires et sa chronologie”, *Revue des Études Roumaines* 5–6 (1960) 67–77.; See also Jan Smoluka's work, *Papiestwo a Polska w latach 1484–1526: kontakty dyplomatyczne na tle zagrożenia tureckiego* [The Papacy and Poland. 1484–1526. Diplomatic Contacts in Front of the Turkish Peril]. Krakow 1999. 59–69.; O.J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien. (1402–1479)*. Munich 2001. 604–612. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, II. 314–320., 383.

1480s. The crusade of July 1481 in Wallachia, which had started two weeks after Djem and Bayezid II had collided at Yenishehir in Asia Minor, ended in disaster both for Buda and Suceava. Matthias quickly blamed Stephen for it in Rome. Obviously disturbed by the former Papal-Moldavian political contacts, he was even more eager to stress that Stephen *was his and his crown's subject*. Rome strongly distanced herself from Stephen, who had lost several of his trusted boyars during the combats. Stephen's situation was critical at the end of the year, though in late autumn Matthias, pleased that he had turned the Moldavian table in his favour, sent him soldiers (300), but also asked him for mercenaries (1,000). Meanwhile, Stephen sought an arrangement with the divided Ottomans, probably in particular with Bayezid.³⁰

Following Matthias' letter and the Wallachian military fiasco of July 1481, Sixtus IV had placed the Moldavians on the list of *schismatics*. Innocent VIII did the same, after the Moldavian-Ottoman peace of 1486. Between an angry Rome and a troubled Istanbul, an agreement with the Porte seemed the safest option for Stephen. But he did not resume himself to settling the old Wallachian-Moldavian frontier dispute. His actions of spring 1482 were an attack on the Ottomans. Probably prior to Djem's arrival on Rhodes (late July), after his last defeat by Bayezid, the Ottoman reaction almost crippled Stephen, leaving him at Matthias' mercy, who hurried to stress that out (August).

Spectabilis et magnifice fidelis nobis sincere dilecte ex declarati nuntii/ et familiaris tui, qui per te cum litteris credentialibus ad nos destinatus fuit/. intelleximus bonam voluntatem tuam et optimum animum, recuperatis iam, sicut intimas, in/ maiori parte bonis et hereditatibus, tuis quas tyrannide et servitia Thurcorum imperatoris amiseras,/ nobis et sacre corone nostre serviendi, teque offerre nos ad servitia,/ quecumque in illis partibus mandaremus, promptissimum et paratum. Quod a te nos grato animo suscipimus et/ pro huiusmodi oblatione grates amplissimas dicimus tibi, parati tuam hanc promptitudinem/ et obsequendi desiderium benivolentia nostra regia et favoure prosequi semper gratiose et eo/ magis, quod tu tanquam zelator fidei et salutis, huiusmodi obsequia non tam nobis quam/ Christianitatis, imo pro augmento fidei, sponte et non admonitus te sucepturum/ obtulit.

In all this time Bayezid's major concerns were Djem and Anatolia. Yet, Stephen had failed. The matrimonial alliance between Moscow and Suceava and the subsequent Hungarian-Moldavian-Russian arrangements against Krakow (1483) par-

³⁰ UKB, Mk 9, *mikulovsky rukopis*, f 264bis^{FV}. 17 November 1481. abstract In: *Quellen*, no. 152, 111. misdated (?) for instance, under 1475. In: *Epistolae*, pars IV, no. 75, 188. *Hurmuzaki*, II-1. no. 13. 11; *Actae et epistolae*, nos. 33–34.; 36–37. *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1. nos. 209–210, 116–117. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II. C-G. Leiden 1965². 529–531. H. Inalcik, „Djem”; Simon, „Stăpânii porturilor” 177–196. For the failed Moldavian-Hungarian attack on Wallachia of June 1480, in spite of Matthias' claimed success: HHStA, R.H.K., *Fridericiana*, fasc. 5-1. f. 82^f. (11 July 1480); *Actae et epistolae*, no. 32, 33. *Quellen*, no. 107., 104.

tially restored his political credit. Djem's 'western career' and Bayezid's domestic troubles made the High Porte look weak. In this respect, Venice was quite right for blaming Stephen III and his miscalculations for the disaster of 1484.³¹

To the east, Moldavian monastic chronicles, which only recalled Stephen's Ottoman defeats, attributed Stephen's failure to divine signs that made him give up the fight against *God's wrath*, the sultan. Mysticism and politics covered up facts. Much concerned about his *Christian* image, Bayezid II 'agreed with it'. His means of conquest contradicted his desired image of just war. In Moldavia, Stephen III did his Orthodox penitence for his failed crusader action. He took the blame on himself, far more than he should have done for his part in the defeat. To the West, King Matthias took brutal stands. He had Váradi, archbishop of Kalocsa beaten up and jailed. Váradi was not the first prelate to be beaten by him. John (János) Vitéz, Matthias' old mentor, had been the first. Matthias respected the Hungarian Catholic Church. But this Church was his institution and the king used it as he saw fit. He did the same with stars and signs. He applied the methods only in respect to the *Greek Churches*, which he successfully used in his political gambles between the Holy See and the High Porte, in particular throughout the 1480s.³²

The complexity of the events of 1484 was increased by the first official and undisputed rejection of the Union of Florence. In spring, the Greek rite patriarchs

³¹ UKB, Mk 9, *mikulovsky rukopis*, ff. 276^r–277^r. 20 August 1482: Matthias' letter of Buda to Stephen; *Politische Korrespondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus*. [= *Scriptores Rerum Silesicarum*, XIII–XIV. Ed. Berthold Kronthal, Heinrich Wendt, II. 1480–1490. Breslau 1894. no. 393. 70.; *Codex diplomaticus ecclesiae Cathedralis necnon dioeceseos Vilmensis*. Ed. Jan Fijałek, Władysław Semkowicz, I-2, 1468–1501. Krakow 1932. I-2. no. 319., 376–378. (1481); no. 356, 416–417. (1487); *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1., nos. 212., 214., 215., 217., 118–120. *Letopisețul anonim*, 20., *Cronica moldogermană*, 34.; Thuasne, *Djem*, 80–86. Mehmet, „Un document turc”, 265–274. Sixtus IV placed the Moldavians on the list of *schismatics*, alongside the Russians, who rebelled against Casimir IV, which had to be fought by the Franciscans based in Poland (August 1481). Innocent VIII renewed it six years later. In respect to the Ottoman attack on Moldavia in 1482, it is worth noting that in late June, his son and co-ruler, Alexander (Alexândrel) tried to find in Brașov those responsible for the assassination of Turkish merchants near Chilia. Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale. DJAN. filiala Brașov [Romanian National Archives-Brașov County Branch], Brașov, Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt (A.S.K.); *Fronius Familiennachlaß*, I. no. 59.; 26 June 1482. copy in MOL, DF 246502. misedited, for instance, in: *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 208, 116. under 1481. If we date the Ottoman attack on Moldavia prior to this date, the letter would reveal the concern for avoiding any tensions with the Ottomans; if the letter precedes the attack, it would mean that this attack came rather by surprise for the Moldavians, after their Wallachian successes of March that year, and that the assassination of the merchants could have been used as a motivation for the Ottoman attack.

³² ASVe, Miscellanea, Atti della Curia Romana, *Collezione Podocataro*, I. *Lettere a Papi*, busta 3. no. 13. (12 April 1488); *Urkundliche Nachträge zur Österreichisch-Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter Kaiser Friedrich III*. [= *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*] II. 46. Ed. Adolf Bachmann. Vienna 1892. no. 439, 452. *Politische Korrespondenz*, I. 1469–1479. Breslau 1893. no. 91, 66. *Hurmuzaki*, II-1, no. 19, 16. EMC, no. 180, 228. GVU, [II], 1481, arts. 3–4. 247. *Bonfini*. 1936–1941. IV, 75–79, 129, 168. *Tursun Bey*, 77–79. *Putna* I. II. 51, 62. Al. Simon, C. Luca, „Documentary Perspectives on Matthias Corvinus and Stephen the Great”, *Transylvanian Review*. Cluj–Napoca. XVII. 2008. 3. 99–101. Simon, „The Arms of the Cross”, 64–67.

of the Orient, convened in a synod in Constantinople, declared the union invalid and condemned Rome and the *Greeks* that followed her. The decision, taken under Ottoman patronage, marked an unprecedented break over the former decades between the 'Orthodox world' and Rome and amongst the *Greek* members of the late Byzantine Commonwealth. Mehmed II had often used the patriarchate in his favour. (In late 1474 Simeon I, the same patriarch who presided over the synod of 1484, basically left with the Ottoman army deployed against Moldavia.) It was Bayezid's turn to make an even better use of the patriarchate, as it was best revealed by the later actions of patriarch Joachim I (1498–1499). 'In a way', Bayezid had the blessing of the Great Church for his campaign. At that time, bishop Vasile of Moldavia wrote to the metropolite of Moscow, Gerontius, in defence of the patriarchate's stand in daily church matters.³³

IMPERIAL BORDERLANDS OF THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Alike any major Christian-Muslim confrontation in the later Middle Ages, the history of the clashes and sieges of 1484 is about blood and money, this time namely a Christian one. King Matthias had no considerable forces to deploy to Stephen III's aid. Stephen lost most of his men in 1484. He equally lost up to 40 per cent of his revenues by the fall of the harbours. Their fall cost Hungary a great deal less, but forced Buda to rethink its Oriental policies for the next decades. From this perspective it is easier to see what led the *Turk* into battle than what made the *Christians*, i.e. the Moldavians enter the confrontation in 1484. However, the clash was unavoidable. Even without Stephen's provocations that very likely came after he heard the *Turk's* 'need' to attack him, Bayezid had to take the harbours. They were also the target that would have caused him, regardless of outcome, the least of troubles, compared to Rhodes or to Naples.³⁴

³³ Georgios Salakides, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I. Kritische Edition und wissenschaftlicher Kommentar*. Thessaloniki 1995. no. 5, 35. [Manuel Malaxos], *Historia politica constantinopleos a 1454 usque ad 1578 annum Christi*, In: *Historia PPC*, 140. *Historia patriarchica*, 43.; Emil Turdeanu, „Manuscrite slave din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare” [Slavic Manuscripts of Stephen the Great's Time], *Cercetări Literare* [Literary Researches] [Bucharest] 5 (1943) 150.; Vasile's letter to Gerontius, *Our Shepard*, in support of the *Greek* stand of the Patriarchate); Vitalien Laurent, „Les premiers patriarches de Constantinople sous la domination turque 1454–1476”, *Revue des Études Byzantines*. 26 (1968) 268.; George Dion Dragas, „The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special Reference to the Decisions of the Synods of 1484 Constantinople (1755 Constantinople and 1667 Moscow)”, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* [Brookline, Mass.] 44 (1999) 1–4: 239–240.

³⁴ *Bonfini*, 1936–1941. IV. 211–212.; Ioan Bogdan, „Manuscrite slavo-române în Kiev” [Slavic-Romanian Manuscripts in Kyiv], *Convorbiri Literare* [Literary Conversations]. [Iași] 25 (1891) 507.; Ivan Biliarsky, „Une page des relations magyaro-ottomanes vers la fin du XV^e siècle”, *Turcica* 32 (2000) 291–305.; Fisher, *Foreign Relations*, 34.; Simon, „Între porturi și cer”, 229., 265. In comparison, see Ș. Papacostea, „La Valachie et la crise de structure de l'Empire

1. CAUSES AND RESULTS OF OTTOMAN DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY SUPERIORITY

In 1484 news from Chilia and Cetatea Albă reached *Italia* as fast as those of the fall of Byzantium (1453) or Caffa (1475), cities of far greater importance. It took at most a month to reach Venice. The speed sheds light on the stakes involved by Bayezid II's campaign as well as on the damages thus suffered by his *Christian* opponents. One can only speculate on the possible consequences of Bayezid II's victory, compared also to the results of the fall of Belgrade (1521), if the Mamluk-Ottoman war (1485–1491) had not broken out. On the other hand, it is however certain that the chances of a successful crusade significantly decreased after 1484, the year, which dealt a major blow on the regional pillars of crusading, being reluctant and stubborn towards the previous Papal and Venetian schemes. Seemingly, regardless of preparations and Ottoman weaknesses, victory was out of reach.³⁵

With Papal funding, Stephen III had been constructing massive defensive works at Chilia and Cetatea Albă (1479). They proved of little use in 1484. The anti-Ottoman warfare in the 1470s probably did not lead to an increase in Moldavian control over the harbours in fact. Stephen III's control over Moldavia's southern parts, usually left unprotected by him in front of the *Turk*, the assault of whom he was to await in Moldavia's *Upper Country*, was also problematic. The fall of the cities were followed by charges of treason, with the castellans also involved. At Chilia treason might explain Stephen's defeat. Moreover, accepting Ottoman rule seemed more profitable after the fall of Caffa (1475) for local merchants. For those who were not deported it probably was, and came to be so in time. It was apparently not the first time the *Turk* took the cities during Stephen's rule. In 1475 Stephen managed to retake the cities after defeating the Ottomans in battle. In 1484 he thus prepared for battle not for siege.³⁶

ottoman (1402–1413)", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 25 (1986) 1–2: 23–33. See also H. J. Kissling, „Einige Bemerkungen zur Eroberung Kilia's und Aqkermân's durch die Türken", *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung* [Munich] 1 (1966) 331–338.; Gianluca Masi, „Stefano il Grande e la Moldavia nei Commentari di Andrea Cambini e Theodoro Spandugino Cantacuzeno", *Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 6 (2004–2005) 83–118.

³⁵ E.g. ASVe., S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32. c. 92^r; *Acta vitam Beatricis*, no. 61. 96, no. 61. 95. *Topukapu*, nos. 1–4. 288–291. *La Caduta di Constantinopoli*. Ed. Agostino Petrusi, I. *Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*. Milan 1976. LXXXVIII.; *Vite 1474–1494*, 472. 476. Geo Pistarino, „La caduta di Caffa: diaspora in Oriente", In: Idem, *Genovesi d'Oriente*. Genoa 1990. 485–518.; Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman Mamluk War, 1485–1491*. Leiden–Boston–Köln 1995. 38–42.; Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte*, 61. 153. (endnote 191); Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, 386–387.

³⁶ For instance: MDE, III. no. 98, 135. *Hurmuzaki*, VIII. no. 21. 17. nos. 24–26., 21–23. *Acte*, III. 15, 65, 89–90. 22 *dispacci*, no. 21a, 48. no. 24a, 82. no. 28a, 128. no. 40a, 222. *Campania*, no. 13. 248. no. 15, 253. *Cronica moldo-germană*, 34–35. Beldiceanu, „La conquête", 68, 79. Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte*, 113.; Simon, „Între porturi și cer", 244–249.; Idem, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, 554. See also Eugen Denize, „Începuturile problemei Basarabiei. Ștefan cel Mare" [The Beginnings of the Basarabian Problem: Stephen the Great], *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 16 (1998) 31–47.

The last time Stephen had the audacity not to pay for three years his tribute, the result had been his victory of Vaslui. His future audacities, namely in the early 1480s, based equally on broken Ottoman deals, as Bayezid II too accused him, were short-lived and very costly successes. In 1484, even though the context was more favourable to him than in 1474–1475, Stephen failed to profit, as the rest of Christendom, from the Djem crisis. It must have also been because of the lack of Venetian money and Hungarian troops at his side in 1475. He received the needed Hungarian and Venetian feudal, financial and military support in fact only in 1492. At that time, he had peace with Bayezid II. Aside from cleverly exploited challenges and provocations of the Porte, in particular during the new Venetian-Ottoman war (1499–1503), Stephen kept this peace until the end of his reign. The Ottoman experience of the previous decades and the fact that Bayezid was not compelled to attack Moldavia, whose strategic value had significantly diminished after the conquest of the harbours, made sure that Stephen was not going to experience the events of 1484 again.³⁷

1484 turned into a key moment in the history of the Ottoman bridge between Europe and Asia Minor. Bayezid's failure would have probably meant his downfall. In return, the Ottoman success pushed Stephen close to the end of his political career. After two years of clashes with domestic rivals and the Ottomans (1484–1486), he eventually saved his crown. Due to the size of his state and the forces against him, in particular after a defeat in Moldavia, it is rather unlikely that Bayezid could have done the same in Istanbul. In 1484 Stephen, for the last time, made use of the active role of the *Greek* spearhead of Christendom against the *Turk*. In later years, he still made successful use of this peculiar status in Rome, Venice, Buda and Istanbul, but he acted as one of the 'classic retired' late medieval crusaders. More active crusader actions and stands were needed. In 'Djem's world', 1484 had significantly enlarged the way for quite 'modern' and 'normal' political relations between Christian powers and the lands of Islam.³⁸

³⁷ *Documente turcești privind istoria României* [Turkish Documents on the History of Romania], I. 1417–1774. Ed. M.A. Mehmet. Bucharest 1976. no. 3. 3–4. MHS, I-1. nos. 13–14. 554–555. I-2. no. 15, 137. *Actae et epistolae*, no. 8, 8. nos. 40–45, 41–54. Matei Cazacu, „L'impact ottoman sur les Pays Roumains et ses incidences monétaires (1452–1504)”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12 (1973) 1: 164–166.; Mihnea Berindei, „L'Empire Ottoman et la route moldave avant la conquête de Chilia et de Cetatea Albă (1484)”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 30 (1991) 3–4: 161–188.; Al. Simon, „În jurul bătăliei de la Vaslui (1474–1475) considerații asupra relațiilor dintre Regatul Ungariei, Moldova și Țara Românească” [Around the Battle of Vaslui. Thoughts on the Relations between the Kingdom of Hungary, Moldavia and Wallachia], *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Series Historiae* [Cluj-Napoca] 49 (2004) 2: 9–10. (mid 1470s) 19–20. (early 1480s); Mustafa, „Un document? 267–269.; Guboglu, „Le tribut payé par les Principautés Roumaines” 70–79.

³⁸ E.g. *Campania*, no. 14, 251. no. 20, 267. *Wapowski*, 5–11. *Cronica moldo-germană*, 36. N. Beldiceanu, „En marge d'un livre sur la Mer Noire” *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XXXIX, 1971. 391. Metin Kunt, „State and Sultan up to the Age of Süleyman: Frontier Principality to World Empire”, In: *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*. Ed. M. Kunt, Christine Woodhead. London–New York 1995. 17–19. Linda Darling, „Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context”, *Studia Islamica* [Paris] 91 (2000) 133–169.; O.

2. HOLY ENMITIES AND PROFITABLE PARTNERSHIPS

The growing political ‘Europeanization’ of the Porte (1480s–1530s) also coincided with the increasing administrative and social ‘marginalization’ of Christians under Ottoman rule. The reign of the friendly diplomat and pious sultan Bayezid II marked the start of an Islamic transformation of the empire, accelerated by the ‘Muslim war’ with Safavid Persia in the early 1500s. Whether we attribute the ‘great turning point’ in Ottoman domestic Christian-Muslim relations – which multiplied the number of Christian plots in the empire (scarce over the previous decades) – to Selim I or, more likely, to Soliman I, Bayezid II’s reign played a great role in this evolution. However, in the 1480s–1490s, largely due to the Djem crisis, which challenged the Muslim and Christian foundations of the Ottoman power, Christian “friends” and subjects were much needed and enjoyed several favours. Not only by the Synod of Constantinople, 1484 stands out as a major moment in these matters.³⁹

Cristea, „Pacea din 1486 și relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Imperiul Otoman în ultima parte a domniei” [The Peace of 1486 and Stephen the Great’s Relations to the Ottoman Empire during the Last Part of his Rule], *Revista Istorică*, n.s. 15 (2004) 3–4: 25–36.; Simon, „Lumea lui Djem”, 24–29. Stephen III, almost two decades later was accepted as both Rome’s Greek spearhead and the official patron of Mount Athos by the monks, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Venice, forced Bayezid II to give in to his demands, including a reduction of Moldavia’s tribute from 5,000 to 4,000 ducats, but did not retribute the harbours): ASV, Misc., Arm., II-7, ff. 616. 620^r–639(643)^r. 19 November; edited in: Edgár Artner, *Magyarország mint a Nyugati Keresztény művelődés védőbástyája: a Vatikáni Levéltárnak azon okiratai, melyek őseinknek a Keletről Európát fenyegető veszedelmek ellen kifejtett erőfeszítéseire vonatkoznak. cca. 1214–1606* [Hungary as *Propugnaculum* of Western Christianity: Documents from the Vatican Secret Archives. ca. 1214–1606], Ed. Szovák Kornél. Budapest 2004 [ca. 1940]. no. 123. 147–157. *Magyarország*. II-30, ff. 142. 147^v, 148. 153^v (28 November); 148. 153^v, II-56, f. 325. 335^v. 28 September; abstract in: *Regesten Maximilian*, III-2. no. 14474, 918–919, but under 5 October; copy in BNM, Cod. Lat. XIV-100. [=4279]. ff. 127^r–133^r; BMC, *Manoscritti*, Mss. 364, ff. 486^r–503^r. (18 November 1500); *Sanudo*, IV, 1 Aprile 1501–31 Marzo 1503. Ed. N. Barozzi. Venice 1880–1881. cols. 248, 305. Al. Simon, „Massimiliano I. Venezia e il problema ottomano (1493–1503)”, In: *L’Europa Centro-Orientale e la Penisola italiana: quattro secoli di rapporti e influssi intercorsi tra Stati e civiltà. 1300–1700*. Ed. C. Luca, Gianluca Masi. Venice–Brăila 2007. 91–109. Maxim, „Stephen the Great”, 22–25.

³⁹ For an overview see H.J. Kissling, „Şâh Ismâ’îl I^{er}, la nouvelle route des Indes et les Ottomans”, *Turcica* 6 (1975) 89–102.; H. Inalcik, „A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: The Agreement between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II regarding Djem Sultan”, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (1979) 209–223.; Stéphane Yérasimos, „Byzance dans les chroniques ottomans, XIV^e–XVI^e siècle”, In: *Byzance en Europe*. Ed. Marie-France Auzépy. Saint-Denis 2003. 19–29.; O. Cristea, „Proiecte de alianță veneto-otomană în timpul domniei lui Baiazid al II-lea” [Venetian-Ottoman Projects of Alliance during the Reign of Bayezid II], *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 23 (2005) 169–181.; Gilles Veinstein, „Les conditions de la prise de Constantinople en 1453: un sujet d’intérêt commun pour le patriarche et le grand mufti”, In: *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIV^e–XVI^e siècles: Rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5–7 décembre 2005*. [=Dossiers Byzantins, VII] Paris 2007. 275–288.; Al. Simon, “From the Italian Peninsula to the Harbours of the Hungarians: Crusader Plans and Ottoman Deals in the Late 1400s”, *Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 10 (2008) 101–128.; See Périclès Joannou, „Grosswesir Ahmet Herzeg Geheimchrist im Holf des Sultans zu Istanbul”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 26 (1960) 1: 74–80.; Erdmute Heller,

Vlad IV *Călugărul* (the Monk) of Wallachia should have aided Stephen against the Turk. Twice enthroned by Stephen III and Báthory (1481, 1482), he eventually turned to Bayezid. Around 1482–1483, he regained Stephen's trust, accepted as his suzerain in Wallachia, alongside Matthias and Bayezid II. In 1484, just after Matthias had re-allowed weapons exports from Transylvania to Wallachia, Vlad abandoned his Christian lords and joined the sultan on his campaign. Following Basarab IV, Vlad was very close to Mara Branković (in 1487 he became her Athonite heir), being apparently politically very active in 1484, and the Patriarchate. He was a favourite of Greek and Muslim Constantinople like his heir Radu IV. Vlad kept his throne. When the Janissaries rebelled in 1511, Bayezid II successfully used Radu as an example of mutual loyalty between subjects and ruler. Via Bosnia, he developed strong ties to Venice and Frederick III. After having spent most of his life as a refugee in Transylvania, Vlad became a powerful and loyal supporter of the Ottoman system.⁴⁰

The Orthodox influence of the Porte in Moldavia seems not to have diminished after the fights of the 1470s. (The repeated Ottoman-Moldavian truces and negotiations played an important part in it.) In early 1486, Stephen was dethroned for a while by Peter *Hroniota* (the Weakling), who had both foreign (Ottoman)

„Venezianische Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Ahmed Paşa Hersekoğlu”, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 3 (2000) 4: 1–85. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid II*, 49–55.; For the Ottoman mechanism of „Orthodox” control: H. Inalcik, „The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans”, *Turcica* 23 (1991) 407–436.; Vassilis Demetriades, Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, „Serbian Ladies and Athonite Monks”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84 (1994) 35–55.; Dumitru Năstase, „Le Mont Athos et l’Orient chretien et musulman au Moyen Âge”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 32 (1993) 3–4: 309–318.

⁴⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica*. DRH. B, *Țara Românească* [Wallachia], I. 1247–1500. Ed. P. Panaitescu, Damaschin Mioc. Bucharest 1966. no. 193., 312–313. 1484; no. IV. 514–515. [1489–1490]; *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1. no. 210., 117. no. 212. 118. nos. 214–215., 118–119. no. 219, 121. no. 221. 122. no. 223., 123. mid 1482 – early 1484; *Documente Cairo*, 40. 1484; *Viața lui Vlad Țepeș. Povestire despre Dracula Voievod* [The Life of Vlad the Impaler/ Story on Voivod Dracula], In: *Cronicile*, 213. 1484; *Hanivaldanus*, 267. (1511); *Mehmed Neşri*, 133. (1485); *Le-topiseșul anonim*, 18–19. (1484–1485); *Cronica moldo-germană*, 33–34. (1482–1484); Alexandru Lapedatu, *Vlad-Vodă Călugărul, 1482–1496. Monografie istorică* [Vlad Voivod the Monk. 1482–1496. Historical Monograph]. offprint from *Convourbiri Literare*, XXXVI. Bucharest 1903. 32–34, 43.; Ștefan Ștefănescu, „Éléments nobiliaires balkaniques établis en Valachie à la fin du XV^e siècle”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 4 (1965) 5: 895.; Bojko Bojović, Petre Ș. Năsturel, “Les fondations dynastiques du Mont-Athos. Des dynastes serbes et de la sultana Mara aux princes roumains”, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 41 (2003) 1–4: 156–159.; Al. Simon, „The Hungarian Means of the Relations between the Habsburgs and Moldavia at the End of 15th Century”, *Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 8 (2006) 269–270.; Beldiceanu, „La campagne”, 73–73. It is not impossible that Vlad IV, who left for Chilia and Cetatea Albă with great delay, on 3 July was still in his capital city Târgoviște, and, probably, the siege of Chilia that began on 5 July nourished the hope that Bayezid II would restore Wallachian authority there, in the manner in which the Ottoman-Wallachian *condominium* over the city had worked in the days of Radu III *cel Frumos* (the Handsome) and Mehmed II until early 1465. See also P. Panaitescu, „Legăturile moldo-polone în secolul XV și problema Chilier” [Moldavian-Polish Relations in 15th Century and the Chilia Issue], *Romanoslavica* 3 (1958) 99–102.

and domestic support. Peter was ointed ruler, for in Stephen's own German chronicle, Peter too was called *voivod* (i.e. legal/ rightful ruler in that context). This meant that most likely he had the blessing of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and probably that of a local hierarch. All three Moldavian hierarchs (George, metropolite of Moldavia, Vasile, bishop of Roman, Ioanichie, bishop of Rădăuți) kept their thrones after Hroniota was defeated in March and peace was finally concluded between Suceava and Istanbul in the second half of the same year 1486.⁴¹

⁴¹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.* [= *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, Mittlere Reihe, I–VI. I-2.] *Reichstag zu Frankfurt 1486*. Ed. Heinz Angermeier. Göttingen 1989. no. 865., 788. no. 879., 829. *Cronica moldo-germană*, 35–36.; Sergiu Iosipescu, „Contribuții la istoria Moldovei lui Ștefan cel Mare” [Contributions to the History of Stephen the Great’s Moldavia], N. Beldiceanu, „Știri otomane privind Moldova ponto-dunăreană. 1486–1520” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, XXIX. 1992. 58–64, 94–102. Al. Simon, „Bisericile Ungariei și Moldovei în cea de a doua jumătate a secolului XV. O perspectivă transilvană” [Hungary’s and Moldavia’s Churches in the Second Half of 15th Century: A Transylvanian Perspective], *Studia Universitatis Babeș–Bolyai. Series Theologiae Orthodoxae* [Cluj–Napoca] 12 (2005) 2: 271–306. (in particular 293–298.) At about the same time when Peter seized control over part of Moldavia, Hungarian troops raided along Croatia’s borders, posing a direct threat to Venetian and Ottoman interests in the North-West Balkans. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32. c. 193^v; 9 January 1485 MV[=1486] and that, according to *Sa’adeddin*. In: *Cronici turcești*, I 328. writing about a century after the events, at Șcheia, in April 1486 during the decisive battle with Peter, Stephen also had Hungarian troops, which would offer supplementary ground for why Matthias and Stephen were renewing, respectively concluding their treaties with the Porte, at the same time in summer-fall 1486, their envoys „following each other” to Constantinople. See N. Pienaru, „Tratatul de pace moldo-otoman (1486)” [The Moldavian-Ottoman Peace Treaty of 1486], In: *Național și universal în istoria românilor. Studii oferite prof. dr. Șerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani* [National and Universal in the History of the Romanians: Studies presented to Professor Șerban Papacostea on his 70th Birthday]. Eds. Gheorghe Lazăr, O. Cristea. Bucharest 1998. 264–303. On the other hand, in particular respect to the Moldavian domestic affairs of 1484–1486, we have to recall one of the explanations offered by Polish messengers in front of the Venetian senate, as they were looking once more for Venice’s support in view of a peace with Bayezid II. *In questo tempo* [1484], *alcuni ribaldi* [rebelled against Stephen] *offerseno al Turco furtivamente darle Licostomo ne le mano, e qual* [Bayezid II] *preso Moncastro e quelli altri luoghi che erano sprovisiti et sforniti, subito seriano in suo Dominio*. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 33, 1486–1489, c. 23^{r-v}; 19 July 1486: editions: *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e tabulario reipublicae Venetae*, editpr August Cieszkowski. I-2. *Acta Vladislao Jagiellonide Regnante*. Poznan 1890. no. 92. 206–207. MDE, III. no. 98, 134–135). Naturally the Polish envoys continued their oration in Venice by accusing Stephen III who by that time had seemingly reached a preliminary peace arrangement with Bayezid II and allowed the Ottomans to pass through Moldavia and raid southern Poland, that the Moldavian ruler had attacked, in the spring of 1485, Cetatea Albă while the Polish King was trying to reach a mutually advantageous settlement with the sultan. Archiwum Glowne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records], Warsaw. AGAD. Metrika koronna. M.K.); [reg.], XIV, ff. 87^r, 91^r. The late fall 1484 the Polish mission to Istanbul; the documents were quoted by Ilona Czamańska, *Moldawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec polski, weigier I turcki w XIV I XV wieku* [Moldavia and Wallachia between Poles, Hungarians and Turks. 14th–16th Century]. Poznań 1996. 150. notes 104–105). I am indebted to Dr. Marius Târîță. Moldavian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Kishinev for providing me with copies of the documents from the Polish National Archives, which, unlike most of the documents from the late 1490s and the early 1500s regarding Jagiellonian politics in Hungary and Moldavia, cannot be found amongst the numerous copies collected in MOL, DF, section U 1220.

More than in the 1470s, the Christian context favoured pro-Ottoman politics. Commerce was a key factor in this respect. Moldavian customs and dues were very high. Bayezid cleverly made use of it, prior and the after the conquest. Like in the 1470s, the antagonism between warfare and trade was smaller than usually supposed, either west (the Belgrade-Smederevo area) and or the east (Cetatea Albă) of the ‘crusader frontline.’ Moreover, in 1485 the value of the Wallachian and Moldavian trade with the Transylvanian Saxon city of Braşov (67,000 ducats) was less than 20 per cent below average, though Braşov was very close to the disputed Wallachian-Moldavian border and Moldavia had become a battlefield. It was obvious that a *modus vivendi* was ‘as important’ as the successful application of the Christian or Muslim holy war. It was hard for Bayezid to find something more profitable and worth the risks north of the Danube and Dniestr Mounds. As far as others are regarded, it was virtually impossible to push back south. As for the rest, Bayezid’s Hungarian offer of 1486 speaks for itself. No conflict involving less than 400 men on one side should be viewed as a peace break.⁴²

⁴² Radu Manolescu, *Comerţul Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Braşovul. secolele XIV–XVI* [Wallachia’s and Moldavia’s Trade with Braşov. 14th–16th Centuries]. Bucharest 1965. 178–180. It should however be stressed that, in general, in the second half of 15th century, Moldavia was involved in only some 15 per cent of Braşov’s ‘oriental trade’. H. Inalcik, ‘The Question of the Closing of the Black Sea under the Ottomans’ *Archaeion Pontou*. Athens. XXXV. 1979. 74–110. Idem, ‘The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600s’, In: *An Economy of the Ottoman Empire*, 289–290. Viorel Panaite, *Diplomaţie occidentală, comerţ şi drept otoman secolele XV–XVII* [Western Diplomacy, Ottoman Commerce and Law, 15th–17th Centuries]. Bucharest 2004. 59–65, 87–88, 91–92. Anca Popescu, ‘Regim vamal şi dominaţie politică: Chilia şi Cetatea Albă în secolul al XV-lea’ [Customs Regime and Political Domination: Chilia and Cetatea Albă in 15th Century], *Revista Istorică*, NS, XIV. 2004. 1–2. 211–212. Eadem, ‘Anul 1540 şi problema închiderii Mării Negre otomane’ [The Year 1540 and the Question of the Closing of the Ottoman Black Sea], *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 23 (2005) 183–194.; DRH, A, *Moldova*, II. 1449–1486. Ed. Leon Şimanschi, Georgeta Ignat, Dumitru Agache. Bucharest 1976. nos. 259–263, 396–404. The princely chancery apparently ceased to issue charters between May 1484 and September 1486, no charter was preserved. DRH, B, I. nos. 193–198, 312–319. The preserved charters from that time span date from early July 1484, September 1485 and April 1486. Normal activity was resumed only in the summer of 1486 after Stephen III’s victory of Şcheia in April and the start of the Ottoman-Moldavian peace-talks. For the more than eloquent Hungarian peace (and war) offer of Bayezid II in 1486, see MDE, III. no. 145., 241.

LÁSZLÓ PÓSÁN

MATTHIAS CORVINUS UND DER DEUTSCHE ORDEN

„Der Feind meines Feindes ist mein Freund“ – dieses Prinzip war in jeder Epoche stets ein wichtiger Leitfaden der Außenpolitik. In der zweiten Hälfte der 1470er Jahre basierte auch die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Matthias Corvinus und dem Deutschen Orden auf diesem Prinzip, denn für beide gab es einen gemeinsamen Feind: das Haus der Jagiellonen. Im 15. Jahrhundert – 1410, 1422/23, 1433/35 und schließlich im 13-jährigen Krieg zwischen 1453 und 1466 – hatte der Deutsche Orden von Polen schwere Verluste erlitten.¹ Durch das Bündnis, das der Deutsche Orden mit Matthias geschlossen hatte, erhoffte er sich nun eine Verstärkung seiner politischen Position und eine Revision des zweiten Friedens von Thorn (Toruń) aus dem Jahre 1466. Die Hoffnungen des Ordens wurden auch dadurch verstärkt, daß der Papst den zweiten Frieden von Thorn nicht anerkannt hatte.²

Nachdem der polnische König seit dem Jahre 1463 die kirchlichen Würdenträger ernannt hatte, ohne dabei die Empfehlungen Roms zu berücksichtigen, waren die Beziehungen mit dem Papsttum ziemlich gespannt.³ Nach dem zweiten Frieden von Thorn wollte Kasimir IV. im preußischen Bistum Ermland, das Polen angeschlossen wurde, nachdem der dortige mit Polen sympathisierende Bi-

¹ Miltzer, Klaus, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*. Stuttgart, 2005. 144–153.; Krollmann, Christian, *Politische Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*. Königsberg, 1932. 95–157.; Zimmerling, Dieter, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden*, Düsseldorf–Wien–New York, 1988. 261–304.; Biskup, Marian, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim 1454–1466*. Warszawa, 1967.; Hellmann, Manfred, „Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dreizehnjährigen Krieges im Ordenslande Preussen“, *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* Bd. VIII. Tübingen, 1960.

² Weise, Erich, „Die staatsrechtlichen Grundlagen des zweiten Thorner Friedens und die Grenzen seiner Rechtmäßigkeit“, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 4 (1954) 17.; Hejnosz, Wojciech, „Der Friedensvertrag von Thorn (Toruń) 1466 und seine staatsrechtliche Bedeutung“, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 17 (1968) 122.; Krollmann, 1932. 158.; Górski, Karol, „The Royal Prussian Estates in the second half of the 15th Century and their relation to the Crown of Poland“, In: Górski, Karol, *Communitas, Princeps, Corona Regni. Studia Selecta*. (Annales societatis scientiarum Torunensis 78, 1) Varsoviae, 1976. 41–56.; Labuda, Gerard, „Stosunek prawno-publiczny Zakonu Krzyżackiego do Rzeszy Niemieckiej w świetle złotej bulli Fryderyka II z r. 1226.“, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 3 (1951) 124.; Biskup, Marian, „Zagadnienie ważności i interpretacji traktatu toruńskiego 1466 r.“ *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 69 (1962)

³ Davies, Norman, *Lengyelország története* [Die Geschichte Polen] Budapest, 2006. 113.

schof verstorben war, ähnlich verfahren. Das Kapitel von Ermland hatte aber 1467, gemäß den kirchlichen Regeln, schon seinen eigenen Bischof, Nikolaus von Thungen gewählt, und dieser wurde in seinem Amt auch vom Papst bestätigt. Der polnische König war jedoch nicht bereit diese Situation zu akzeptieren. Er wollte dem Bistum einen Polen aufzwingen und hat Truppen ins Ermland beordert. König Kasimir IV. machte mit militärischer Gewalt seinen Kandidaten zum Bischof. Nikolaus von Thungen mußte im Ordensgebiet flüchten. Der Deutsche Orden und die preußische Stände – sogar in West-Preußen, das damals zu Polen gehörte – anerkannten aber nur den Regelkonform gewählten Bischof Nikolaus von Thungen.⁴

Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und Kasimir IV. wurden aber auch durch Böhmen belastet, denn der Papst hatte die Prager Kompakten aus dem Jahr 1433, in der den utraquistischen Zweig der Hussiten anerkannt hatte, 1466 zurückgenommen und den böhmischen König Georg Podebrad zum Ketzer erklärt. Die hussitischen Stände wählten daraufhin, unter der Voraussetzung, daß er die Prager Kompakten annehmen würde, den Sohn von Kasimir IV., Władysław, zum Thronfolger. Die Jagiellonen kehrten sich mit der Annahme der böhmischen Krone unter diesen Umständen gegen Rom,⁵ weswegen die katholischen Stände aus böhmischen Ländern den ungarischen König Matthias Corvinus zu Hilfe riefen. Dieser hatte im Frühling 1468 in mehreren Urkunden deutlich gemacht, daß er die katholischen Untertanen der böhmischen Krone beschützen wolle und daß er auf die Hilfe der katholischen Böhmen gegen die Hussiten zähle.⁶ Am 3. Mai 1469 wählten die Stände von Mähren, Schlesien und Lausitz Matthias Corvinus zum böhmischen König.⁷ Zu den dynastischen Plänen der Jagiellonen zählte nicht nur der Erwerb der böhmischen, sondern auch der ungarischen Krone, da die Frau von Kasimir IV. die Schwester des früheren ungarischen (und böhmischen) Königs László V. war. Ihre Ansprüche auf die ungarische Krone – wie auch die Macht in Böhmen – begründeten die Jagiellonen neben der Wahl der Stände, auch durch die Erbfolge in weiblicher Linie. Zudem hatte es bereits einen Jagiellonen auf dem ungarischen Thron gegeben: Władysław I. (in Polen Władysław III.), der unter dem ungarischen Kleinadel eine hohe Popularität genoss und 1444 in der Schlacht bei Varna gegen die Türken gefallen war.⁸ Die Gesandten Kasimirs IV. führten am 13. Juni 1470 in Villach mit Friedrich III. Verhand-

⁴ Dralle, Lothar, „Heinrich Reffle von Richtenberg (1470–1477)“, In: Udo Arnold (Hg.), *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 40.) Marburg, 1998. 144–145.

⁵ Spieralski, Zdzisław, „Die Jagiellonische Verbundenheit bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhundert“, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 41 (1980) 65.; Krollmann, 1932. 165.

⁶ *Mátyás király levelei*. [Die Briefe von König Matthias] Külügyi osztály I. köt. 1458–1479. Közzéteszi Fraknói Vilmos, Budapest, 1893. Nr. 141., 142., 143., 144., 155.

⁷ Hoensch, Jörg Karl, *Matthias Corvinus. Diplomat, Feldherr und Mäzen*, Graz–Wien–Köln, 1998. 117.

⁸ Spieralski, 1980. 69.; Kubinyi András, „Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király“ [Matthias Hunyadi, die Persönlichkeit und der König], *Aetas* (2007) 3: 91–92.

lungen über einen möglichen habsburgisch-jagiellonischen Bund gegen Matthias und machten Absprachen darüber, daß der Kaiser die Jagiellonen beim Erwerb der böhmischen und der ungarischen Krone unterstützen solle.⁹ Friedrich III. war zwar bereit beim Erlangen Ersterer den Jagiellonen zu helfen, er war aber nicht bereit auf seine Ansprüche hinsichtlich der ungarischen Krone zu verzichten.¹⁰ Nachdem Georg Podebrad am 22. März 1471 gestorben war, beanspruchte Kasimir IV. aufgrund der Wahl der utraquistischen Stände aus dem Jahr 1469 die böhmische Krone für seinen ältesten Sohn Władysław. Am 25. Juli 1471 zog er mit einem Heer von 10 000 Mann nach Prag los, wo Władysław am 22. August feierlich zum König gekrönt wurde. Zur gleichen Zeit fing der polnische König an ein andere Heer aufzurüsten, um Ungarn anzugreifen. Sein Ziel war es, seinen jüngeren Sohn Kasimir auf den ungarischen Thron zu setzen. Herzog Kasimir erhob als Urenkel von Sigismund, als Enkel von Albrecht II. und als Neffe des bei Várna gefallenen Władysław I. seine Machtansprüche und er konnte auch innerhalb Ungarns auf Unterstützung zählen. Die Magnaten, die unter Führung des Erzbischofs von Gran, János Vitéz, ein Komplott gegen Matthias schmiedeten, hätten ihn gerne auf dem ungarischen Thron gesehen. Am 20. September 1471 gab Kasimir IV. in Krakau ein Manifest aus, worin er Matthias Corvinus einen Usurpator nannte und ihm den Krieg erklärte. Nach zehn Tagen passierte Herzog Kasimir mit einem Heer von 12 000 Mann die ungarische Grenze. Zu dieser Zeit war es Matthias aber bereits gelungen den rebellierenden Adel auf seine Seite zu bringen bzw. mit ihm abzurechnen. Auf dem Landtag zu Ofen scharten sich die ungarischen Stände hinter Matthias und wiesen die Thronansprüche der Jagiellonen mit der Begründung zurück, daß in Ungarn die Krone nicht in der weiblichen Linie vererbt werde. Ohne die Unterstützung aus Ungarn geriet der polnische Angriff bei Nyitra ins Stocken und Herzog Kasimir zog sich nach Polen zurück.¹¹

Nach dem Tod vom Papst Paulus II. (am 27. Juli 1471) anerkannte Papst Sixtus IV. Matthias anstatt Władysław von Jagiellonen als legitimen böhmischen König, da Władysław die Prager Kompakten akzeptiert hatte. Am 1. März 1472 exkommunizierte der Papst Kasimir IV. und seinen ältesten Sohn wegen deren

⁹ Dlugossus, Joannes, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*. Ed. Aleksander Przezdziecki. Bd. 12. Cracoviae, 1878. 539.

¹⁰ Lewicki, Anatol (Ed.), *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*. Tomus 3. (Monumenta mediaevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 14.) Krakau, 1894. Nr. 123. (= Cod. Ep.)

¹¹ *Mátyás király levelei*, Nr. 187, 189.; *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából* [Diplomatische Erinnerungen aus der Zeit von König Matthias] II. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica) Eds. Nagy, Iván – b. Nyáry, Albert, Budapest, 1877. Nr. 168, 169.; Dlugossus, *Hist. Pol.* 12. 552–553.; Cod. Ep. 3, Nr. 137.; Spieralski, 1980. 69.; Krollmann, 1932. 165–166.; Hoensch, 1998. 121–128.; Nehring, Karl, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 72.) München, 1989. 54–55.

Unterstützung der böhmischen Ketzer.¹² Am selben Tag informierte der Papst auch den Deutschen Orden darüber und forderte ihn auf, Matthias Corvinus zu unterstützen. Den Hochmeister und Ritter des Ordens entband der Papst ihres Treueides, den sie auf Grund des zweiten Friedens von Thorn abgelegt hatten, und er erklärte, daß sie Kasimir IV. keines Gehorsam verpflichtet wären. Das Papsttum hat zugleich Matthias beauftragt, den Deutschen Orden zu beschützen und zu unterstützen, was eigentlich die Aufgabe des Kaisers des Heiligen Römischen Reiches gewesen wäre.¹³ Der Papst war wahrscheinlich dieser Auffassung, weil Friedrich III. die Jagiellonen unterstützt hatte, und weil Sixtus IV. in Matthias einen berufenen Herrscher gefunden zu haben schien, der ein geeigneter Führer in einem Kreuzzug gegen den heidnischen Türken und den ketzerischen Hussiten wäre. Die erste Anregung einen Bund zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und König Matthias Corvinus zu schließen, kam also aus Rom.

Aufgrund der Kosten der zwei großen Armeen, die Kasimir IV. für die Erlangung der böhmischen und der ungarischen Krone aufgestellt hatte, und wegen der ererbten Schulden von Podebrad, kam Kasimir IV. in finanziellen Schwierigkeiten und schloß deshalb am 8. Mai 1472 einen Waffenstillstand mit Matthias.¹⁴ Diese Gelegenheit nützte der Bischof Nikolaus von Thungen: er nahm Söldner in seine Dienste und kehrte nach Ermland zurück. Neben dem Deutschen Orden unterstützen auch die Städte und Adligen des königlichen Preußens, deren Gebiet mit dem zweiten Frieden von Thorn Polen angeschlossen worden war, den Bischof.¹⁵ Nikolaus von Thungen nahm im Ermland ohne Widerstand die Stadt Braunsberg ein, danach folgen Guttstadt, Frauenburg und zuletzt auch Rössel. Die Einwohner des Ermlands begrüßten ihn überall freundlich, und er konnte die bereits eingedrungenen Polen schnell vertreiben. Der polnische König dachte so, daß es war Schuld des Ordens, daß der Bischof mit seinen Söldnern völlig ungehindert durch das Ordensgebiet nach Ermland ziehen können, und dort hatte einen Krieg gegen Polen zu beginnen. Kasimir IV. forderte den Deutschen Orden auf, den Bischof wieder aus dem Ermland vertreiben zu helfen.¹⁶ Matthias Corvinus nahm, nachdem sich die preußischen Stände gegen Kasimir IV. aufgelehnt hatten, Nikolaus von Thungen in seinen Schutz.¹⁷ Der Gegenzug des polnischen Königs ließ nicht lange auf sich warten. Im Herbst 1474 zogen Kasimir IV. und sein ältester Sohn, Władysław sowie der böhmische König mit seinem Heer nach Schlesien,

¹² Theiner, August (Ed.), *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia ... ex tabulariis Vaticanis*. Tom. 2. Romae, 1860. Nr. 613, 615. (= VMHH)

¹³ VMHH Nr. 614.; Weise, Erich (Hg.), *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*. Dritter Band (1467–1497) Marburg, 1966. Nr. 425. (= Staatsverträge)

¹⁴ Nehring, 1989. 57.

¹⁵ Dralle, 1998. 145.

¹⁶ Zimmerling, 1988. 306–307.

¹⁷ *Staatsverträge* 3. Nr. 488.

wo sich gerade Matthias befand.¹⁸ Kaiser Friedrich III. konnte den Jagiellonen keine Hilfe leisten, weil er zu dieser Zeit gerade einen Krieg um Burgund führte, jedoch bat er den Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens Polen nicht anzugreifen.¹⁹ Die Ritter blieben tatsächlich den Streitigkeiten fern, aber nicht wegen der Bitte des Kaisers, sondern weil ihnen angeblich nicht genügend finanzielle Mittel zur Verfügung standen. Bei Breslau schlug Matthias das böhmisch-polnische Heer und schloß mit den Jagiellonen einen Waffenstillstand für die Dauer von drei Jahren.²⁰

Kurz vor dem Ende des Waffenstillstandes von Breslau, der am 23. April 1477 ablief, unterstützte der Deutsche Orden den Bischof Nikolaus von Thungen nicht mehr bloß auf politischem Gebiet, sondern er schloß mit ihm am 30. November 1476 auch ein militärisches Schutzbündnis. Kasimir IV. wertete dies als einen Schritt gegen Polen, obwohl es im militärischen Sinne keine realistische Gefahr bedeutete. In dieser gespannten Situation ergriff der Hochmeister die Initiative. Anfang Januar 1477 schickte er den Bischof von Samland, Johann Rehwinkel, und den Komtur von Osterode, Martin Truchseß, zum ungarischen König. Die politische Zusammenarbeit zwischen Ofen und Königsberg wurde aufgrund des Vertrags vom 13. Februar 1477 zu einem militärischen Bund. Am 20. Februar 1477 starb der Hochmeister Heinrich von Richtenberg. Sein Nachfolger wurde der Komtur von Osterode Martin Truchseß. Durch diesen Bund gestärkt weigerte er sich dem polnischen König den Treueid zu leisten.²¹ Im März suchte der Gesandte von Matthias Corvinus, Gábor Veronai, den Hochmeister auf, und am 12. März festigten Ungarn und der Deutsche Orden ihren Bund gegen Kasimir IV.²² An demselben Tag verkündete Rom zum wiederholten Male, daß der Papst Matthias als Beschützer und Patron des Deutschen Orden betrachte und der Orden selbst nicht dem polnischen König, sondern dem Papst untergeordnet sei.²³

Diese diplomatische Aktivität hing damit zusammen, daß der Waffenstillstand bald ablief. Matthias mußte keine Angst haben, daß der ungarisch-jagiellonische Krieg wieder ausbrechen würde, da Kasimir IV. nicht genug Geld hatte um ein neues Heer aufzustellen. Er mußte nämlich in Moldawien gegen die Türken kämpfen.²⁴ Matthias erklärte in dieser Situation am 12. Juli 1477 gegen Friedrich III. den Krieg.²⁵ Am 27. Juli stellte Papst Sixtus IV. den Deutschen Orden unter seinen besonderen Schutz und festigte alle Privilegien und Rechten, die der Or-

¹⁸ Kubinyi, 2007. 93.; Hoensch, 1998. 139–141.

¹⁹ Cod. Ep. 3. Nr. 167.; Über den burgundischen Krieg siehe Pószán László, *Németország a középkorban* [Deutschland im Mittelalter], Debrecen, 2003. 362–368.

²⁰ *Mátyás király levelei* I. Nr. 210.; Nehring, 1989. 73.

²¹ Jähmig, Bernhart, „Martin Truchseß von Wetzhausen“ In: Udo Arnold (Hg.), *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 40.) Marburg, 1998. 148.

²² *Staatsverträge* 3. Nr. 457, 461.; Hoensch, 1998. 155.; Nehring, 1989. 82.; Dralle, 1998. 145.

²³ *Staatsverträge* 3. Nr. 458, 462, 463.

²⁴ Dlugossus, *Hist. Pol.* 12. 662.

²⁵ *Mátyás király levelei* I. Nr. 251.; Nehring, 1989. 96.

den je von Päpsten oder Fürsten bekommen hatten.²⁶ Der Hochmeister Martin Truchseß hatte einstweilen die weltliche Stände des Ordensstaates für einen Krieg gegen Polen gewonnen. Der ostpreußische Ständetag willigte im Dezember 1477 ein, ein Heer aufzustellen und Geld für die Werbung von Söldner zu sammeln. Diese Maßnahmen wurden auch von königlichen (westlichen) Preußen unterstützt. Für Kasimir IV. wurde die Lage in Preußen immer gefährlicher, weshalb er die Stände in West-Preußen, die zu Polen gehörten, mit verschiedenen Privilegien beruhigte und neutralisierte. Da die Armee von Matthias Corvinus mit dem Krieg gegen den Kaiser beschäftigt war, konnte Kasimir IV. im September 1478 die Gebiete des Ordens und des Bistums von Ermland angreifen. Nach Kriegsausbruch, von den Zeitgenossen wurde diese Konfrontation „Pfaffenkrieg“ genannt, protestierte Matthias bloß auf diplomatischem Wege. Er unternahm keine militärische Aktion, obwohl er auf Grund des Vertrages, den er mit dem Deutschen Orden und mit dem Bistum von Ermland geschlossen hatte, dazu verpflichtet gewesen wäre.²⁷ In seinem Brief an König Kasimir IV. schrieb Matthias am 21. Oktober 1478, daß er sich dann verpflichtet fühle Truppen zu schicken um den Angegriffenen zu helfen, wenn Polen den Krieg gegen den Deutschen Orden und Ermland nicht aufgibt.²⁸ Zehn Tage später schickte er zwei Briefe nach Krakau. In einem schrieb er den polnischen Ständen, daß sie ihren König dazu bringen sollten, den „Pfaffenkrieg“ zu beenden. In dem anderen an Kasimir IV. forderte Matthias den polnischen König auf, den Krieg zu stoppen. Zugleich bedankte er sich beim polnischen König, daß dieser sich bereit erklärt hatte, für die Verwüstung, die die polnischen Söldner in Schlesien verursacht hatten, Schadenersatz zu zahlen.²⁹ Das Verhalten des ungarischen und polnischen Königs deutet darauf hin, daß keiner von beiden daran interessiert war, den Konflikt in Preußen auszubreiten. Die hohle Drohung von Matthias, daß er seinen erprobten Söldnerkapitän Jan Zelenyi an die Weichsel schicke um den Deutschen Orden und dem Ermland zu helfen,³⁰ diente viel eher zur Beruhigung seiner Verbündeten, als zur Beeinflussung der Politik Kasimirs in Polen. Der Deutsche Orden schickte im Oktober 1478 seinen Gesandten nach Ofen um dringend militärische Hilfe anzufordern. Die Antwort Matthias war, daß man in Königsberg schon stark in die Hörner blasen müsse, damit man es in Ofen höre.³¹ Papst Sixtus IV. erinnerte am 28. Oktober 1478 Kasimir IV. daran, daß Rom den Friedensvertrag von Thorn aus dem Jahre 1466 nie anerkannt hatte, und der Papst den Deutschen Orden wiederholt allerlei Verpflichtungen entbunden hat, die im

²⁶ Arnold, Udo (Hg.), *Die Urkunden des Deutschordenzentralarchivs in Wien. Regesten III.* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 60/III.) Marburg, 2007. Nr. 4092.

²⁷ Jähnig, 1998. 148.

²⁸ *Mátyás király levelei* I. Nr. 268.

²⁹ *Mátyás király levelei* I. Nr. 274, 275.

³⁰ Dlugossus, *Hist. Pol.* 12. 679–680.

³¹ *Cod. Ep.* 3. Nr. 269.

Friedensvertrag festgelegt waren.³² Trotzdem strebte der ungarische König nach einer Vereinbarung mit Władysław in der Sache Böhmen. Matthias wollte keine Konfrontation mit dem gesamten Jagiellonen-Haus. Mit Kaiser Friedrich III. hat Matthias bereits am 1. Dezember 1477 Frieden geschlossen, und die Verhandlungen mit Władysław, dem böhmischen König, waren in November 1478 fast beendet. Kasimir IV. kam dadurch in eine ungünstige Situation, denn der Krieg mit dem Deutschen Orden und mit dem Bistum von Ermland kostete ihn viel Geld und die polnische Stände wollten eine ausgebreitete, langzeitige Konfrontation nicht finanzieren. Deshalb ergriff Kasimir IV. selbst die Initiative und begann Verhandlungen mit ungarischen König. Ende November 1478 schickte er den Domherrn aus Krakau, Jan Długosz als Gesandte nach Ofen.³³ Der Humanist Galeotto Marzio berichtete darüber, daß der Gesandte Matthias vorgeworfen hätte, der ungarische König habe die rebellierenden Untertanen des polnischen Königs unterstützt. Die Antwort von Matthias war, daß er dies nur von dem älteren Kasimir gelernt hätte, der 1471 sogar ein Heer nach Ungarn geschickt habe um das Komplott von János Vitéz zu unterstützen.³⁴ Abgesehen von vergleichbaren Wortwechseln und Debatten, wurden sich der ungarische und polnische Partner aber einig, daß sie bis zum Fürstentreffen, das für das nächste Jahr in Olmütz geplant war, einen Waffenstillstand schließen wollten. Sie vereinbarten, daß die von Polen eingenommenen Städte und Burgen im Bistum Ermland während des Waffenstillstandes, bis zu einem endgültigen Beschluß, in polnischer Hand blieben.³⁵ Kasimir IV. benutzte den Waffenstillstand dazu, das gesamte Ermland zu besetzen. Nikolaus von Thungen flüchtet nach Königsberg und noch immer auf die Unterstützung des ungarischen Königs hofften. In seinem Brief vom 2. februar 1479 versprach Matthias dem Hochmeister keinen Frieden mit Polen zu Ungunsten seines Verbündeten zu schließen.³⁶ Für eine Vereinbarung in der böhmischen Sache opferte aber Matthias seine Verbündeten. Der Friedensvertrag von Olmütz, der am 2. April 1479 unterzeichnet wurde, befestigte den aktuellen status quo. Der Titel „König von Böhmen“ wurde sowohl von Matthias als auch von Władysław getragen: von Władysław in Böhmen, von Matthias in den katholischen Ländern der böhmischen Krone (in Schlesien, in Mähren und in der Lausitz). Diesen Titel durfte Władysław nach dem Tod des ungarischen Königs für 400 000 Goldmünzen erwerben. Was die böhmische Sache anging, brachte der

³² Fraknói Vilmos–Décsényi-Schönherr Gyula (Ed.), *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae ad Romanos pontifices datae ab eis acceptae. Mátyás király levelezése a római pápákkal 1458–1490.* (Monumenta vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia 1. Abb. VI.), Budapest, 1891. Nr. 102.

³³ *Staatsverträge* 3. Nr. 487.

³⁴ Hoensch, 1998. 164.

³⁵ *Cod. Ep.* 3. Nr. 271.

³⁶ Nehring, Karl, „Quellen zur ungarischen Außenpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts“, *Levéltári Közlemények* 47 (1976) Nr. 77.

Frieden den Jagiellonen kein Glück.³⁷ Für Polen hingegen wurde aber die preußische Frage beruhigend geregelt. Die Position des Deutschen Ordens wurde erneut auf Grund des zweiten Friedens von Thorn festgelegt, und Matthias zeigte nur in minder interessanten Fragen der Außenwelt, daß er seine Verbündeten nicht verraten hatte; so hat er zum Beispiel einige Änderungen in Form und Inhalt des Huldigungs- und Treueides erreicht, den der Hochmeister vor dem polnischen König ablegen mußte, und für Nikolaus von Thungen wollte er erreichen, daß dieser ein anderes Bistum bekomme.³⁸ Da Matthias für seine eigenen Interessen die Unterstützung des Deutschen Ordens und des Bistums von Ermland aufgegeben hatte, hatte sich Nikolaus von Thungen bereits im Juli 1479. Kasimir IV. unterworfen. der Hochmeister blieb allein und setzte den Kampf noch zwei Monate fort, aber er hatte letztendlich auch keine andere Wahl, als sich zu ergeben und Frieden zu schließen (im Oktober 1479). Die sogenannte „Pfaffenkrieg“ war damit zu Ende. Nachdem die Huldigungseide abgelegt worden waren, war der Bund mit Matthias Corvinus in jeder Form aufgehoben.³⁹

³⁷ Spieralski, 1980. 65.; Kubinyi, 2007. 93.

³⁸ *Staatsverträge* 3. Nr. 488.; Hoensch, 1998. 164.; Jähnig, 1998. 149.

³⁹ Zimmerling, 1988. 310.

Part VI

MATTHIAS IN TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

TUDOR SĂLĂGEAN

THE BIRTHPLACE OF KING MATTHIAS

The building where, on February 23, 1443, Matthias was born as the second and youngest son of John Hunyadi (of Hunedoara), was built in early fifteenth century, being at that time the property of the citizen Jacob Méhffi.¹ Matthias' birth in Cluj was almost fortuitous, but neither the King nor the city dwellers took it as such. In the year 1467, after having defeated, with the support of the Cluj citizens, the rebellion led by a hostile Transylvanian noblemen's faction, Matthias expressed his affection for the house where he was born and exempted forever its owners from paying taxes of any kind. This made the "Matthias home" a valuable property, all the more since the exemption was to be confirmed by the Kings and princes who followed him.

Matthias Corvinus brought other major services to his native city. His reign is related to finishing, rebuilding or starting of the construction of some of the city's most representative monuments. Such is the case with the finishing of St. Michael church, sometimes around the year 1480, as well as the completion of the fortified defence wall around the city, with the erection, around 1475, of the Tailors' Tower. Matthias most prominent foundation was the church of the Minorites Franciscans (currently Reformed church) on Farkas street (present-day M. Kogălniceanu), financed through a consistent royal donation, the construction of which started in 1486, and which bears the King's name to this day ("Matthias church").²

At the same time, the tradition of King Matthias' birth in Cluj was never lost throughout the centuries. In the sixteenth century, a cult for the memory of the great King had already been being nurtured, changing the "Matthias house" into one of the tour sites for the city's visitors. It was a time when the first signs of lay "tourism" began to show, endorsed by the intense circulation throughout Europe of crafts and tradesmen, physicians and artists, wandering students and scholars, preachers of all sorts and victims of religious persecutions mixed with

¹ On the history of the building see Kovács Kiss Gyöngy, *Rendtartás és kultúra*. Marosvásárhely [Târgu Mureș], 2001. 7–12.

² Sălăgean, Tudor, Mihály, Melinda, *Cluj – „orașul comoară” al Transilvaniei / Cluj – The Treasure City of Transylvania*. Cluj–Napoca, 2007. 25–29.

young noblemen eager to complete their education. These travellers seemed to take increasingly less economic interest and became more inquisitive about the culture of the places they visited. This was the time when, according to Gáspár Heltai's chronicle, Matthias started to embody, in the Cluj urban tradition, justice and perfection, the model of a great King close to the common people, aware of their problems and helping them to remedy them.

Gáspár Heltai's chronicle³ mentions one of the most famous legends in the history of Cluj, a story that grandparents still tell their grandchildren to this day. Legend has it that Matthias, on his way through Transylvania, left his large suite in the fortress of Gilău and, disguised as an errand student, entered his native city incognito, to see the moods of the citizens and how the city leaders were treating them. In the city's main square, Matthias watched indignantly how the poor citizens were forced by the Judge's men, under penalty of whipping, to carry fire logs for his household. On his protest, the King disguised as a student was lashed and forced to join the poor of the city in the hard labour they were performing, until the sun set. Legend has it that Matthias, in inspiration, wrote in coal on three splinters of firewood in the Judge's yard: "*King Matthias was here! where is the justice?*" Released at nightfall, the King returned to his camp in Gilău, only to return in the city, at the head of his shining suite, being warmly welcome by the same Judge and by the city leaders. When questioned about the respect of the laws that forbade abuses against free citizens, the Judge assured the King that such laws were being strictly observed. The King then had his men seek through the stacks of firewood in the Judge's yard, until the three splinters of wood with the incriminating reading were found. Matthias then punished the judge and took measures to ensure the strict observance of the lawful rights and liberties for all the citizens.

This legend embodies the aspirations towards liberty and justice, specific to the age of the Reformation. The Matthias myth is being reinterpreted from this perspective, the great King born in Cluj being called, with persuasion and nostalgia, "Matthias the Just". The window grids of the Matthias house were at that time decorated with heraldic ravens, and the inside of the building, the room of Matthias birth became the object of a peculiar interest. In the second half of the sixteenth century, this room was marked with an inscription, the wording of which survived to our day in a 1758 transcription⁴: „*Matthias, dei gratia beatae memoriae olim Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae rex, filius quo[n]dam domini Joannis Hunyadi, natus hic in isto hypocausto anno 1444, die 27 Martii(!), 3 hora matutina, qui fideliter patriae inservivit regnavitque foeliciter usque ad vitae suae finem.*“ [“Matthias, blessed be his memory, by divine grace King of

³ Heltai, Gáspár, „Kronika az magyaroknak dolgairól”, In: István Nemeskürthy (ed.), *Heltai Gáspár és Bornemisza Péter Művei*. Budapest, 1980. 447–452.

⁴ Kovács, András, „Placa comemorativă a casei Bocskai din Cluj” [The memorial plaque in the Bocskai House in Cluj], In: Tudor Sălăgean, Melinda Mitu (eds.), *Principele Ștefan Bocskai și epoca sa*. Cluj–Napoca, 2006. 109.

Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia and Croatia, the son of the late lord John Huniady, born here in this room, in the year 1444, day March 27th, on the third hour of the morning, who faithfully served his country and reigned happily until the end of his life.”]

This cult dedicated to the memory of Matthias was increased by another coincidence, which left deep marks in the time’s mentality. On 1 January 1557, in a building⁵ located less than 15 meters away from King Matthias’ birthplace, another major, similar event took place: the birth of Stephen, son of George Bocskai and Cristina Sulyok, who would later become one of the greatest princes of Transylvania and one of the foremost politicians of his contemporary Europe.⁶ No less interesting is the fact that just like Matthias, Stephen Bocskai too was born in Cluj in somewhat fortuitous circumstances: his father, George Bocskai was sentenced for house arrest there by King John Sigismund Zapolya, the political views and religious orientation of whom he did not share. During this his wife gave birth to Stephen, who was to dominate the political life of Transylvania in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Moreover, just like Matthias, Stephen Bocskai was not indifferent to this house and the municipal leadership placed here in 1606 a generous inscription adorned with Bocskai’s coat of arms as Prince of Transylvania, which has survived to this day. Matthias Corvinus and Stephen Bocskai are the only ones of rulers and princes who were ever born in the city of Cluj. Both births, due more or less to fortuitous events, took place in neighbouring buildings, on one side and another of the same small square.

Sometime around 1740, the building became a municipality asset, and fulfilled public duties, from military hospital to jail. The mid 19th century found the Matthias house an old building cared for little, in an area that no longer aroused any interest. In 1887, the building was visited by Emperor Francis Joseph I, who encouraged its renovation and consolidation and donated the amount necessary for the carving of a commemorative slate. Its blueprint was made by artist Lajos Pákey, and its execution by sculptor György Zala. The text reads in Hungarian: *“This is the house where, on 27 March 1443, Matthias the Just was born, son of John Huniady and Elisabeth Szilágyi. By the grace of the great King, his home was exempted from any obligation. Prince of Transylvania George Rákóczi II confirmed the privileges of this house. Our apostolic King Francis Josef I, honoured it with his visit on 23 September 1887, and, through his generous donation, ensured its forever remembrance. As a token of respect and admiration, this*

⁵ On the Bocskai House see Mihály, Melinda, „Casa Bocskai din Cluj. Contribuții la istoria clădirii” [The Bocskai House in Cluj. Contributions to the history of the building], In: Tudor Sălăgean, Melinda Mitu (eds.), *Principele Ștefan Bocskai și epoca sa*. Cluj–Napoca, 2006. 111–117.

⁶ Sălăgean, Tudor, Mihály Melinda, *Cluj – „orașul comoară” al Transilvaniei / Cluj – The Treasure City of Transylvania*. Cluj–Napoca, 2007. 38–40.

commemorative slate was placed in the free royal city of Cluj on the house where its greatest son was born. 1888.”

After 1896, the Matthias house was renovated, and in 1901 it was donated by the city to the Carpathian Society, in order to establish a museum there. The museum was opened in 1902 when the statue of King Matthias Corvinus was unveiled in the Cluj main square. Although the Museum of the Carpathian Society was rather ethnographic in nature, a commemorative exhibition was arranged in King Matthias' room of birth, including a series of memorabilia which mirrored (or so were thought to) his personality and connections with the city on the Someş river. The museum was open until 1935, when its collections were evacuated and donated to other local museums.

The most important Cluj monument dedicated to the memory of the great King was the statue inaugurated in 1902, in the city's central square. The work is the swan song and at the same time the crown jewel of sculptor János Fadrusz's career (1858-1903), being inaugurated one year before he passed away. In contrast with some of his contemporaries, János Fadrusz was one of the artists of his time who fully observed the classical traditions of monumental sculpture. His work included Maria Theresa on horseback (1892-1896), erected in Bratislava (destroyed in 1919 by Czechoslovakian authorities, who saw it as a symbol of Habsburg domination), and, in Transylvania, two monuments erected in Zalău: “Wesselényi” (1901) – which Romanian authorities put down in 1935, but Hungarian authorities re-erected in 1942 on its original location, surviving to our day – and the “Tuhutum Memorial” (1902) – destroyed. His project for the statue of King Matthias, which he presented to the Commission appointed by the Cluj municipality in 1894, won the competition. The wax scale model has been saved to this day by the National Museum of History of Transylvania. Furthermore, János Fadrusz's project won the Gold Medal at the Paris International Exhibition. It was a first and spectacular step towards the celebrity acquired, in time, by the statue unveiled in 1902 in the main square of the city of Cluj.

The inauguration ceremonies of 12 October 1902, were fastidious. The government of Hungary was present *in-corpore*, together with its prime-minister, count Apponyi. The sermon was held by bishop Majláth of Transylvania in St. Michael's Church. The imperial family was represented by the young archduke Joseph August, son of archduke Josef, in the name of emperor-King Francis Josef I.

Currently, the Matthias house is managed by the University of Arts and Design “Ion Andreescu”, which made investments into its restoration and promotion. In 1996, at the initiative of the former Cluj mayor Gheorghe Funar, a second commemorative plaque was placed on the front wall of the building, in Romanian and English, the wording of which, with exclusive hues, unlike previous inscriptions, has aroused a great deal of criticism: “*According to the historical tradition, this is the house where Matthias Corvinus, the son of the great voivode of Tran-*

sylvania and governor of Hungary Iancu of Hunedoara was born. The Romanian Matthias Corvinus is considered the greatest of all Hungarian Kings, due to his achievements during his reign, 1458–1490". In the Romanian text on the plaque, Matthias is wrongly called "Matei" (Matthew), a rather frequent error in Romanian historiography.⁷ The son of John Hunyadi actually bore the name of the apostle Matthias, not that of the evangelist Matthew. Moreover, the plaque states bluntly that Matthias was an ethnic "Romanian", without mentioning that the King's mother, Elisabeth Szilágyi, came from a Hungarian noble family. Moreover, the irony of associating Matthias alleged Romanian ethnicity with his alleged quality of being "the greatest of all Hungarian Kings" is, also, unacceptable in a multicultural community.

The year 2008, with the celebrations of 550 years since the crowning of Matthias and 565 years since his birth, marked the beginning of the restoration of his statue in the main square of Cluj, with joint financing from the governments of Romania and Hungary. In addition, during the common session of the two governments, which took place in Sibiu in November 2007, a common initiative was taken to set up an exhibition dedicated to the King, in the sovereign's memorial house.

⁷ Pop, Ioan-Aurel, „Numele din familia regelui Matia Corvinul: de la izvoarele de epocă la istoriografia contemporană” [Names in the family of King Matthias Corvinus: from contemporary sources to present historiography], *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 26 (2008) 111–138.

SZIDÓNIA WEISZ

**SERVING MATTHIAS OR TURNING AGAINST HIM?
THE CASE OF ISTVÁN ERDÉLYI, A NOBLEMAN
FROM TRANSYLVANIA**

The *Erdélyi de Somkerék* family was one of the notable families of the late medieval/early modern noble society of Transylvania. With a history of over two hundred-fifty years (1391–1643), most of the family members held significant administrative functions, a large estate, a fortified castle and powerful relatives.

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the life-story of *István Erdélyi de Somkerék* (1422–1483/86) in brief. Due to the administrative functions and the litigious affairs István Erdélyi was involved in, numerous documents make the reconstruction of his biography possible. It is to be investigated who István Erdélyi was and why he can be considered an interesting personality? Did he participate in major events connected to the history of Transylvania? Was he loyal to the King? What kind of administrative functions did he have? How did his deeds influence the life of his family? Why is it important to reconstruct his life-story?

As the youngest son of Antal Somkeréki¹ and of Margit Antimus,² István Erdélyi represented the second generation of the Erdélyi de Somkerék family. Even if his father was a loyal courtier of King Sigismund, resulting in several privileges that assured wealth and social status and appreciation for his children, István only partially followed the example of faithful royal service. Yet, he continued the work of his father, being the person to put the several privileges Antal earned in practice.

¹ The fact of why father and son are called by different names has to be explained. The father, though member of the Somkeréki kindred, was named Antal Erdélyi (from Transylvania) while being the castellan of his master, Miklós Garai, in Somlyó (Veszprém county). People from that region considered him a foreigner and this is why they started to call him “from Transylvania”, as referring to his place of origin. After his death, Antal’s descendants started to use this name as family name. Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon 1387–1437* [Reign of King Sigismund in Hungary 1387–1437] Budapest, 1984. 136. For a biography of Antal Somkeréki see Szidónia Weisz, *Somkeréki Antal, egy erdélyi (nemes) Luxemburgi Zsigmond szolgálatában* [Antal Somkeréki, a Transylvania Noble Serving Sigismund of Luxemburg] (manuscript).

² The Antimus family was from Somogy County. We have no evidence about the relationship of István Erdélyi with the family of his mother, the only possible tie is that both István Erdélyi and a certain János Antimus were *familiares* of János Hunyadi. Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1458* [Secular Archontology of Hungary] Budapest, MTA TTI, 1996. 14.; 69. [Hereinafter: Engel, Archontológia]

He had four brothers and two sisters, out of which two (Gilet and János) presumably died early, without descendants. Miklós, his eldest brother was vice-voivod of Transylvania,³ and *comes* of Torda.⁴ Borbála, one of his sisters married István Tuzsoni Bolgár,⁵ his other sister, Katalin married vice-voivod Miklós Vízaknai. Eight children were born of his marriage to Anna Darai Majos, of whom János was the most notable, as he managed to regain the estate and the castle of Gernyeszeg, due to his marriage to Jusztina Szilágyi, aunt of King Matthias. As a consequence of several marriage alliances, the Erdélyi family was closely connected to some of the most famous Transylvanian families of that time: Vízaknai, Farnasi Veres, Apafi, Bethlen de Bethlen and so on.

István Erdélyi's year of birth is not known. His name appears for the first time in May 1422, when he is listed among Antal Somkeréki's sons in a charter related to a territorial debate with their neighbors.⁶ Seven months later (10 January 1423) another charter of similar topic mentions István's name. One can suppose that he was young at that time, as the sources don't mention him for almost twenty years, when in 1441 István and his brother Miklós gave the estate of Nagydeng (Hunyad county) to their *familiaris*, Márk Konya.⁷

If one compares István's carrier with the one of his father, it seems that the son did not have such an illustrious carrier. As opposed to his father, who held functions in Croatia, in present-day Austria and several regions of Hungary, István's duties were limited mainly to Transylvania. The only function that he had outside the region was the one of *vice-comes* of Bodrog in 1453.⁸ He was *comes* of Máramaros (Maramureş) in 1456, which meant that he was *castellan* of Huszt and *comes* of the salt chamber of Máramaros,⁹ captain of the castle of Görgény and vice-voivod of Transylvania in 1462–1465. In November 1462 King Matthias remitted the *quinquegesima* for the estates of the Somkeréki brothers, due to István's loyal services (*quod nos attentis et consideratis fidelitatibus et fidelium seruitiorum gratuitis meritis*).¹⁰ Unfortunately the charter does not give information about the nature of the performed services, though one can suppose that they were connected to his function of vice-voivod.

³ Pál Engel, *Középkori Magyar Genealógia* [Medieval Hungarian Genealogy], CD ROM, Budapest, MTA TTI, 2001. apud MOL DL 36508, 32506.

⁴ Gyula Décsényi, "A somkeréki Erdélyi család 1415-ös címeres levele és nemzedékrendje" [The Coat of Arms and Genealogy of the Erdélyi de Somkerék Family] *Turul* 3 (1892) 12.

⁵ Samu Barabás (ed.), *A római Szent Birodalmi Gróf Széki Teleki család oklevéltára* [Collection of Charters of the Teleki family] Budapest, 1895. Vol. 1. 524. [Hereinafter *TOkl*]

⁶ *TOkl*, 461.

⁷ Jakó, Zsigmond (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, [The protocollum of the Convent of Kolozsmonostor] Vol. I–II. Budapest, 1990. 276. (apud MOL DL 36390. [Hereinafter Jakó, *Kolozsmonostori konvent*])

⁸ Engel, *Archontológia*, 117.

⁹ *Ibid.* 154. apud MOL DF 247900

¹⁰ *TOkl*, 76–77.

In 1462–63 István had an interesting (and well-documented) conflict with Benedek Farnasi Veres.¹¹ They insulted one another causing material loss as well.¹² In spite of this, they reconciled and even came to cooperate with one another, as became relatives. István's brother married Farnasi Veres' daughter. Both of them were domineering over the estates of the chapter of Gyulafehérvár. István Erdélyi's armed troops – with the help of the above-mentioned Benedek Farnasi Veres – attacked and robbed the estates of Köbölkút, Viszolya, Újlak and Kecsed (Kolozs County). Several churches were plundered; books, chalices and ecclesiastical cloths were stolen. This action of Erdélyi caused a damage of 500 florins for the inhabitants, and 1000 florins for the chapter. Besides, he levied a tax of fifty florins on the estates, for which he was excommunicated by Miklós Zápolya, bishop of Transylvania, the verdict being made public in several churches.¹³ Since István Erdélyi did not pay the promised trial expense of 32 florins, he was excommunicated again. A year later, however, he was absolved by King Matthias.¹⁴

In 1467 István Erdélyi joined the group of the Transylvanians revolting against King Matthias,¹⁵ and as a consequence of this act, his properties were confiscated. He regained most of them a year later (December 1468),¹⁶ except for the estate of Gernyeszeg that had already been donated to László Pongrác, a cousin of the monarch. Gernyeszeg became the property of the Erdélyi family again, when János Erdélyi (son of István) married Jusztina Szilágyi, widow of László Pongrác and aunt of the King.

A significant part of the documents mentioning István Erdélyi are dealing with his different estate issues. In 1446, the two sons of Antal Somkeréki, István and his older brother, Miklós divided the family estates; István inherited the estate of Gernyeszeg (with several neighboring villages) and other smaller lands near Somkerék.¹⁷ Besides, István Erdélyi managed to obtain some more properties, especially by exchange, purchase and pledge. For example, on 5 September 1458 he exchanged three villages in Hunyad County (Nagydenk, Kisdenk and Mártondenk) with King Matthias, receiving in return Péterlaka and Körtvélyfája (Torda County), two villages in the neighbourhood of his estate.¹⁸ Interestingly, the above-mentioned three villages from Hunyad County appear again in the property of István in 1460, when he pledged them (along with Bencenc) to János

¹¹ For a detailed biography of Benedek Farnasi Veress see Zsigmond Jakó, „A Farnasi Veress család (Az 1467. évi erdélyi lázadás kutatásához)” [The Farnasi Veress Family], In: *Emlékkönyv Imreh István születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, Cluj–Napoca, 1999. 176–195. [Hereinafter Jakó, A Farnasi Veress család]

¹² István lost approximately 400 golden florins. Ibid. 190. apud *TOkl*, 78–80.

¹³ Ibid. apud MOL DL 30855.

¹⁴ Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monográfiája [Description of Szolnok-Doboka County], CD ROM, Budapest, Arcanum, 2003, 96.

¹⁵ A középkori székelység [Seklers in the Middle Ages], Miercurea-Ciuc, 2001. 244–248.

¹⁶ *TOkl*, 94.

¹⁷ *TOkl*, 24–26.

¹⁸ *TOkl*, 69–70.

and Tamás Barcsai for 100 golden florins.¹⁹ The parts from Vingárt (Fehér County) were pledged to János Geréb de Vingárt for 40 golden florins in 1466.²⁰ Three years later, the same parts (and several others from Fehér County) were sold for 500 golden florins to the above-mentioned János Geréb de Vingárt.²¹ Szekérberete and Kach (Belső-Szolnok County) were pledged twice; for the first time in 1474 to Gál Kecseti, for 60 golden florins,²² and in 1477 for László Zalay for 50 golden florins.²³ László Zalay bought the estate of Szilvás and half of a fishpond from István and his son János for 350 golden florins.²⁴

It appears that István was facing an economic decline, which started in 1460 (when the first estate was pledged), and deepened after 1466. Possible explanations for this phenomenon could be that he needed more money for representation purposes and that was also a time when he was implied in serious building activities. He had lost his main estate, which meant a significant loss of income.

Besides the administrative and estate issues, István Erdélyi's building activity also has to be mentioned. Two constructions can be connected to his name – a church²⁵ and a castle – both located in Gernyeszeg (Gornești), the centre of his estates. The church was built in the 1450s, in the so-called “Transylvanian Gothic” style, as shown by its lancet windows and Gothic-arched gates.²⁶ (*figs. 1, 2*) The present Calvinist church, the main nave, the sanctuary, the sacristy and tabernacle (*fig. 3.*) are parts of the fifteenth-century building; the belfry and the aisle were added later. The fact that the church was built by the Erdélyi family is underlined by the carved coat of arms (*fig. 4*). The pentagonal sanctuary is cross-vaulted and surrounded by piers. Its keystones are ornamented with ceiling-roses and empty shields.²⁷ The Western gate has a gothic arch; the Southern gate and the sacristy gate are decorated with shouldered arches. The mason's marks carved on the sacristy gate and the inscription from the original church bell²⁸ also attest the fact that the building was finished in the second half of the fifteenth century, during the lifetime of István Erdélyi.

¹⁹ Jakó, *Kolozsmonostori konvent*, 566. apud MOL DL 36392.

²⁰ Ibid. 633. apud DL 36393.

²¹ Ibid. 688. apud DL 36393.

²² Ibid. 754. apud MOL DL 36403. After Gál Kecseti's death, the two estates were taken back by István Erdélyi, without paying the pledge. *TOKI*, 128–129.

²³ Ibid. 775. apud MOL DL 36406.

²⁴ Ibid. 800. apud MOL DL 32507.

²⁵ It is interesting that he built a church, because as it has been seen above, he also robbed and destroyed other churches. In the present case it can be supposed that the concern behind the construction was to show off, not any religious devotion.

²⁶ Tonk Sándor, *Gernyeszeg* (Gornești). Cluj–Napoca, 1999, 12.

²⁷ Ibid. *Gernyeszeg*, 12.

²⁸ *In nomine Iesu omnes genu flectuntur celestium et interrestrium infernorum anno domini m cccc LVI inri*. Sándor Tonk supposes that the year 1456 can be referring to the ending of the construction. Ibid. 13.

The other edifice built up under the direction of István Erdélyi was the castle of the family, erected during István's vice-voivodate, in 1462–1465. It was István's father, Antal Somkeréki who was granted the license to build a fortified castle for several services performed during King Sigismund's reign.²⁹ The castle is mentioned for the first time in 1477.³⁰ Another charter from 1478 addresses it as royal castle: *Castrum Nostrum (regis) Gernyezegh*.³¹ On the one hand, this fortified castle was the home of the noble family; on the other hand it had strategic role, too, as together with the castles of Görgény and Marosvécs it formed a coherent castle-system. Two parts of it were built of stone; it had two bastions and three smaller towers, the whole construction being surrounded by a ditch, filled with water from the river Mureş.³² The defence-system was completed by a drawbridge, situated in front of the main entrance and by a palisade positioned along the ditch, in order to protect the inner buildings.³³ In the second part of the eighteenth century the castle became uninhabitable and it was demolished by László Teleki, who used its foundation and basement for a newly erected baroque palace. Though the building did not survive, two inventories (from 1685³⁴ and 1754³⁵) provide us information about how it looked like. Based on the second inventory, a reconstruction of the building was made by József Bíró³⁶, in the 1930s. (figs. 5, 6)

In conclusion István Erdélyi was a man of his time, using all possible methods for earning a fortune and rise in social status. This is why he experienced glory but failure as well. With an ambiguous personality (on the one hand he built a church, on the other hand he robbed and destroyed others), he did not respect neither ecclesiastical, nor royal authority. While studying his life-story one can encounter transitions from loyal service to revolt, and from disgrace to royal pardon. His career also went through fluctuation, from smaller duties to the office of vice-voivod and the loss of all services and properties. Although István Erdélyi became famous especially because of several abuses of authority and power, further research can modulate this image.

²⁹ "... unum castellum lapideum seu fortalitiu edificare, tenere, construere et conservare valeant atque possint". *TOkl*, 409–410.

³⁰ Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadi] Budapest, 1913. 669.

³¹ Gyula Keresztes, *Maros megyei kastélyok és udvarházak* [Castles and Manor Houses from Mureş County], Târgu-Mureş, 1995. 21.

³² Margit B. Nagy, *Várak, kastélyok, udvarházak, ahogy a régiek látták* [Fortresses, castles and manor houses, as seen in the past], Bucharest, 1973. 36. [Hereinafter B. Nagy, *Várak, kastélyok*]

³³ B. Nagy, *Várak, kastélyok*, 35.

³⁴ Árpád Kulcsár, "A gernyeszegi kastély Teleki Mihály kancellár korában és inventáriuma 1685-ből" [The Castle of Gernyeszeg in the Times of Chancellor Mihály Teleki and its Inventory from 1685], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1–4 (1989) 150–164.

³⁵ B. Nagy, *Várak, kastélyok*, 322–338.

³⁶ József Bíró, *A gernyeszegi Teleki-kastély* [The Teleki Castle from Gorneşti], Budapest, 1938.



Fig. 1. Gothic gates of the church (Photographs by the Author)

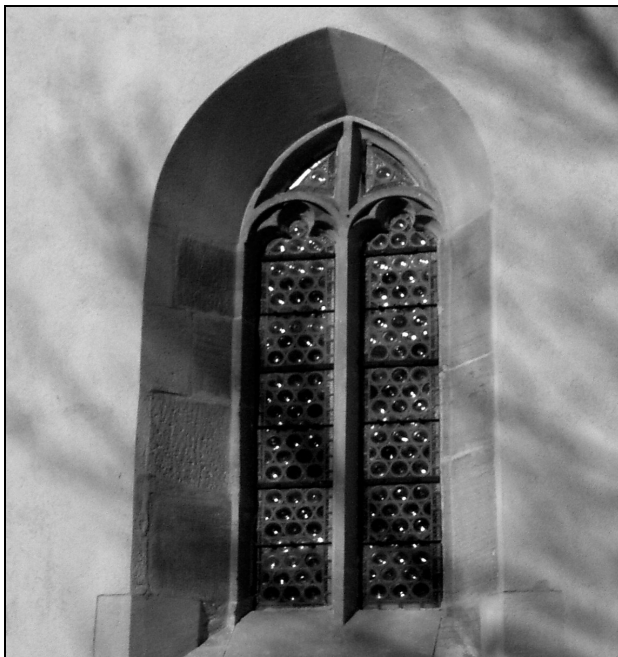
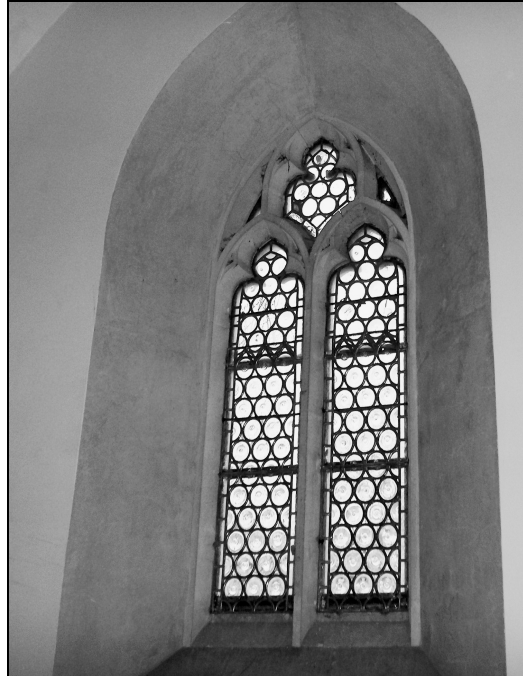


Fig. 2. Lancet windows



Fig. 3. Tabernacle



Fig. 4. Coat of arms of the Somkeréki family

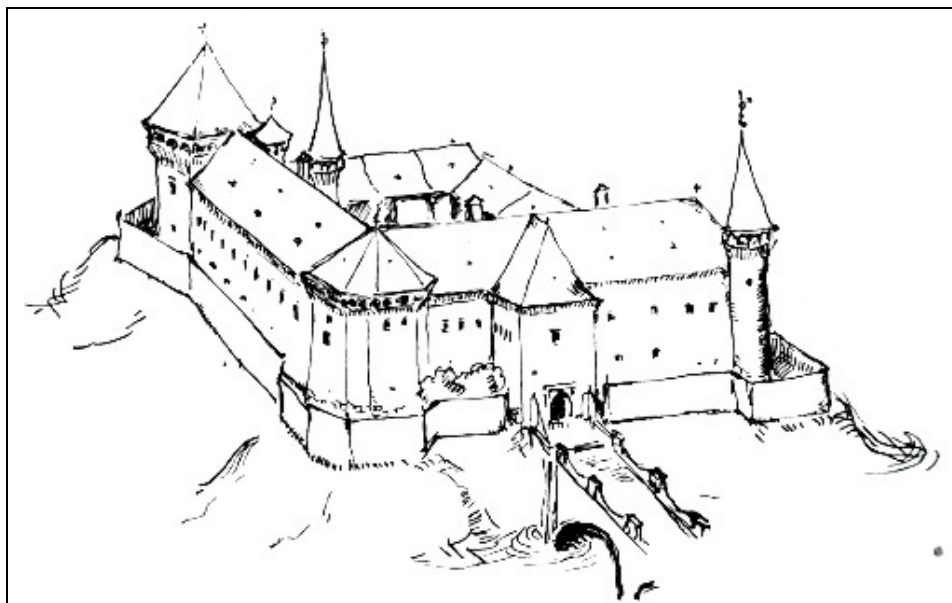


Fig. 5. Reconstructed image of the castle

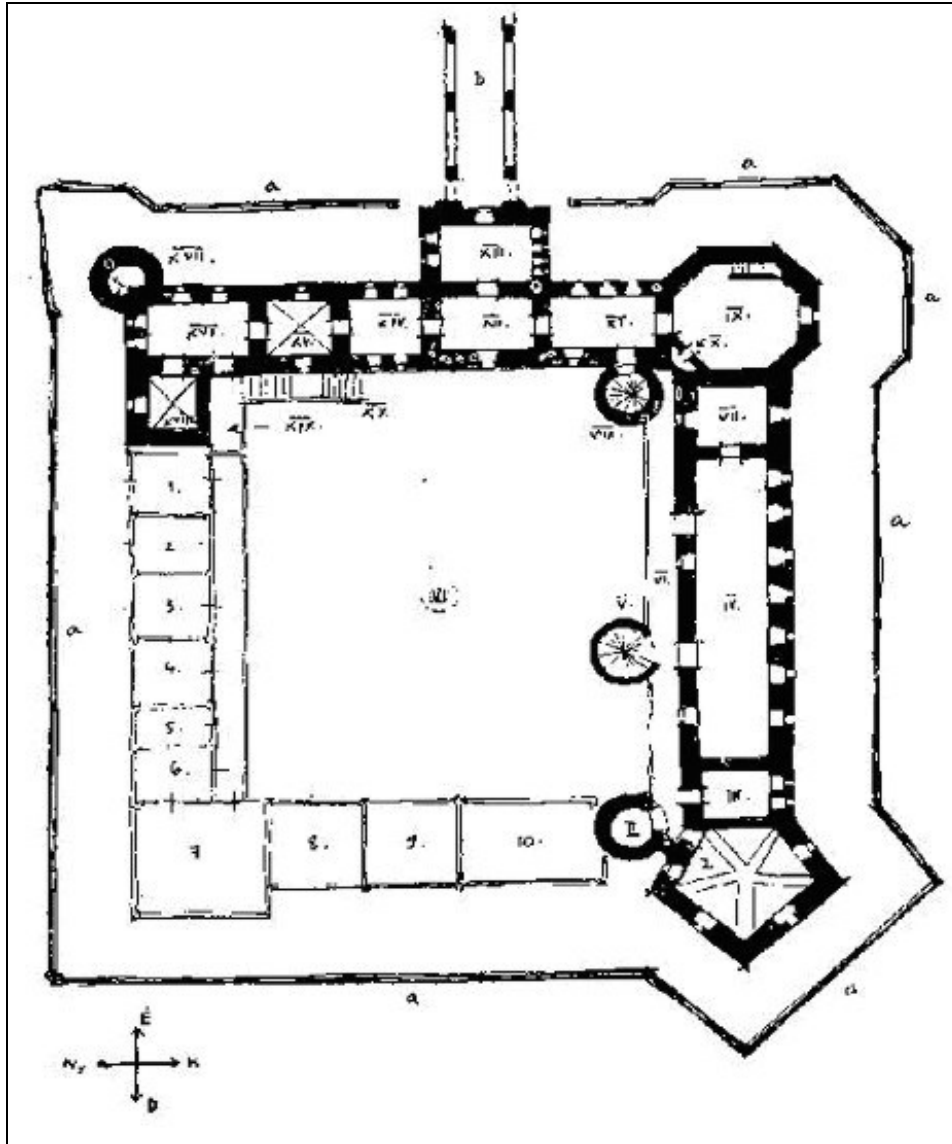


Fig. 6. Reconstructed ground-plan of the castle