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# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

Lights and Shadows on the Frontier of European Culture: the Late Renaissance in Hungary – Papers  
read at Indiana University, Bloomington

# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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**LIGHTS AND SHADOWS  
ON THE FRONTIER  
OF EUROPEAN CULTURE:  
THE LATE RENAISSANCE IN HUNGARY**

*In memoriam Tibor Klaniczay*  
(1923—1992)

Edited by György E. Szőnyi





## Introduction

*This volume is long due and it is a great pity that although initiated by Tibor Klaniczay, now, after his death, has to be dedicated to him. The idea of publishing a collection of essays in English about the late Renaissance in Hungary emerged in 1981 when the late Dame Frances Yates visited Hungary and gave widely acclaimed lectures at the Academy of Sciences and at the universities of Budapest and Szeged. During the workshops she realized that scholars who had no access to Hungarian had minimal information about the period following the glamorous era of King Matthias. After returning to England she promptly suggested Routledge to venture into such a publication but her death a few months later aborted the plans.*

*Professor Klaniczay did not give up the idea. He convinced Professors György Ránki and Ian Thomson in Bloomington to organize a conference on the Hungarian Renaissance at Indiana University in the Fall of 1986. The essays read at the conference were to serve as the basis for the planned volume, however the untimely death of Professor Ránki again halted the project.*

*The present collection publishes some of the 1986 Bloomington papers completed by other articles with the purpose to present a panorama of recent Hungarian scholarship abroad and at home dealing with various questions of Hungarian cultural and literary history of the given period.*

*Most of the essays deal with poetry, probably the highest quality product of the Hungarian Renaissance. It was Bálint Balassi and his contemporaries who created outstanding vernacular poetry in Hungary, synthesizing the national heritage with European traditions: previously absent medieval lyricism and Petrarchan expressions of love. Some of the papers introduce the foreign reader to concrete achievements of this poetical renaissance (Birnbaum, Szőnyi), others represent the recently very dynamically developed research in historical poetics (Szigeti, Zemplényi). Next to vernacular poetry, the main output of the Hungarian Renaissance was written in Latin, belonging to the international activities of European humanism. One article demonstrates to what extent Hungarian humanism could contribute to the best traditions of European scholarship (Téglásy on Sambucus) and another one introduces some typical local variants of Latin versifying. It is a special regret that the author of this paper, Professor Andor Tarnai, has also died recently, his passing away multiplied the sad occurrences which landmarked the publication history of this collection.*

*Since this publication is aimed primarily at the English speaking scholarly audience, it is natural that some articles deal with Hungarian—English cultural contacts in the given period (Basa, Gömöri, Szőnyi). György Gömöri's article on Zrínyi is also significant and symbolic because Zrínyi-research was the field in which Professor Klaniczay first made his name famous. Klaniczay's article, featured in the collection, was written with the intention to clarify theoretical issues of Hungarian*

*Renaissance culture as well as presenting the case in a broad European context to an international readership.*

*Finally, the paper of Géza Galavics demonstrates that the achievement of the Hungarian Renaissance was by no means confined to poetry. His article explores courtly culture, the patronage system and the development of the visual arts.*

*It is a special pleasure of the editor to have such a wide range of contributors, associated with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the universities of Budapest and Szeged, Cambridge in England, Washington and Los Angeles in the United States. The international context and the interdisciplinary character of the studies are those features that provide the most appropriate tribute to Professor Klaniczay's major achievements in Renaissance scholarship.*

György E. Szónyi

# THE CONCEPTS OF HUNGARIA AND PANNONIA IN THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

TIBOR KLANICZAY

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Hungary

In the term "Hungarian Renaissance", the adjective "Hungarian" is far from being so unambiguous as other national denominations in similar expressions, such as French, Italian or English Renaissance. Present day Hungary is entirely different from the old Hungaria with respect to territory; and old Hungaria fell to pieces for the first time precisely during the age of the Renaissance. Moreover, the Hungaria of the Renaissance was the home of several ethnic groups and languages; it was not only the land of the Hungarians. This is the source of much confusion — often characteristic of modern historiography — yet there was some uncertainty even in contemporary consciousness about this. Everything was further complicated by the way the national, territorial and ethnic names of the Carpathian basin were changing during the 16th century.

It is not my aim to outline the juridical and political aspects of this problem or the historical circumstances recorded in the laws and contracts of the period. This was accomplished by historical studies a long time ago, though there are still disputes on some points among the historians of different countries. First and foremost I am interested in the appearance and meaning of the concepts of the various national and territorial units and ethnic groups in the minds of the individuals of the period mentioned above. Naturally, we have to be very careful when we use data about this, as we cannot expect a kind of consistency, a unified usage of the name of a country or its people, based on common consent. Yet, in spite of overlapping and contradictory evidence, certain main lines can be drawn.

The question of what Hungaria and Pannonia exactly were, attracted the attention of 15th and 16th century learned minds, both Hungarian and non-Hungarian. Pietro Ransano in his *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* (1490) devotes a whole chapter to this problem with the following title: "Of the borders of Pannonia, also called Hungaria, according to its old and new descriptions and of the origins of the names of Pannonia and Hungaria."<sup>1</sup> These questions were answered by the writers of the Renaissance in various

ways. With respect to the territory of Hungaria there are three versions. The concept of Hungaria, in terms of geography, is the broadest in the work of Miklós Oláh, the author of the most detailed and highest quality description of the country. In his *Hungaria*, written about 1536, he presents the two Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Valachia as parts of Hungary. He was probably inclined to do so due to his Romanian descent on his father's side and his consequent Romanian sympathies. Having done so, consistency demanded him to include in Hungaria the southern co-dominions of the Hungarian crown: Croatia and Bosnia, though he only declared this, and gave no detailed description.<sup>2</sup> The peculiar opinion of Oláh can be disregarded in what follows, for others did not regard the above mentioned co-dominions, vassal or adjoining countries as parts of Hungaria.

The most general definition of Hungaria in the 15th and 16th centuries could perhaps be best quoted from the *Geographia* of the excellent geographical writer Giovanni Antonio Magini (Venice, 1596): "The kingdom of Hungary today is the territory that includes Pannonia inferior by which he [Ptolemaios] means Transdanubia and the area between the rivers Drava and Sava... the whole region of Iazigi and Metanastæ, which has been located by Ptolomeus among the Danube, the Tisza and the Sarmatian Mountains i.e. the Northern Carpathians, and the part of Dacia occupied by Transylvania."<sup>3</sup> This is completely concordant with the description of Jacques Esprinchard, a Huguenot traveler visiting Hungary in 1597: "Hungary is bordered in the north by the Carpathian Mountains, which separate her from Poland as well as Moldavia. In the south the River Sava, in the west Austria and Styria and in the east the River Olt are the borders, this territory including Transylvania as well."<sup>4</sup> Similar descriptions of the borders and the territory have long been passed on as stereotypes from one manual to another, showing that during the 15th and 16th centuries Europe identified Hungaria with the territory circumscribed above. The parties concerned, i.e. the people of the country speaking various languages, were of the same opinion for quite a long time. However, by the second half of the 16th century a more restricted concept of Hungaria began to be formed, though slowly and gradually, which became completely general and accepted in the 17th century. It differs from the one described above in its exclusion of Sclavonia beyond the Drava and of the historical Transylvania.

It is illuminating to see what the men of the Renaissance thought of the relationship between Hungaria and these two provinces of medieval Hungary, both of which had separate administrations.



Ransano, who has already been mentioned, refers to the area between the Drava and the Sava which is named Sclavonia after her inhabitants, as part of Hungaria.<sup>5</sup> Miklós Oláh treats her as "secunda pars Hungariæ" and calls her Sclavonia Hungarica.<sup>6</sup> Croatia is isolated from her, being a territory beginning on the other side of the Sava and stretching over Italy, just as, according to Magini's *Geographia*: "The southern river of Hungaria is the Sava, which separates her from Serbia and Croacia."<sup>7</sup> In vain did Croats live north of the Sava, the constitutional respects were stronger in the minds of the period: Slavonia, marked off by the Sava and including Zagreb, is an inorganic part of Hungaria, whereas the region south of the Sava is a separate country in union with Hungary, which has always been "regnum nostrum Croatiæ" in the usage of Hungarian kings. Whereas the latter was continuously present in the title of medieval Hungarian kings (rex Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ ...) Sclavonia has never been, as it was implied by Hungaria. Only gradually did Sclavonia become a separate regnum from Hungary, later joining Croatia and finally becoming intertwined with her. This process is aptly represented by the composition of the Hungarian and Croatian delegations which were present at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530. As "comes et orator Croatiæ", Wolfgangus de Frangepanibus represented the Croatian estates distinctly and delivered his speech promoting their interests, whereas "pro Hungaris et Sclavis" it was Ladislaus de Macedonia who gave an address on behalf of a delegation of four. The contemporary printed material publishing the address also lists the members of the delegation, revealing that Ladislaus de Macedonia, the bishop of Várad and Nicolaus "comes de Thurocz", magister curiæ represented "regnum Hungariæ", while Thomas Kamarius and Georgius Spiiczko the "regnum Sclavoniæ".<sup>8</sup> So Sclavonia is already present here as a separate regnum, though still in union with Hungaria. In accordance with this change Sclavonia becomes part of the titles of the Hungarian kings: on the great Seal of Ferdinand I, beside many others, there is the title of "Rex Sclavoniæ".<sup>9</sup>

The people became conscious of all this only little by little, and usage remained uncertain until the end of the 16th century. Bartholomeus Georgievich who became famous for his account of Turkey and who published the text of the Lord's prayer, the Hail Mary and the Apostles' Creed "in the Slavonian language" in the appendix of his first book, published in Antwerp in 1544, calls himself Hungarus on the title-page.<sup>10</sup> Croatian students coming from Zagreb and other parts of the historic

Slavonia regard themselves as being from Hungary at universities abroad and sign their names accordingly in the registers. Some examples from Bologna: Georgius de Varasdino dioecesis Zagrabiensis in Ungaria in 1558; Nicolaus de Senicis Zagrabiensis Ungarus in 1577; and Michael Ziligerius Zagrabinus is elected Hungarian consiliarius of the university in 1574 and 1575.<sup>11</sup> I have cited data from Bologna deliberately as the university of this town was especially popular among Croatians. It is no mere chance that the Collegium Illyrico-Hungaricum was flourishing here. Moreover, the conditions of its foundation illuminate best the changing concept of Hungaria in relation to Slavonia. The founder of the Collegium, Pál Szondy, who was simultaneously great provost of Esztergom and Zagreb, refers to the institution in his deed of foundation, dated 1557, consistently as Collegium Hungaricum or Collegium Hungarorum even though he established it for students coming "de Hungaria ac Sclavonia". Furthermore, he intended to have half of the students representing each language. That is to say, the notion of Slavonia as part of Hungary is still in effect here, though there is a clear acknowledgement of the two territories as speaking different languages. To avoid misunderstanding, Szondy attached a note to the text, where he described exactly what is to be understood by the term Slavonia: basically the territory of the episcopate of Zagreb with the addition of Pozsega (Požega) up to the mouth of the Drava. (Pozsega belonged to the former episcopate of Bosnia.) The institution appears in the documents of the university of Bologna as Collegium Hungaricum for a long time, but as the Slavonians realized their Croatian or Illyrian (to use the term of the humanists) character increasingly, and as Szondy entrusted the supervision of the Collegium to the chapter of Zagreb and Zagreb became the centre of Croatian i.e. Illyrian political life, the name of the Collegium in Bologna changed silently into Collegium Illyrico-Hungaricum.<sup>12</sup>

Let us now turn toward the problem of the other territory gradually dissociating itself from the concept of Hungaria. This was Transylvania. In the 15th century there is still no sign of the isolation of Transylvania from Hungaria. Bertrandon de la Brocquière travelling through Hungary in 1433 mentions the mountains of Transylvania as the mountains that divide "Honguerie from Walachie", and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, too, regards Transylvania as part of Hungary in his *Cosmographia*.<sup>13</sup> Students coming from Transylvania often emphasize their belonging to Hungary at their registration. In Bologna, for example: Augustinus de Salanck archidiaconus de Clus et canonicus in ecclesia Transilvana de Ungaria and Giorgius Zaz de Enyed de Ungaria from 1439; Albertus Blasii Walko de Cusal, de

diocesi transilvanensi in provincia Ungariæ, from 1479; Georgius Michaelis de diocesi transilvanensi de Ungaria, from 1480; Magister Valentinus de Septem Castris de Ungaria ordinis Prædicatorum, from 1491, etc.<sup>14</sup> As for Ransano, he treats Transylvania in his survey of Hungary simply as a county of the country.<sup>15</sup>

In the first half of the 16th century the situation was more or less similar. In Miklós Oláh's *Hungaria* Transylvania together with the whole large area stretching from the Tisza up to the Dniester, is mentioned repeatedly as forming the "fourth part" of Hungaria.<sup>16</sup> It is apparent, however, from his remarks concerning Abrudbánya (Abrud), lying on the western border of Transylvania, that the more restricted concept of Hungaria, one excluding Transylvania, was already present in his mind as well. This town is situated as he puts it, where the river Fehér Kőrös arrives in Hungaria from the mountains — i.e. from Transylvania to Hungary.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter for quite a long period, there are definitions calling the Transylvanian territory Hungary as a matter of course, as well as other definitions regarding her as a separate country. The Transylvanian Saxon Georg Reicherstorffer, for example, in his description of Transylvania entitled *Chocographia Transylvaniæ* (published in 1550), declares the library of the school in Brassó (Brasov) to be the best library in Hungary after the annihilation of that of Matthias in Buda.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the Hungarian reformer of Debrecen, Péter Melius called the profession of faith accepted at the synod of Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mureş) the work of preachers having gathered "from both the whole of Hungary and Transylvania" when he published it in Kolozsvár in 1559.<sup>19</sup>

To avoid misunderstanding it has to be emphasized, however, that reference to the separation of Transylvania never means the territory of the realm of the later Princes of Transylvania, as the latter included, beside historic Transylvania, also a part of Hungary in the restrictive sense. When John II, elected king of Hungary, reigning in the eastern part of Hungaria in the original broader sense, was compelled to abdicate the royal title in 1570, his official title became "Princeps Transsylvaniæ et Partium Regni Hungariæ Dominus". In this the separate status of Transylvania within the region under his rule already finds legally expression.<sup>20</sup> Although there was no common agreement that Transylvania belonged to the countries of the Hungarian crown from that time on, it was more and more often mentioned as a *former* part of Hungary. The French ambassador, Pierre Lescapier, sojourning there in 1574, referring to Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia), the capital of the principality, wrote as follows: "Everybody speaks the original

language of the country, Hungarian, as Transylvania used to be a province of Hungary".<sup>21</sup> Giovanni Francesco Baviera in his *Raguaglio di Transilvania* written in 1594 also states that "this province used once to be a part of the Hungarian kingdom".<sup>22</sup>

The change is well illustrated by the way the Transylvanian people themselves specify their places of origin. At the registrations in the 16th century we can hardly find specifications such as the ones quoted earlier, "in ecclesia Transilvana de Ungaria", for example. They call themselves "Transylvanus" most frequently, which term was of course used also before, especially by the Transylvanian Saxons. The Saxons enter the names of their home towns almost without exception at the universities abroad in the 16th century in the following manner: "Coronensis Transylvanus", "Cibinensis Transylvanus", etc. It is also the motherland in the narrow sense that appears on the front page of their publications. *Iacobi Pisonis Transylvani...Schedia* — this was the title Georg Wernher used in 1554 for the publication of the poems of his friend the eminent humanist poet from Medgyes (Medias) who had died in 1527. In the publication of his epic *Ruinæ Pannonicæ* (Wittenberg, 1571), the author, Christian Schaesaeus appears as "Mediensis Transylvanus", just like Leonhard Uncius, the Saxon poet who treats Hungarian history in verse and calls himself Transylvanus on the title-page of his work published at Cracow in 1579.<sup>23</sup> The Transylvanian Saxon Jacobus Lucius, who worked at the Heltai press in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and later on in Wittenberg and in other German towns as a printer, always attaches to his name the specification of Transylvanus or Sövenbürger (Siebenbürger) in the imprints of his pressworks.<sup>24</sup> In the second half of the 16th century even the Transylvanian Hungarians call themselves Transylvanus most of the time, although they often use the term together with the word Ungarus. In 1562 in Wittenberg there are four students with Hungarian names registering as Ungari Transylvani; in 1587, in Heidelberg, Johannes Sylvasius Ungarus Transylvanus is registered, whereas at the same time István Szamosközy, who later became the famous Transylvanian historiographer specified himself merely as Ungarus.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, István Gálffy appears in Padova as Transylvanus in 1578 and as Ungarus in 1579.<sup>26</sup> In the early 17th century the Saxons begin to use the attribute Saxo-Transylvanus in order to be distinguished from the Transylvanian Hungarians: this is how the treatises of Franciscus Schimerus of Medgyes and Andreas Zieglerus of Brassó are published in Wittenberg in 1605 and 1606.<sup>27</sup>



Thus by the end of the 16th century the concept of Hungaria in the narrow sense is slowly being formed and firmly established, already excluding Slavonia which became Croatian and Transylvania, populated by Hungarians, Saxons and Romanians and governed by a Hungarian Prince. The situation is well illustrated by the representation of students from Hungary at the university of Bologna. In the University Statutes published in 1561 we can read that "*Ungaria habet unam vocem et unum consiliarium*", referring to the constitution of the senate of the university. It is interesting that in spite of this there were two senators elected "*pro Ungaria*" in 1564: Ioannes Donitus Ungarus and Thomas Iordanus Ungarus. Characteristically, one of them, originally called Donić was a Croatian from Slavonia whereas the other, Tamás Jordán was a medical doctor from Transylvania who later became famous in Moravia; that is to say both of them were citizens of Hungaria only in the broad sense. However, in 1572 Matthias Varasdinus living in the Collegium Ungarorum is already elected senator "*pro Illyria*"; and in 1595 it is entered into the official copy of the Statutes in handwriting that thereafter an independent seat is due to the Transylvanians in the senate, separate from the Hungarians.<sup>28</sup>

The same is manifest on the maps of the 16th century. Lazarus's memorable map of Hungary published in 1528 does not mark any distinction in relation to Slavonia and Transylvania. The inscription "*Transylvania*" appears on it in the same way as the designation of the other geographical units of the country, such as "*Cumanorum Campus*" in the Great Hungarian Plain. On the other hand, the new maps drawn in the second half of the century begin to mark off Slavonia and Transylvania with different colours, though with considerable vagueness and inaccuracy.<sup>29</sup> Yet it is characteristic that the territory under Turkish rule was never set apart on the maps. The territory occupied by the Turks was considered part of Hungaria throughout the whole period. For example the imperial legates heading for Constantinople via Hungary denote in their travel reports that they are leaving Hungary each time they reach Belgrade though they have been travelling through the region under the same Turkish rule for quite a long time. Stephan Gerlach writes in his diary (1573), on reaching Belgrade: "*Hier endet sich Ungarn*".<sup>30</sup> In 1622 Adam Wenner von Krailsheim, too, writes of Belgrade that here the Sava flows into the Danube, dividing Hungary from Serbia.<sup>31</sup> It was totally exceptional that when the letter of the preacher Imre Eszéki written in Tolna to the famous reformer Flacius Illyricus was published in Magdeburg in 1550 it was said to arrive "*aus der Türckey*" in the title of the publication.<sup>32</sup>

All that has been said about Hungaria is partly complicated and partly illuminated by what can be established about the concept of Pannonia. "I have often heard from King Matthias — writes Galeotto Marzio — that the historians of our time are wrong to write the names of the regions and towns according to the ancient terminology." The king mentioned several examples of this, among others, one stating that Hungaria "includes part of Pannonia and Dacia", making it inappropriate to use one of the ancient names instead of the name Hungaria.<sup>33</sup> In spite of all his enthusiasm for antiquity, the great king disregarded fashion and had himself referred to as "rex Hungariæ" consistently in his inscriptions and documents, providing evidence of an uncommon sense of reality as well as accurate historical knowledge. His contemporaries, in contrast, intoxicated by the greatness of ancient Rome, tried to wipe out the barbarous names even if this could only be done by force. In the case of Hungaria it was self-evident to identify her with Pannonia, which had traditions of bygone centuries. From the time of King Peter through Saint Ladislav the inscription on the coins of 11th century Hungarian kings is consecutively "Pannonia", and when Saint Ladislav attacked Croatia it was registered in Zadar (Zara) in the following way: "Pannoniorum rex Chroatiae invadet regnum".<sup>34</sup> In the early Hungarian chronicles, — including that of Anonymus' — the term "Pannonia" is constantly present, meaning Hungary, but later on this usage was completely dropped by Hungarians. Its revival was actually brought about by Italian Humanists and not by Hungarians. The first Hungarian to apply this term to himself was probably Janus Pannonius who felt it "decent" to change the barbarous name of Johannes Sclavonus or Giovanni Unghero in Ferrara at around 1450.

As a short digression, let me venture a supposition about the problem of what the Hungarians might have been able to call the poet in their own language. His name was most probably János Tót. It is well known that the name of the Slavs living within the territory of Hungary and having no independent state (i.e. the name of the Slavonians and Slovaks) was "Tót" in Hungarian. This name excellently fitted the Slavonian descendant János, bishop of Pécs. That this is more than mere fancy is proved by folk tradition. In his verse chronicle about King Matthias (1575), Péter Ilosvai Selymes, the 16th century Hungarian author, describes a scene (that has no written source) in which the king threatens János Tót, bishop of Pécs, because of his feudal tyranny, with hanging him on the door-post if he does not remedy the injustice he has committed. It is obvious that this is the folkloristic resonance of the tragic opposition of poet and king.<sup>35</sup>

But let us return to the term Pannonia. Except for the poems of Janus we can find hardly any examples of its use for quite some time. Even János Vitéz<sup>36</sup> mentions it only once in a letter dated 1464, speaking of the Sava as one of the rivers of Pannonia. In the same year, however, Antonio Costanzi from Fano, previously schoolmate of Janus in Ferrara, addresses Mathias as King of Pannonia in a poetic exhortation addressed to the king. In contrast to this, Janus, answering for the king, calls his lord "Matthias, rex Hungarorum", seeking to be faithful to the king's own preference.<sup>37</sup>

From the end of the 1460s the term begins to be applied extensively. The Carthusian monk from Ferrara who had been a soldier of Hunyadi and had rocked the cradle of Mathias (and who obviously sought to follow the example of Janus), called himself Andreas Pannonius in his *Libellus de virtutibus* (1467). Battista Guarino, another friend of Janus and the son and heir of the great Guarino, also from Ferrara, mentioned Hungary in one of his letters in 1467 as "universa Pannonia" and as "tota Pannonia"; at the same time Georgius Trapezuntius calls Mathias "Pannonum rex" in the dedication addressed to Janus in his translation of Basilii; and János Vitéz is called Johannes Pannonus by Johannes Argyropulos when the latter recommended to the bishop Aristotle's *De coelo*.<sup>38</sup> The abundance of data from Ferrara and the fact that the persons are all connected to Janus are worth noting. He may have had a significant role in the creation of the cult of Pannonia.

Even later on it was primarily in the works of Italian humanists that the more distinguished Pannonia stood for the term Hungaria. Thus Marsilio Ficino, Poliziano, Lodovico Carbo, Naldo Naldi, Ugolino Verino, Bartolomeo Fonzio, Brandolini Lippi entitle Mathias "king of Pannonia" in each of their letters written to him or works dedicated to him. It was only Galeotto Marzio, in agreement with the opinion of Mathias, who refrained from the use of the term all throughout. That in Hungary itself, the epithet was slow to strike root, is demonstrated by the fact that Antonio Bonfini, in the prefaces to his translations of Hermogenes presented to Mathias in 1486 and that of Philostratos, presented in 1487, uses the title "Ungariæ et Boemiæ rex". It was only in his translation of Filarete, finished as late as in 1489, that he dedicates his work to "Pannoniæ et Boemiæ rex".<sup>39</sup> It is remarkable, that the following inscription was engraved in the sepulchre of the palatine Imre Szapolyai in Szepeshely where the magnate was buried in 1487: "Hic iacet... Dominus Emericus Comes perpetuus Sepesiensis et palatinus regni Pannoniæ".<sup>40</sup> Subsequently, during the 16th century, every respectable learned man of Hungary was glorified in the name of Panno-

nus or was honoured with it. It is sufficient here to mention the names of Fülöp Csulai Móré, Bartholomeus Frankfordinus, Gábor Pesti, János Sylvester, Zsigmond Gyalui Torda, János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus), András Dudith, Márton Berzeviczy, Farkas Kovacsóczy. But Gergely Gyöngösi, the erudite Pauline friar writer also appears as Pannonius on the title pages of his books, as well as the Calvinist theologian István Szegedi Kis, or the German Christoph Preyss from Pozsony (Bratislava) who ascended to a university chair in Königsberg, or the German Paulus Rubigallus from Selmecbánya (Braská Štiavnica), or the Slovak nobleman Martin Rakovský.<sup>41</sup>

Thus humanist fashion made the identification of Hungaria with Pannonia general. "Hungaria vero, quæ Pannonia dicebatur" writes Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus Experiens) as early as the end of the 15th century, in his work on king Vladislas I.<sup>42</sup> "The part of Europe now called Hungaria used to be named Pannonia" Ransano begins his description of Hungary;<sup>43</sup> and the two terms appear as mere synonyms in the Hungarian history of Bonfini. Naturally the humanists as well as Mathias were well aware of the fact that the borders of Roman Pannonia were not identical with those of 15th century Hungary but there were only a few who instated on historic fidelity. One of them was Enea Silvio Piccolomini who, treating Hungary in his *Cosmographia* writes as follows: "This country is called Pannonia by some, as if the Hungarians took the place of the Pannonians: in reality neither can Hungaria match the boundaries of Pannonia nor was the latter as far-reaching as the Hungaria of our age."<sup>44</sup>

The humanists tried to overcome this twofold problem in various ways. Their situation was further complicated by their knowledge of the division of Pannonia by the Romans into a superior and an inferior part without a clear understanding of the exact borderlines. Hence most of the variations appear in their works. The writers of the end of the 15th century unanimously drew the line between Austria and Pannonia. According to Ransano Austria and Upper Pannonia are separated at Hainburg, with Pozsony as the first Pannonian town scanning from the west. Bonfini is of a similar opinion, and regards the town of Bruck beside the Lajta as the border town between Austria and Upper Pannonia. Francesco Pescennio Negro, travelling here in the 1490s, also stated that "I came to Vienna from Pannonia".<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile the humanists of Vienna discovered that they, too, were living in the territory of the former Pannonia. This is shown by the appearance of the place-name "Viennæ Pannoniæ" in the imprints of Vienna pressworks from 1509 onwards, especially in publications of a



humanistic character.<sup>46</sup> This, then, alternated with the form "Viennæ Austriæ" until the latter displaced the former. It is interesting that the last publication to bear the Viennæ Pannoniæ imprint is the 1561 edition of Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*.<sup>47</sup> Recognizing the indubitable fact that the border of Roman Pannonia lay west of Vienna, the solution became self-evident for 16th century humanists: Pannonia Superior corresponded to Austria, and Pannonia Inferior to Hungaria. This is the position adopted by Taurinus and, most consistently of all, by Miklós Oláh in his *Hungaria*.<sup>48</sup>

A more serious difficulty was that Oláh, as well as his predecessors and followers, had to face the fact that Hungaria reached farther towards the north and the east than old Pannonia. Ransano solves the problem simply by first relating what the antique writers (Strabo, Plinius, Ptolomeus) wrote about Pannonia, then listing what can be found in the same territory in his day, in the course of which he describes the Transdanubian and Slavonian counties. Then he turns to the discussion of the counties left of the Danube, including Transylvania, though, as he points out, they are not mentioned in the antique descriptions of Pannonia.<sup>49</sup> That is to say, according to his view the Pannonia of this day, which was identical with Hungaria, was larger than the old one. We can read something similar in Sebastiano Compagni's *Geographia* written about 1509: Pannonia inferior in his age, he says, is called Hungaria, "Hungaria, however, reaches far beyond the border of Pannonia".<sup>50</sup> In the usage of Miklós Oláh, the original Pannonia — i.e. Transdanubia and Slavonia — corresponds to the "western part" of Pannonia inferior, hence the part east of the Danube is the eastern part of Pannonia inferior for him. Georg Wernher in his famous work about the waterways of Hungary (1549) also emphasizes that he means by the term Pannonia not only the region between the Rába and the Sava but the territory lying on the other side of the Danube as well, up to the Carpathians; in other words, all that is under Hungarian rule.<sup>51</sup> The validity of the concept of Pannonia thus was expanded over the whole of Hungaria, in the same way Battista Guarino had done some decades earlier, in 1467, when writing about "universa" and "tota" Pannonia. This is not surprising: in the same letter he speaks of Várad (Oradea), as "provinciæ Pannoniæ urbs".<sup>52</sup>

After all this, we cannot be suprised to find that the Tiszántúl (the territory east of the river Tisza) or towns such as Sárospatak or Szeged are said, without much ado, to be within Pannonia in the writings of the 16th century. Besides, everybody calls himself Pannonius regardless of what part of the country he comes from; they have themselves appear like this on the

title-pages of their publications abroad and have a predilection for entering their names in this form in the registers of the universities. As far as I know, the first example of this kind is that of Miklós Csáki, bishop of Csanád and later impaled by Dózsa, who appears at the university of Padova as Nicolaus Ciachi Pannonius in 1498.<sup>53</sup> From that time on there is no end of the similar entries, no matter whether their writers come from Kecskemét or from Besztercebánya (Baňská Bistrica), Debrecen or Lőcse (Levoča), or whether they are of Hungarian, German or Slovak origin.

As is shown by the case of the initiator, Janus, someone descending from Slavonia is naturally Pannonius, like Valentinus Cybeleius Varasdien-sis, to whom we are indebted for his beautiful ode *Ad Pannoniam* (1509).<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, someone from Croatia would never have called himself Pannonius, as Croatia was not considered part of Hungaria, and, consequently, of Pannonia either, but was identical with the classical Illyria so her sons were "Illyrici".

As Hungaria in the broad sense included Transylvania, the terms "Pannonia" and "Pannonius" became expanded anachronistically over Transylvania, too. In 1523 a "dominus Franciscus panonus de Transylvania" appears in Bologna, in 1550 "Emericus Pannonius Colosvarinus" publishes his theses in Paris, in 1551 "Simon Osdolanus Transsylvanus Pannonius" is registered in Wittenberg, and in 1563 a "Johannes Baptista Keresturi Transylvanopannonius".<sup>55</sup> When Máté, younger brother of Miklós Oláh died in Transylvania in 1536, the mourning brother living in Brussels at the time conceived a small string of memorial poems in the title of which the deceased appeared as "præfectus... oppidi Szazwaras, in Transylvania Pannoniæ".<sup>56</sup> Gáspár Heltai, publishing one of his works in Wittenberg in 1555, referred to himself on the title page as a priest practising "in urbe Claudio-poli in Pannonia".<sup>57</sup>

The application of the name of Pannonia to Transylvania and the Transylvanians, however, remained restricted not only because in the second half of the 16th century Transylvania began to be excluded from the conceptual sphere of Hungaria but, first and foremost, because Transylvania had her well-known antique predecessor, Dacia. The humanists were fully aware that the classical Dacia was divided into three separate parts in their age: Moldavia, Valachia and Transylvania. The latter they usually declared as "the part of Dacia under Hungarian rule". Similarly, already in the second half of the 15th century Nicholas Machinensis, bishop of Modrus stated in his *De bellis Gothorum* that "in our age the inner part of

Dacia is called Transylvania, which is held by the Huns [i.e. the Hungarians] whereas the lower part stretching toward the coast of the Black Sea belongs to the Valachians".<sup>58</sup> Miklós Oláh also treated Transylvania as part of the former Dacia and called her "Dacia Hungariæ";<sup>59</sup> and Georg Wernher also separated her from Pannonia which extended up to the Carpathians. According to the latter, Transylvania was "cultissima pars" of Dacia, where there lived Germans, Hungarians, and Romanians "but where power is in the hands of the Hungarians and for this reason the Transylvanians are called Hungarians, too."<sup>60</sup> In other words, there is a concept of Pannonia which includes a part of the former Dacia as a simple substitute for Hungaria. But there is a notion of Hungaria which identifies only the larger western part of this with classical Pannonia or Pannonia inferior, whereas the smaller eastern part of Hungary is regarded as the western, inner part of Dacia. This is the opinion of Justus Lipsius among others, who declared in a work written in 1604 that Hungaria "almost includes the Pannonia and Dacia of the old".<sup>61</sup> Finally, it is extremely instructive to see the definition of Giovanni Antonio Magini whose description of Hungaria in the broad sense I quoted above. He extends the validity of Pannonia only as far as the border of Transylvania. The latter qualifies as part of Dacia vetus but a part which has been the tributary of the king of Pannonia since Saint Stephen, and is inhabited by Pannonians. Hence he calls it simply Pannodacia.<sup>62</sup>

Examining the concepts of Pannonia and Hungaria, though by no means exhaustively, we are led to the conclusion that in spite of the political events and the fact that the Aren was inhabited by several peoples, it represented as a country and a historical and cultural unit in the eyes and consciousness of both its own population and the foreign observers who visited it in the 15th and 16th centuries. This is the country that was called "dulcis patria" by the Hungarian János Sylvester; the country called "patria nostra" by the Slavonian János Vitéz who was partly or wholly of Croatian origin; it was the country Miklós Oláh, born of a Rumanian father, wrote of in his letter to Erasmus as "mea Hungaria"; and in a dedication written to him by András Dudith, born in Buda in a family partly of Italian and partly of Dalmatian origin, it was named "communis patria".<sup>63</sup> The civilization — the cultural, literary and artistic production — accomplished by the sons of this common motherland called Hungaria or Pannonia, constitutes what we can refer to as the Hungarian or Pannonian Renaissance.

Despite the fact that Hungarians represented a majority of the population in 15th—16th-century Hungary, the Renaissance culture flourishing in

this country was the common product of the sons of several peoples. The vehicle of the Hungarian Renaissance was not an ethnic group speaking the same language but an ethnically mixed society belonging to the same country and subscribing to a patriotism of the given state.<sup>64</sup> In the framework of this unity, linguistic—ethnic consciousness only developed slowly among the Hungarian and the other peoples of Hungary during the course of the 16th century but this would not endanger the cultural unity of Pannonia—Hungaria for a long time yet to come.

### Notes

1. Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungararum*. Ed. Petrus Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 37 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Ævorum, II).
2. Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria — Athila*. Eds. Colomannus Eperjessy, Ladislaus Juhász, Budapest, Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Ævorum).
3. Antonius Maginus, *Geographiæ Cl. Ptolomæi* (Venetiis, 1596), Pars secunda, f. 158r.
4. Leopold Chatenay, *Vie de Jacques Esprinchart Rochelais et Journal de ses voyages au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1957), 163.
5. *Op. cit.*, 62.
6. *Op. cit.*, 7: 15–16.
7. *Op. cit.*, f. 158r.
8. Károly Szabó, Árpád Hellebrant, *Régi magyar könyvtár* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1896), 3: Nos 276, 289. (In the following this work will be abbreviated as RMK.) See also: *Orationes Ladislai de Macedonia*. Ed. I. K. Horváth (Szeged, 1964), 20 (Acta Universitatis de Attila József nominatæ. Acta antiqua et archæologica, VII).
9. Ignác Acsády, *Magyarország három részre osztásának története (1526–1608)* (Budapest: Athenæum, 1897), 162–163, 663–664 (A magyar nemzet története. V).
10. RMK III: No 349. — See also Mrs. Zsigmond Ritoók, "Egy 16. századi vándor literátor: Bartholomæus Georgievits". In *Szomszédság és közösség. Délszláv—magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok*. Ed. Sztojan Vujicsics (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 53–70.
11. *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiæ studentium, 1221–1864*, ed. Andreas Veress (Budapest: Academia Scientiarum Hungarica, 1941), 88, 97, 106, 108 (Monumenta Hungariæ Italica, III).
12. Anton Mária Raffo, "Appunti sull'atto di fondazione del "Collegio Ungarico" di Bologna". In *Venezia e Ungheria nel contesto del barocco europeo*. Ed. Vittore Branca (Firenze: Olschki, 1979), 391–397.
13. Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, *Le voyage d'outremer* (Paris, 1892), 236; Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei postea Pii II. papæ *Opera geographica et historica* (Helmstadii, 1699), 219 sqq.

14. *Matricula et acta...*, 38, 56, 57, 59.
15. *Op. cit.*, 69.
16. *Op. cit.*, 21.
17. *Ibid.*, 33.
18. Quoted by Bernhard Capesius, *Die förderten den Lauf der Dinge* (Bukarest: Literaturverlag, 1967), 132.
19. *Res litteraria Hungariae vetus operum impressorum, 1473–1600*. Ed. Gedeon Borsa et alii (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), No. 155.
20. See Tibor Klaniczay, "La Transylvanie: naissance d'un nouvel état". *Etno-psychologie* [Le Havre] XXXII (1977): 287–301.
21. Hungarian edition: *Pierre Lescaplier utazása Erdélybe (1574)*. Eds. Kálmán Benda & Lajos Tardy (Budapest: Európa–Helikon, 1982), 71.
22. Giovanni Francesco Baviera, *Ragguaglio di Transilvania* (1594), published in *Corvina*, N. S., III (1940): 692.
23. RMK III, Nos 419, 613, 679.
24. Mrs. Zoltán Soltész, *A magyarországi könyvdíszítés a XVI. században* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961), 54.
25. *Album Akademiae Vitebergensis, 1502–1601*. Ed. Carolus Eduardus Foerstmann, vol. I–III (Lipsiae–Halis, 1841–1905), 2: 44; *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1870*. Ed. Gustav Toepke (Heidelberg, 1886), 2: 134, 142.
26. *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitate Patavina studentium, 1364–1864*. Ed. Andreas Veress (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1915), 89 (*Fontes Rerum Hungaricum*, I).
27. RMK III. Nos 1023, 1040.
28. *Matricula et acta...* 1941, cit. in note 11, pp. 100, 101, 105, 115.
29. *Lazarus secretarius, The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*. Ed. Lajos Stegena (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982).
30. Stephan Gerlach, *Tagebuch* (Frankfurt am Main, 1574).
31. Adam Wenner von Crailsheim, *Ein gantz new Reysebuch von Prag auss bis gen Constantinopel* (Nürnberg, 1622), 23.
32. RMK III, No. 390.
33. Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae*. Ed. Ladislaus Juhász (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1934), 25 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentique Aevorum*).
34. Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország története az Árpádok korában (1038–1301) (A magyar nemzet története, II*. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1896), 20, 60, 90, 110, 114, 116, 140, 680–684; György Györffy, "Die Nordwestgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im XI. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung des 'ducatus Slavoniae'", in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay* (Braga: Cruz, 1971), 299–300.
35. The text is edited by Edit Lévy, "Ilosvai Selymes Péter ismeretlen historiás éneke Mátyás királyról (A Pompéry-kódex)". *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* LXXXII (1978): 657. It is worth noting that this same verse chronicle similarly refers to the Moravian Jan Filipecz, chancellor of king Mathias with the name János Tóth. It seems obvious that the two politicians, both called János and both of Slavic origin, were merged into one person in the popular memory. The name János Tóth, however, must have referred originally only to Janus Pannonius; the other being a Moravian, i.e. a foreign Slavic person who could never have been called *tót* in Hungarian. Furthermore, we

- know nothing of any abusive deeds of Filipecz, nor that he had any kind of conflict with the king.
36. Iohannes Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera quæ supersunt*. Ed. Iván Boronkai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 213 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Ævorum, N. S., III).
  37. *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*. Eds. Eugenius Abel & Stephanus Hegedűs (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1903), 110; *Jani Pannonii Opera, Latine et Hungarice*. Ed. Sándor V. Kovács (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1972), 348.
  38. *Andræ Pannonii Libellus de virtutibus Matthiæ Corvino dedicatus*. In *Két magyarországi egyházi író a XV. századból*. Eds. Vilmos Fraknói & Jenő Ábel (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1886), 1–133 (Irodalomtörténeti Emlékek, I); *Adalékok a humanizmus történetéhez*. Ed. Jenő Ábel (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880), 170, 201, 209–210.
  39. *Anslecta nova*..., 47, 52, 65.
  40. *Schallaburg '82. Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*. Eds. Tibor Klaniczay, Györgyi Török, Gottfried Stangler (Wien: Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, 1982), No. 836.
  41. RMK III. Nos 320, 323, 363, 372, 427, 455, 609, 727, etc.
  42. *Philippi Callimachi Historia de rege Vladislao*. Ed. Irmina Lichońska (Varsoviæ, 1961), 18 (Bibliotheca Latina Medii Recentiores Ævi, III).
  43. *Op. cit.*, 54.
  44. *Op. cit.*, 219., cf. note 13.
  45. Ransanus, *op. cit.*, 79–80; Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. Eds. I. Fögel, B. Ivány, L. Juhász, vol. IV/1 (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1941). 121 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Ævorum); Giovanni Mercati, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti* (Città del Vaticano, 1939), 71.
  46. Gedeon Borsa, "Der lateinische Name der Stadt Wien in Druckwerken". *Biblos XXXI* (1982): 251–253.
  47. RMK III. No. 486.
  48. Stephanus Taurinus Olemucensis, *Stauromachia id est Crutiatorum servile bellum*. Ed. Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1944), 62 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Ævorum); Oláh, *op. cit.*, 6.
  49. *Op. cit.*, 66–70.
  50. Florio Banfi, "Imago Hungariæ' nella cartografia italiana del Rinascimento". In *Janus Pannonius* [Roma] I (1947): 409.
  51. *Georgii Werneri De admirandis Hungariæ acquis hypomnematum* (Basileæ, 1549). A facsimile of the 1595 Köln-edition was published in *Communicationes ex Bibliotheca Historiæ Medicæ Hungarica* 29 (1963): 147–168. The quoted part: p. 60 of the Köln-edition.
  52. *Adalékok*...Ed. Ábel, cit. in note 38, p. 204.
  53. *Matricula et acta 1915*, cit. in note 26, p. 20.
  54. Valentinus Cybeleius Varasdiensis, *Opera*. Ed. Mária Révész (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1939), 2–4 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Ævorum).

55. *Matricula et acta... 1941*, cit. in note 11, p. 84: Astrik L. Gabriel, *The University of Paris and its Hungarian Students and Masters during the reign of Louis XII and François Ier* (Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht, 1986), 142–143; *Album... Vitebergensis*, cit. in note 25, 1: 266; 2: 55.
56. Budapest, University Library Ms. H. 46. f. 31r.
57. RMK III, No. 432.
58. Giovanni Mercati, "Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrusiense". *La Bibliofilia* XXVI (1924–1925): 363.
59. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
60. *Op. cit.*, in note 51, *ibid.*
61. *Iusti Lipsi Diva virgo Hallensis. Beneficia eius et miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (Antverpiæ, 1604).
62. *Op. cit.* in note 3, f. 160.
63. Ioannes Sylvester Pannonius, *Grammatica Hungaro-Latina* (1539). In *Corpus grammaticorum linguæ Hungaricæ veterum*. Ed. Franciscus Toldy (Pesthini: Academia Scientiarum Hungarica, 1866), 6: Vitéz *op. cit.* in note 36, p. 38; Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*. Ed. P. S. Allen (Oxonii, 1941), 10: 72; *Matricula et acta... 1915*, cit. in note 26, p. 189.
64. Cf. Tibor Klaniczay, "La nationalité des écrivains en Europe Centrale". *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* X (1972): 585–594.





# THREE FAREWELL POEMS FROM RENAISSANCE HUNGARY

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## I

Comparisons are always tricky: they detract from the unique testimony of the individual text. Yet, a common thematic core necessarily determines some of the motifs in a piece of art, which we may even conceive of as "prefabricated units". These are also the signals for an average reading of the text, while the multiple and alternative reading possibilities are revealed by the "ad hoc" material of the discourse. Thus I am here in pursuit of what S. Frisch calls the rehabilitation of elementary reaction. I am tempted to believe that our primary reactions to a piece of art will be more or less uniform, shared by a set of common assumptions, common conventions, many of which are crosscultural, and when it comes to ontological problems, even universal. I agree with those who believe that we tend to overestimate the role of individual taste and even education.

In addition to identifying what each text does to the "average" reader, I shall also attempt to identify each poet's intentions. What did he want his text to do to each reader? What did the poet think about his audience?

Two of the poems analyzed are written in Hungarian, the third in Latin. There is a tendency to conceive of Latin as esoteric and of the vernacular as available to everyone. But there is actually no proof that during the Renaissance the switching from Latin to Hungarian increased the readership of any one poet. How many "contemporaries" truly participated in what we refer to as the Renaissance? Thus not the language but the language of the poems has to be investigated in order to establish whether they addressed an informed audience.

The paradigm of farewell poems must include references to present, past and future. The present of the discourse reflects the immediate feelings of the speaker. The past is conjured up in order to explain his "present" feelings and to give shape and reason to them. The future too must be addressed in order to further illuminate the present level (namely,

the only level) of the poem. Depending on the author's purpose, the speaker's attitude to the present and to the future may differ. The past, however, must always be viewed with nostalgia. The discourse may refer to personal fate, in which the feelings are private — *ad personam* — like Ovid's mourning his impending exile (*Tristia*). It may however respond to much larger upheavels that touched the poet's life (see Dante). But even if the experience is shared by many, the poetic response will always be individual: the loss is reduced to the feelings of the speaker who, in turn, offers his thoughts for the reader's consideration. By completing his message, the author transforms the text from *ad personam* to *ad omnia*.

While the "present" level may include any number of situations, it still refers to a moment during which something comes to an end, thus it is on the border. The future will offer dichotomy: it will either bring order or anarchy.

My three poems are primarily about feelings, and I am hoping to identify not just what the poets say, but also what they mean when they say it. Saying farewell is a literary topos and the poems must have common properties whether the subject is separation from the beloved, from an intimate region, or cherished friends. Therefore it is important to reconstruct the situation in which the individual poems were composed, and to decipher and interpret the emotions they express.

Of the three authors Janus Pannonius lived in the fifteenth century, Péter Bornemissza and Bálint Balassi in the sixteenth. Each spent several years of his life away from his homeland, and all three belonged to the educated humanist segment of society. Their poems should therefore also shed light on the ideologies they represented and on the social context within which they operated.

Within Hungarian tradition the concept of the "patria" is contemporaneous with the collapse and disintegration of Matthias's famous Renaissance kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The country, torn into three parts, the spread of the Reformation and the destruction of the great courts of the nobility, polarized the humanists after Mohács (1526). Owing to the confusing political situation and the permanent armed conflicts, there was great mobility in the entire region. Some humanists moved to the West in order to escape the Turks or transferred to the courts of the simultaneously elected, competing monarchs (Habsburg Ferdinand and John [Szapolyai] I), often switching their loyalties from one to the other. Others left the Roman Church and embraced one of the contending Protestant creeds. Thus the humanist conception of life changed a great deal in the 16th century.

In the 15th century the Hungarian kings feudalized their humanists. In the 16th, the impoverished lesser nobility often had to serve abroad, at times as soldiers, frequently without permanent home, their fortunes lost to the changes of war zones or to the whims of a ruler.

## II

Janus Pannonius (1434–72) the most important representative of neo-Latin poetry in Hungary studied in Ferrara and Padua. In 1458 he returned to Hungary and began his career at the court of the young king, Matthias Corvinus. The poem discussed below was written during a journey which took Janus from his uncle's episcopal see of Várad to Buda where he was to embark on his new career.<sup>2</sup>

### **Abiens valere jubet sanctos reges, Waradini<sup>3</sup>**

Omnis sub nive dum latet profunda  
Tellus, et foliis modo superbum  
Canæ dum nemus ingravat pruinae,  
Pulchrum linguere Chrysium jubemur,  
Ac longe dominum volare ad Istrum.  
Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

Non nos flumina, nec tenent paludes,  
Totis stat gelidum gelu lacunis.  
Qua nuper timidam subegit alnum,  
Nunc audax pede contumelioso,  
Insultat rigidis colonus undis.  
Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

Non tam gurgite molliter secundo,  
Lembus remigio fugit volucris,  
Nec quando Zephyrus levi suburgens,  
Crispum flamine purpuravit aequor,  
Quam manni rapiunt traham volentem,  
Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

Ergo vos calidi, valetate fontes.  
Quos non sulfurei gravant odores,  
Sed mixtum nitidis alumen undis,  
Visum luminibus salubriorem,  
Offensa sine narium ministrat.  
Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

Ac tu, bibliotheca, jam valetō,  
 Tot claris veterum referta libris,  
 Quam Phoebus Patara colit relictā,  
 Nec plus Castalios amant recessus,  
 Vatum Numina, Mnemonis puellae.  
 Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

Aurati pariter valete reges,  
 Quos nec sacrilegus perussit ignis,  
 Dirae nec tetigit fragor ruinae,  
 Flammis cum dominantibus per arcem,  
 Obscura latuit polus favilla;  
 Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

At tu, qui rutilus eques sub armis  
 Dextra belligeram levas securim,  
 Cujus splendida marmorum columnis,  
 Sudarunt liquidum sepulcra nectar,  
 Nostrum rite favens iter secunda.  
 Quam primum, o comites, viam voremus.

#### Farewell to Várád<sup>4</sup>

Deep snow of winter covers the endless fields  
 And woods, earlier boasting of foliage.  
 Grey fog sits on the branches, heavy with hoar.  
 We'd like to stay at the lovely Chrysium  
 But further awaits us the lordly Ister.  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

Rivers and marshes cannot stand against us,  
 Solid ice guards the water's cold depth below.  
 Where lately the farmer rowed in his dinghy.  
 And fearfully regarded the frightening waves,  
 He can carelessly kick at the frozen foam.  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

Even if nimble oars beat on the water,  
 Or playful Zephyrus ruffled its surface,  
 And turned the lazy colors into crimson,  
 Never could a flimsy vessel reach this speed,  
 With which our good horses draw the sledge onward,  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

Now we bid your farewell, you famous hot springs,  
 Where no odorous sulphur ruins the air,

But there curing salt mixed in with fresh water  
 Clears the weary sight, and heals the aching eyes,  
 Not insulting your nose with its putrid smell.  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

We bid you farewell, famous old library,  
 Endowed with the works of long-dead great authors.  
 Phoebus has moved here from his home, Patara,  
 and patrons of poets, the divine Muses,  
 Have come to prefer it to Castalia.  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

We bid you farewell, gilded royal statues,  
 Whom tongues of fierce fire, and debris of ramparts  
 Tumbling down left miraculously untouched,  
 When flames of destruction raged throughout the town  
 And flying ashes and soot blackened the skies.  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

And our king on horseback, in heavy armor,  
 Giant battle-ax soaring in his right hand,  
 Whose embalmed body rests upon fine marble,  
 Nectar pouring forth from his fames sepulchre,  
 You, noble knight, protect us on our journey!  
 Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.

The reader is immediately impressed by the harmoniousness of the piece and its sophisticated organization. The balanced message is emphasized by the consolidation of the stanzas: the firm hand with which the poet handles his discourse.<sup>5</sup> Since life for Janus then was primarily an orderly experience, this neatness and purposefulness is recorded in each stanza. Winter is as it should be: a reliable winter landscape with reliable coloring is depicted, as predictable as the canvasses from the Low Countries a century or so later. Life's daily pleasures are securely granted: the hot-springs and the libraries which had served him before will remain untouched, to be found again, at future visits. Even the city-scape, including the royal statues radiates this splendid safety and immunity from evil. The poet's nostalgia is not for a past disappeared forever, but for his carefree youth. At this juncture, he prepares himself for the important and mature tasks of a statesman. Thus the poem describes a journey from the old to something new which is promising and exciting.

It sustains the feeling of forward motion by the repetition of the lines, "Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road". In terms of movement,

the dynamic advance ceases after the third stanza, and the poet's mind turns back to all that he is leaving behind. The second set of three stanzas is devoted to the poet's memories, creating a perfect balance between the present and past. The seventh is a standstill in which time stops for an instant, as the future bishop asks for the protection of the town's royal patron.

In addition to the refrain, progressive motion is felt by the rapidly changing scenery. The fast-moving sledge passes fields and forest, hills and the river which it leaves behind. No totality is presented, only a fine selection to create the local color. One should note that Janus presents a view of nature close to that of the *Georgics*, namely, nature impregnated by civilization. The spontaneous joy expressed by the speed of movement and the prospects of the future is suddenly clouded by the realization of what he has given up. The masterly switch from the present to the past is made believable by imagining that the speeding sledge has just passed the hot springs outside of town, and that seeing them has triggered the memories of cherished places. Already, the healing water has telling intellectual references. The aching eyes, weary from too much reading, had been assuaged at the spa there. Then follows naturally another slice of memory, the beloved library of his uncle, Vitéz, unmatched by any collection in Hungary.

From these private recollections the image broadens to encompass the whole of Várád, as if the entire town with its past, present, and folklore appeared before him for the last good-bye. The backward motion stops at the final leavetaking, and his eyes remain fixed on one figure: the mounted statue of King Ladislas, the patron saint of the town. The young poet is full of good intentions to take his new office seriously.

There is a feeling of security permeating from Janus' poem which is clearly missing from the two others. The author knows his role in society. Life, his own, and that of his surroundings, follows a predicable course. Nature and society are equally tamed. The tranquility of the winter landscape is repeated in the tranquil vocabulary and turns of speech. The reliability of an entire system is reflected in the refrain which, in addition to framing each stanza, adds to feeling of safety and protectedness. There is dignity in the life depicted here, and it is full of promise and achievements. The past recalled, reaffirms this stability: the heroic kings *always* protected their people from the enemy, and their sacred memory also insured God's support. His confidence in his future is stressed by the urging tone of the refrain: "... o comites, viam voremus".

Janus' poem ends with a brief supplication: "You, noble knight, protect us on our journey". The phrase seems to be added *pro forma*: the young man does not believe that any misfortune could ever befall him. The elemental need for prayer disappears from much of Renaissance poetry. Janus, while sharing Manetti's views regarding the dignity of man, as opposed to Manetti and Ficino, sustains that conviction without sacrificing his belief in the importance and autonomy of the physical world. He is in a beneficial contract with the universe which is quite different from man's new contract with God soon to be offered by Lutheran Protestantism. Even if in 1472 Janus dies in exile, the 1459 poem above does not reveal this future.

In this optimistic farewell poem the expected happens: the frame of reference is not challenged. In the poems of Bornemisza and Balassi however the reader knows that the unexpected is happening, the frame of reference is forcefully challenged — anything may happen.

### III

The author of the next poem Péter Bornemisza (1535–84), a Lutheran preacher and writer, was the son of a wealthy Pest family, a member of the burgeoning Hungarian middle class. He lost his parents in the Turkish occupation of Pest in 1541, and was thereafter educated in north-western Hungary. As a young student he was imprisoned by the inquisition but escaped from jail. By 1556–57 he decided to leave the fort of Huszt and his country. *Cantio optima* is his farewell poem:

**CANTIO OPTIMA<sup>6</sup>**  
Siralmas énnéköm...

Siralmas énnéköm tetűled megváltom,  
Áldott Magyarország, tőled eltávoznom.  
Vajjon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom!

Az Felföldet bírják az kevély nímötök.  
Szerémségöt bírják az fene törökök.  
Vajjon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom!

Engömet kergetnek az kevély németök,  
Engöm környülvettek az pogány törökök.  
Vajjon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom!

Engöm elúntattak az magyar urak,  
 Kiűzték közülök az egy igaz istent.  
 Vajjon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom!

Legyön isten hozzád, áldott Magyarország,  
 Mert nincsen tebenned semmi nagy uraság.  
 Vajjon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom!

Ez éneköt szörzék jó Husztnak várában,  
 Bornemisza Pétör az ő víg kedvében.  
 Vajjon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom!

### CANTIO OPTIMA<sup>7</sup>

My departure causes me a heartfelt grieving,  
 Pretty, blessed Magyar country, I am leaving:  
 Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?

Cocky Germans govern all the northern highlands,  
 Turkish devils conquered all our southern tidelands.  
 Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?

While the brazen Germans always seek to hound me  
 All those heathen Turks are eager to surround me.  
 Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?

Magyar magnates caused my spirit to be vanquished,  
 From this Magyar country even God is banished.  
 Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?

God shall bless you, my dear Magyar country, ever,  
 For your grandeur is already lost forever.  
 Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?

Peter Bornemisza, in his cheerful notion,  
 Wrote this poem in Fort-Huszt with deep emotion.  
 Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?

Bornemisza's message is plain: the patriot has to leave his country and go into exile. An ardent Protestant, the poet holds the Hungarian Papists as responsible for the downfall of Hungary as the Turks and the Germans. "Magyar magnates caused my spirit to be vanquished, / From this Magyar country even God is banished" — he writes in fury and despair. In his poem



the refrain has the most important function: the entire poetic strategy rests on it.

The refrain is formulated as a question and as such, it extends beyond the poem and reaches out, directly addressing the reader. While the piece displays the poet's anxiety about his uncertain future, the same uncertainty permits a possible optimistic reading. The separations might not turn out to be final the poet is hoping — the poet is hoping for a reassuring outside voice. This strategy — which leaves the completing thought for the reader — at the end of each stanza — transforms the poem into a dialogue. Spanning centuries, it still speaks to everyone who has chosen the road of exile.

The text of the refrain, "Will I ever have a home in ancient Buda?" is a synecdoche for the entire poem and for Hungary's fate described here in six short stanzas. It functions as a metaphor, or even as a synonym, in the singularity of the moment, adding a new charge to the traditional meaning of a question of such kind. Thus depending on the idiosyncratic historical context the metaphor here is not — as normally — bifunctional, but polifunctional.

The role of refrain in Bornemisza's poem is to remind the reader that the author of the lines lives in uncertainty. The unity and security of civilian life are shattered. The Hungarian patriot has no choice but to leave his own land. The fact that he does not distinguish between the two enemies, the Turks and the Germans, reveals that he belongs to the so-called national faction, which was indeed the case. The epithet 'áldott' (blessed) refers to the past; it is the historical glory of Matthias' realm. The same applies to the adjective 'jó' (good). The poet is yearning and mourning for the time when it was good to live in Buda, and while 'ancient' used by the translator is not the most fortunate solution, it registers that in Bornemissza's days in Buda only the past was praiseworthy.

#### IV

Bálint Balassi (1554–94) was a student of Péter Bornemisza. He lived a life of adventure and turmoil, frequently embroiled in litigations about his property. He followed István Báthory to Poland but also lived in Vienna and fought and died at Esztergom, wounded in a battle against the Turks.

**HATVANHATODIK**

Valedicit patriae, amicis iisque omnibus quae habuit  
carissima<sup>8</sup>

- 1      Óh, én édes hazám, te jó Magyarország  
Ki keresztyénségnek viseled paizsát,  
Viselsz pogány vérrel festett éles szablyát,  
Vitézlő iskola, immár Isten hozzád!<sup>9</sup>
  
- 2      Egriek, vitézek, végeknek tüköri,  
Kiknek vitézségét minden föld beszéli,  
Régi vitézséghez dolgotokat veti,  
Istennek ajánlva légyetek immár ti!
  
- 3      Ti is, rárószárnyon járó hamar lovak,  
Azkiknek hátokon az jó vitéz ifjak  
Gyakorta kergetnek, s hol penig szaladnak,  
Adassék egészség már mindnyájatoknak!
  
- 4      Fényes sok szép szerszám, vitézlő nagy szépség,  
Katonatalálmány, újforma ékesség,  
Seregben tündöklő és fénlő frissesség,  
Éntülem s Istentől legyen már békesség!
  
- 5      Sok jó vitéz legény, kiket felemeltem,  
S kikkel sok jót tettem, tartottam, neveltem,  
Maradjon nálatok jó emlékezetem,  
Jusson eszetekbe jótétemről nevem!
  
- 6      Vitéz próba helye, kiterjedt sík mező  
S fákkal, kősziklával bővös hegy, völgy, erdő,  
Kit az sok csata jár, s jószerencse leső,  
Légyen Isten hozzád, sok vitézt legelő!
  
- 7      Igaz atyámfia s meghitt jó barátim,  
Kiknél nyilván vadnak keserves bánatim,  
Ti jutván eszembe hullnak sok könyveim,  
Már Isten hozzátok, jó vitéz rokonim!
  
- 8      Ti is, angyalképet mutató szép szüzek  
És szemmel öldöklő örvendetes menyek,  
Kik hol vesztettetek, s hol élesztettetek,  
Isten s jó szerelem maradjon véletek!

- 9 Sőt, te is, óh, én szerelmes ellenségem,  
Hozzám háládatlan, kegyetlen szerelmem,  
Ki érdemem.....  
.....

- [10] Ti pedig, szerzettem átkozott sok versek,  
Búnál kik egyebet nékem nem nyertetek,  
Tűzben mind fejenként éjjetek, vesszetek,  
Mert haszontalanok, jót nem érdemletek.

### SIXTY SIXTH

**He says farewell to his homeland to his friends  
and all whom he has held dearest<sup>10</sup>**

- 1 O, my dearest homeland, you good Magyar country  
Bearing the great shield of all Christianity,  
With it the sharp sabre, colored by pagan blood,  
School for heroism, I command you to God.<sup>11</sup>
- 2 Eger and its fighters, bright stars of the outposts  
Whose heroic deeds gained everywhere great fame,  
Compared are they, rightly, to the ancient heroes,  
God be with all of you, His grace should protect you!
- 3 You too, fast stallions, speedy as if on wings  
On whose back often those valiant young soldiers,  
Who chase the foe or are forced into fake retreat,  
Good health should be the share of every one of you!
- 4 All the shining weapons, all the pomp of warring,  
All the new inventions, new style decorations,  
Military ardor, brilliant new armor,  
The Lord and I should grant them henceforth peace.
- 5 You fisty, young soldiers, whom I have taught so much,  
Whom I have oft aided, reared and educated,  
Keep me in your bosoms and think of me kindly,  
Let me be remembered by my good deeds, rightly!
- 6 Where heroes are tested, broad and mighty meadows,  
Mountains, hills, and valleys, rich of rock and foliage,  
Visited by battle, waiting for good fortune,  
Farewell to you all, my many good relations.

- 8        You, pretty maidens, pretending to be angels,  
           While cheerfully killing me with a single glance,  
           Who, depending on whim, murdered or revived me,  
           My God and joyous love remain with you always.
- 9        Even you, my love, you adored adversary,  
           To me ungrateful, and cruel without mercy,  
           My merits she.....  
           .....
- [10]    And you, my poems, my cursed compositions  
           Who have gained me nothing, except for endless grief,  
           Each and every of you should perish by fire,  
           Having been so useless, you deserve no better!

Here Balassi says farewell to everything he had ever cherished: his country, a way of life, family, friends, and the women he had loved. Love and heroism were all in vain, the poet stands alone at this juncture in his life. No one and nothing can ease the pain of separation from his country — from his entire past. There is finality in his farewell; only his memory will remain with his friends. But his own memories are mixed: the beauty of nature is overshadowed by bloodshed, the angelic faces of the girls hide their cruelty and calculating nature. Thus when the poet believes that he will not return, there are only a few trusted friends for whom his heart aches. And, above all, there is no consolation he can derive from his art: his poetry only adds to his pain. This bitter confession is the crescendo of the poem. By wishing his works on the pyre, with a sweeping gesture, Balassi destroys his entire past.

The poem below is the closing poem of a cycle. Already Rimay<sup>12</sup> noticed its affinity to mourning songs, written in the first person. In his fictitious *epicedium* the dying Balassi says farewell to his patria and family in a similar manner.<sup>13</sup>

While Bornemisza is a disappointed patriot, Balassi is a disillusioned human being: neither friendship, nor love, neither Mars, nor Apollo can bring him happiness. In Balassi's poem both history and Nature become victims. In its emblematic role Hungary appears as the suffering shield of Christianity, and the hills and meadows wear the scars of the fighting armies.

Among these renaissance *topoi*, another contemporary theme emerges, that of *amitia*. While Janus — a century earlier — talked about his friends, with whom he shared the pleasures of reading and discussing, friendship in

Balassi's poem refers to the comradeship of the outposts, sharing its dangers and fortunes. But the topos is essentially the same: friendship means solace in grief, saying farewell to friends equals leaving those who have come to replace home, wealth and stability in life.

Balassi's description of the life he had shared with his comrades shows, however, the hopelessness of their sacrifice. There is no promise of victory, there is not even a plan for the future, or for a change of the *status quo*. Balassi cannot hope for tranquility or stability. While some of his poems display his desire for love and genteel domesticity, this one lacks any allusion to a harmonious life. His contemporaries could readily identify with his predicament, and by "shedding" his poems, Balassi truly became just one of the many homeless soldiers of fortune about whom they all sang together around the campfire.

Janus' intended reader was a person of his class: a humanist who shared his value-system, who understood the elegance of his stanzas, the fine alternations between the descriptive and the contemplative passages. Bornemisza's ideal reader could have come from any class: each would have understood the grief over the loss of the nation's capital. Yet, in order to generate sympathy toward the poet's plight, his intended reader had to share the poet's ideology and Protestant convictions. In turn, Balassi's poem does not require either intellectual commitment or shared experience. Although directed to his comrades, the poem affects also the uninitiated. The imaginative awareness and the language chosen to reflect the emotional state of the poet stirs the reader from any walk of life. It is also the most spontaneous of the three, although all strive for completeness of message which is, necessarily, confining.

Comparing these farewell poems enables the reader to identify a number of significant differences. The stability that characterised the late 1450s is but a vague memory by the mid sixteenth century. With peace and rootedness gone the secure self-image of the humanists also vanished. Bornemisza and Balassi were children of a cruel age, living in a world where they cannot find a place for themselves. Juxtaposed with Janus' poem, Balassi's vibrant, passionate message represents an entirely different discourse, couched in a personal language. The voice of each poem is first person singular. However, Janus still follows the classical rhetorical traditions, while Bornemisza's style is that of the preacher who speaks for many. Balassi alone breaks the bounds of the genre of farewell (or secret lament). The structure has to give way to the excess of emotions with which the poet struggles. From power and serenity to fury and frustration: the three poems

can render us a capsulized reading of a hundred and fifty years of Hungarian history.

### Notes

1. It is outside the scope of this contribution to discuss the reasons for, and the events which had led to the disintegration of Hungary after 1526.
2. In my monograph on Janus Pannonius (*Janus Pannonius: Poet and Politician*, Zagreb, 1981) I rejected the dating of this poem to 1451. Its maturity and elegance sets it apart from all of Janus' Ferrara poems.
3. Quoted from Sámuel Teleki's edition (*Traiecti ad Rhenum*, 1784, Ep. II,5).
4. The translation is my own. It was published in *Janus Pannonius*, 112.
5. In the poem the hendecasyllabic lines are closed by a duodecasyllabic refrain. Thus the forty-two lines make up six stanzas. This is reflected in my English rendering.
6. Péter Bornemisza. *Válogatott írások, 1553–1584*. Budapest, 1955, 7–8.
7. *Hungarian Anthology, A Collection of Poems*. Tr. by J. Grosz and W. A. Boggs. 2nd rev. and enlarged ed. Toronto, 1966, 11.
8. In *Balassi Bálint versei*, ed. by Péter Kőszeghy & Géza Szentmártoni Szabó, Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994, p. 137-8.
9. As we can see, the refrain plays an important role in the three poets' strategies. Even Balassi, who uses a truncated variant, relies on it.
10. The tune is a paraphrasis of Psalm 144. For more on this see Balassi, *op. cit.*, 156 and 296, respectively.
11. My translation does not reproduce the rhyme pattern (aaaa bbbb etc.). I was more eager to retain the duodecasyllabic lines, since this is crucial for singing the poem. I did not use K. Bosley's and P. Sherwood's translation (*Old Hungarian Literary Reader*, Budapest, 1985, 176–7). There the translators decided in favor of rhyme at the expense of rhythm. They also misunderstood some of the vocabulary as pertaining to sixteenth-century usage.
12. János Rimay (1570–1631), poet and friend of Balassi; collector and editor of his work.
13. Bálint Gyarmati Balassi, *Énekei*. Budapest, 1986. In *Notes* by P. Kőszeghy and G. Szabó, 296. See also Rimay's poem, entitled: "Az Nagyságos Gyarmathi Balassa Bálintnak Esztergom alá való készületi", III, 6–7.

# ENGLISH AND HUNGARIAN CULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

ENIKÓ MOLNÁR BASA

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In the latter half of the 16th century, contacts between England and Hungary became remarkably lively, considering the distance between the two lands. There were several factors contributing to this: religious, cultural, and political. John Kósa lists some of these,<sup>1</sup> giving 1550 as a date for the beginning of contacts between Humanists in the two countries. The diplomat Antonius Verantius was eager to visit England and study the science that flourished there. Later, Bacon and other Englishmen became popular among learned Hungarians,<sup>2</sup> even after the free exchange of ideas became hampered through the intervention of the imperial court in Vienna. The connections were particularly lively with Transylvania, and among the early students or travellers was Peter Bethlen, the nephew of Prince Gabriel Bethlen, who was accompanied on his tour of European capitals by László Cseffei and János Pálóczi Horváth. Márton Berzeviczy was at the Court of St. James as a diplomat, and later Mihály Bethlen and Pál Teleki, sons of Transylvanian leaders, also visited London.<sup>3</sup>

However, it was the simple scholar, often the student of divinity, who made the greatest impact on this exchange. Documents attest to the close connection of the English Protestants with the Transylvanians. Prince Gabriel Bethlen established three scholarships for theological students (1625); Michael Apafi raised the number to 18, but Hungarian and Transylvanian students had gone to English universities before these stipends.<sup>4</sup> There are references from Marlowe to Milton to the "hungry Hungarian" students — enough to have led to a blurring of the two concepts.<sup>5</sup> In his *Aropagitica* Milton writes: "Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts."<sup>6</sup> There is also a letter from János Thallyai, a student at Cambridge, to his private patron,<sup>7</sup> and Márton Szepesi Csombor, who travelled to England in 1618–1619, seems to have paid his own way.<sup>8</sup> Pál Medgyesi came to England on a

scholarship from the city of Debrecen; he studied at Cambridge (1631), and later entered the service of George Rákóczi I where, among other duties, he prepared other students bound for English universities.<sup>9</sup> His translations from English and his religious treatises bear testimony to the effect of his Cambridge sojourn. Most of these students were to have an important role in creating contacts with Western European Protestants, and of course they served to bring Hungary into the stream of Western European thought. Another such student, János Tolnai Dali, who spent several years in England, studied contemporary Protestant theology and the works of Francis Bacon and took these ideas with him to Sárospatak. To this school he was later instrumental in inviting Comenius, and he naturally formed a part of the Humanist circle around that scholar.<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes the students received English patronage. While Stephen Parmenius of Buda is the most notable example, there is also a reference to "ane Hungarian poet who made verses to my Lord" being given 58 Scots shillings by the Marquis of Montrose around 1628.<sup>11</sup> While most of the ones who received English patronage earned it through writing the usual laudatory verses to various patrons, as English interest in Continental politics and Hungary increased, some of the information they were able to provide made its way into the various world histories and encyclopedias that were being published at the time. While much of what was written continued to perpetuate the old formulas, these are gradually supplemented by sections or even chapters that recognize new conditions. As George Gömöri has indicated,<sup>12</sup> most of these works continued to repeat the glowing account of the historian of King Matthias, Bonfini, spiced with exotic details whose sources cannot reliably be traced. Yet, between the 1599 edition of George Abbott's *A Briefe Description of the Whole World*, and John Barclay's *The Mirrour of Mindes* (1631), much changed. While still repeating some of the old formulas, Barclay makes an effort to describe the position of the office of Palatine,<sup>13</sup> and comments that Hungarians do not easily suffer harsh and absolute rule.<sup>14</sup> More significantly, the 6th edition of Giovanni Botero's work advertises that this is not only an expanded version of the earlier ones, but one that corrects earlier mistakes. Botero had published his *Le Relationi Universali* between 1589 and 1596; its first English translation appeared in 1601, translated by Robert Johnson. The 6th ed., and 3rd enlarged one, appeared in 1630, under the title *Relations of the most famous kingdoms and common-wealths throrowout the world: discoursing of the situations, religions, languages, manners, customes, strengths, greatnesse and policies, enlarged with an addition of the estates of Saxony,*



*Germany, Geneva, Hungary and the East Indies* (London, Printed by Iohn Haviland, 1630, translated by Robert Johnson). Possibly reflecting on the 1626 alliance between Charles I and Gabriel Bethlen, the English edition contains a chapter on Bethlen's state of Transylvania as well as a brief history of his birth and an account of his estates in Hungary. This new chapter was written by Master Petrus Eusenius Maksai. Maksai (the Hungarian spelling of his name), was a Transylvanian scholar who had studied in England under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He gives a fairly detailed account of the geography, the population, and the politics of the country, emphasizing military advantages and fortifications. He points to Bethlen's popularity, and mentions the schools and academies he founded or supports on his various possessions or in the cities under his control. He comments on the coexistence of three nations and the freedom of four religions. Transylvania's situation as the buffer between Turks and Habsburgs is also made explicit: "But the two neighbours most to be accounted of, are the Turke and the Emperour; able friends, but too mightie enemies for the Transilvanian: But this help he hath against them both; that if one proves his enemy, hee puts himself under the protection of the other ... Againe, for these last thirtie yeares, have three severall Princes of Transilvania thought it more ease and safetie to incline themselves unto the Turkish favour, than unto the Emperours."<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that in this passage Maksai defends the Princes of Transylvania, and certainly Bethlen, against any charges of sympathy with the Turks for any but the best of political reasons.

On the whole, however, contact with Hungarian and Transylvanian students was lopsided: the Hungarians benefited from the study of English theology and institutions, while the English often regarded them as curiosities. Most references in Renaissance drama are of this kind. But Shakespeare did use the emblems of Sambucus (János Zsámboki) as a source.<sup>16</sup> The contributions of Stephen Parmenius of Buda to the literature of the New World, however, are significant. In the considerable literature on Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, Parmenius is mentioned regularly since his part in the expedition was already noted in Hakluyt's *Principal navigation* (1585).<sup>17</sup> But the best source is Parmenius himself and the edition of his works by David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire makes such an examination possible.<sup>18</sup> The work is "a belated tribute to a young Hungarian scholar and explorer, who was the first from his country to write about North America in the international language of the European classical Renaissance".<sup>19</sup> Their extensive research, reflected in the notes and

the introductory chapters, as well as in the biography of Parmenius, proves the contention that the Hungarian was regarded as an exceptional figure by his contemporaries. He had gone along on the expedition partly to write an epic of the English explorations, but unfortunately was drowned on the return voyage off Sable Island when the *Delight* went aground and broke up. A companion who survived, Edward Hayes, paid tribute to him with these words: "Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budaeus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latin tongue, the gests and things of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."<sup>20</sup>

The little that is known of Parmenius comes from his own account in the "author's preface" to *De Navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti ad deducendam in novum orben coloniam suscepta, Carmen epibatikon* and a few references in the poem itself. Quinn and Cheshire provide further information on his English years, reconstructing it from references and dedications, but much of the poet's earlier history remains unknown. Because it reflects the conditions in Hungary that made so many students seek out foreign universities, and also because it gives an idea of Parmenius himself, I will quote his account. Evidently, Sir Humphrey had required the biographical introduction, and Parmenius also feels that it is fitting he should give a reason for writing such a poem "when England is blessed with so many excellent men of letters... that I, an unknown foreigner, had to apply myself in such a way to this theme... Although I was born in the servitude and barbarism of the Turkish empire, my parents were, by the grace of God, Christians, and I was even educated for some part of the time. After that I had made some academic progress, thanks to the efforts of my erudite teachers, such as have always been the pride of my native Hungary (and are particularly so now, among her still surviving relics), I was sent away to visit the universities of the Christian world." (p. 77, ll. 7–13) Parmenius's purpose seems to have been preparation for public life, for he refers to studying the administration of many lands in the three years before his arrival in England. He is much pleased by England, and the warm reception he had received almost dispels his homesickness. (p. 77, ll. 21–27)

Parmenius was certainly in England by the autumn of 1581; he was interested in geography and entered Christ Church at Oxford where he resided with Richard Hakluyt, though he seems not to have been registered at the university. Other important contacts were Dr. Laurence Humfrey,

President of Magdalen College and Dean of Winchester, William Camden, Thomas Sackville, and the Untons. It was to Humfrey that Parmenius first wrote from Newfoundland, as he states in the letter to Hakluyt. Thinking that Hakluyt might follow, or that the message he sends through Gilbert will reach him, he had not first written, but then taking the opportunity of ships returning to England, he decided to write "almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters".<sup>21</sup> Since the letter to Gilbert was lost, it is fortunate that Hakluyt also received one. The historian William Camden refers to the Hungarian poet as having been recommended to him, and Parmenius and Sackville shared an interest in both geography and political systems. All in the circle were Protestant, and Parmenius himself seems to have understood "Protestant" under the term "Christian" in his comments on his life.

Finally, the Unton family were important patrons: Sir Edward Unton and his son Henry. It is possible that Stephen had met Henry in Padua, and it could have been through them that he received his introduction to Oxford. As preparations for Gilbert's enterprise took shape, Hakluyt took Parmenius with him to London and introduced him to Gilbert. It was thus that the idea of the "eulogy of England, her Queen, her social policy, and the achievement of her explorers" was born.<sup>22</sup> At first there did not seem to be any plans on Parmenius' part to go on the expedition himself; he would, presumably, have written the poem based on the reports of others, for he says in *De Navigatione*:

Oh, would that I were free  
To go abroad that happy ship, leave home  
(Forgive the impious thought), and penetrate  
Those far-off seas; and that the Muses too  
Could come with me and there compose for all  
Posterity a song about the rise  
Of this new race! But Fate denies me that:  
And when I start a trumpet-call of verse  
About some glorious deed, she summons me  
To sing reluctantly of sad defeats  
In Danube lands; the Fates must keep me back  
For tasks like that. (p. 93, ll. 203–213)

The journey, however, was delayed from the fall of 1582 to June 11, 1583, and in the spring of that year it was decided that Parmenius should go along. To this end Hakluyt might have encouraged him to revise his *De Navigatione*, a poem in praise of Gilbert. The original dedication remained,

but Parmenius changed the date to March 31, 1583. The dedicatory letter, reprinted in Hakluyt's account, reminds Gilbert of the poet having been introduced to him by Hakluyt, "explaining to me, at the same time, your most noble design of shortly conducting a colony into the new world". Then, getting to the point, he says, "I everywhere heard more concerning your virtues and exploits, I thought it the favorable time possible, to discharge some part of my duty, and to express somewhat of my regard toward you and your nation. This is the primary object of my poem."<sup>23</sup> With the later date and some revisions, the poem became more appropriate as an "Embarkation" poem. Quinn and Cheshire argue that at the same time Hakluyt might have had other engagements, and was no longer interested in the voyage, thus giving his place to Parmenius.<sup>24</sup> The turn of events could but not have been welcomed by Parmenius. In the words of his editors, "An expedition such as Gilbert hoped to make, one which could transform the oceanic position of England by giving her a permanent stake across the Atlantic, opened up for him the chance of writing an epic of English discovery from first-hand experience. He could go with Gilbert as a chronicler indeed, but as a poet as well, one who could distill hard experience into imperishable words."<sup>25</sup>

When Parmenius wrote the poems, he was living with the Untons but visiting London fairly frequently. Dedications in his published works point to his moving in fairly high circles, and it is quite probable that he met not only Sir Philip Sidney who was associated with Gilbert's venture, and who had himself been in Hungary some ten years earlier and still had correspondents who kept him informed of events there, but also Walsingham and the Earl of Leicester.<sup>26</sup> While the expedition was chiefly for political and economic reasons — Gilbert and Sidney hoped for the discovery of precious metals — the idea of a heroic account must have intrigued the planners. The poem on Gilbert in Latin dactylic hexameters had shown that Stephen could write this account.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting for this study to note how Parmenius perceived the new world and England. The comments are those of the visiting scholar who considers England not only with admiration and awe, but also with envy, for it is much freer than his own beleaguered country. In lines 48–68 he praises the new world which Gilbert is to claim for his sovereign as one worthy to be England's prize because it is unspoiled by tyranny, where "the Moslem wail [has not] disturbed those regions". Later, he speaks of

The hateful rule of pagan mastery [which]  
 Is now conceded by Rumania [Dacia] ...<sup>28</sup>  
 Also by citizens of Hungary  
 Who, never yet subdued in war, now guard  
 Her narrow boundaries against the threat  
 Of conquest, as within her ancient ground  
 Croatia does ...  
 Russia has a burning thirst  
 For war and slaughter (pp. 87–89, ll. 96–97; 100–104;  
 106–107).

The references are to Turkish rule in much of Central and Eastern Europe, and to Báthory's war with Russia. Later, while praising Elizabeth I, he refers again to Stephen Báthory's desire to unite the separated part of Hungary and thus oust the Turks: "...while the distant parts/ Of Hungary decide to federate/ For safety's sake within one boundary." (p. 99, ll. 304–306) Quinn and Cheshire mistakenly take this to be a reference to Báthory's desire to unite Hungary and Poland. This, however, could not have been meant by a Hungarian; Transylvania and Royal Hungary were the two parts of the ancient kingdom divided by the Turkish-controlled region. Poland, while a potentially useful ally if ruled by a strong Hungarian (Transylvanian) king, was never considered to be part of the country. In fact, the Polish alliance was generally seen in the context of a plan to unite the two parts of Hungary in order to drive the Turks from the rest; the idea of reunification was always alive among the Hungarian statesmen of the time, whether living in Habsburg-controlled Royal Hungary, or in Transylvania. As to the seeming irrelevance of this statement in a tribute to the Queen of England, the political situation at the time makes this appropriate. Reunification ideas were often planned in concert with European powers opposed to the Habsburgs, or at least supportive of the idea of a Protestant power in the area. The Protestant League hoped for the support of Elizabeth and England, and a treaty of sorts did come about under James I; Charles I actually signed a treaty with Transylvania.<sup>29</sup>

After the land of noble men and natural riches imagined in the poem, Parmenius must have been disappointed in Newfoundland. The letter to Hakluyt written from St. Johns harbor is factual, and while he tries to account for the geography and potential of the land, most of what he has to say is unfavorable. St. Johns was a port used by fishermen of various countries, including the English, and so while they were not exactly charting virgin territory, none of the earlier voyagers had bothered to either explore the interior or claim the land for any sovereign. Gilbert intended to claim

the land and to set up English government. "Wee arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admiral tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: having made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England," notes Parmenius with satisfaction (*Voyages*, pp. 380–381) But then he continues:

But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness? Of fish here is incredible abundance ... The whole land is full of hilles and woods. the trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whither: all the grass here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this—soyle is fit for corne: for I have found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing like trees, of great sweetnesse. Bears also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse than ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witness it. ...In like sorte it is unknowne, whither any mettals lye under the hilles... The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, ...but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountains of yce, in the middest of the Sea have taught us. (pp. 381–382)

Finally, he expresses some hope that other areas might be more hospitable: "we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover." (p. 382)

Some years later Lord Baltimore would have much the same reaction, for he received Maryland from Charles I in exchange for Newfoundland, the colony he had been originally given. It is interesting to speculate what Parmenius' reaction would have been to the shores of North Carolina or Virginia, where Raleigh's equally ill-fated expedition landed.

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It was not only Hungarian visitors to England who fostered connections between the two countries from the late 16th century onwards, but also

English visitors to Hungary. There were two broad categories: the diplomat and scholar like Sir Philip Sidney and John Dee, and the adventurers who went to try their fortunes in the Turkish wars. Of these latter, Captain John Smith, the founder of the first permanent English settlement in North America, is an important representative. English interest in Hungary and Transylvania escalated with English involvement in Continental politics. In 1600, a translation of Martin Fumee's *Histoire des troubles de Hongarie* was published, to be followed by a spate of treatises on Hungary and the Turkish wars.<sup>30</sup> The translator identifies himself as one who travelled in Hungary and was impressed by the country's efforts against the Turks "Hungarie after many afflictions endured by her sworne enemies (the Turkes) for her vtter ruine and decay: and after as many intreaties, requests, and earnest petitions made to the Princes of Christendome, and to diuers persons of great reputation and authoritie amongst them, for the asswaging (or rather quite supressing, if possible it could be) of these her wofull and intollerable miseries: doth now at last wander abroad, and is come into our little Iland (it being as it were the uttermost confines of Europe) in ragged and mournful habits as a distressed Pilgrime."<sup>31</sup> In 1606 the manifesto of Stephen Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, was published in England,<sup>32</sup> but as early as 1566 prayers were decreed for Hungary by Queen Elizabeth.<sup>33</sup> Many reports about the Turkish wars appeared in the *English Mercurius*, the first English-language newspaper, and this same interest is also seen in the dramas.<sup>34</sup>

While the visits of Dee, Sidney, and John Smith all occurred earlier than most of the references mentioned above, these cannot be seen in isolation from the interest that was there and merely continued to build as earlier contacts were deepened or more contacts were developed. While Smith might have been motivated mostly by a desire for adventure and gain, he was not alone among the English serving in Hungary, some of whom reached fairly important positions. In his own account he mentions ten Englishman and one Scot who participated in the battle of Verestorony [now Turnu Rosu, Romania] and of whom only two others escaped death.<sup>35</sup> Smith's narrative was first edited and printed by Samuel Purchse in his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchase His Pilgrimage* (London, 1625) as "Travels and Adventures". It was shorter than Smith's version, with omissions where Purchse either doubted the accuracy of certain events, or simply wanted to shorten the story. Smith's desire to authenticate his travels is seen by his publication of *True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (London, 1630). The story, possibly because of the above-mentioned

interest in Hungarian matters, seems to have been fairly well-known: there was, for example, a play based on John Smith's European adventures.<sup>36</sup> Also, another account of the campaigns of Sigismund Báthori must have existed, for both Smith and Purchase mention a *Historie of Hungaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia* by Francisco Ferneza. In his edition of Smith's works, Philip L. Barbour explains many of the discrepancies between Purchase and Smith's versions of the same events, and even attempts to prove the identity of Ferneza. Barbour's arguments are quite plausible: Ferneza was most likely a Ferenc Vas (Franciscus Ferrenus) who had been educated in Italy and was a supporter of Báthori. He could have written the history, and Smith might have had such a work with him partly to prove his tale and to substantiate his claim to the coat-of-arms that he had received from Sigismund.<sup>37</sup>

Since Barbour's extensive notes incorporate most of the recent scholarship on the topic, references to these arguments will only be made in passing here. As Smith's editor so aptly points out, however, "the catchall adjective 'controversial' could have been done without had Smith's editors and commentators of the past hundred-odd years been better informed about the history of the Mediterranean world generally, and southeastern Europe specifically, and had they troubled to make inquiries in such places as Venice, Vienna, and Budapest. But sweeping denunciations of Smith's book have been more the custom than investigation into recorded history, and in consequence Smith's Elizabethan exuberance was too easily taken for sheer prevarication."<sup>38</sup> In 1953 Bradford Smith did include an essay by Laura Polanyi Striker in his biography, and this gave a good account of the events in Hungary during the time Smith participated in the campaigns there.<sup>39</sup> Other corroborations come from Franz J. Pichler of the historical archive in Graz who substantiated that Smith had met with the Jesuits in that city when there was at least one Englishman living there, and that he received a letter of recommendation to Hanns Jacob Khissel, Baron of Kaltbrunn.<sup>40</sup> Such an introduction was important since the Archduke Ferdinand had a policy of not employing, or even of dismissing, Protestant soldiers. Only through conversion to Catholicism, moreover, could there be advancement in the Imperial army, though occasionally the Protestant Styrian Estates and the Hungarians thwarted the directive.

The *True Travels* narrate Smith's journeys through France, Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary and Transylvania, Russia, Poland, the Ottoman dominions, and even Spain and Africa. The Hungarian adventure forms about one third: chapters 4–11 out of 28. Of the eleven dedicatory



poems prefaced to the work, four mention his exploits there.<sup>41</sup> Clearly, he considered this an important episode in his travels, and one of which he was quite proud.

Smith first saw action near Alsólendva [now Lendava, Yugoslavia], which he calls Olumpagh-perhaps influenced by the German name, Limbach. Here, his pyrotechnic skills and telegraphic system helped confuse the enemy and earned him a command of 250 horsemen. He next took part in a larger campaign under the Duke of Merceour who besieged Székesfehérvár (Stowlle-wesenburgh for Smith, from the German name Stuhlweissenburg), and again Smith's knowledge of fireworks helped give the imperial forces the advantage. Early in 1602 Smith was attached to Henry Volda, Earl of Meldrith, who joined Sigismund Báthory against General Basta, the Imperial commander. Smith accounts for the latter's defection to the Transylvanian prince with these words: "[having] perswaded his troops, in so honest a cause, to assist the Prince against the Turk, rather than Busca against the Prince." (p. 170) As the forces advanced on Gyulafehérvár [now Alba-Iulia, Romania] the Turks offered a challenge to single combat with anyone in the opposing army. Smith took up the challenge, and it is for these that he earned the patent of nobility. Though Smith himself attributes it to his participation in three encounters, since the two earlier battles were not in Sigismund's territory, or under his command, this is less likely. Also, the arms feature three Turk's heads as would have been appropriate for a man having won honor in single combat with three men. He describes the incident in great detail, calling the city Regall. He is more consistent in this than in naming some of the other places, probably because in his patent the duels are described as happening "ad urbem Regalem," that is, on the road to the royal city. Gyulafehérvár was at the time the seat of the Prince of Transylvania, as it had earlier been the seat of the king's officer who ruled Transylvania while it was part of the Hungarian kingdom, so the designation "royal" was appropriate. The challenge and combat are described with due attention to detail, pomp and ceremony. While such single combats were no longer the fashion in the West, they were not unknown in Hungary and Transylvania.<sup>42</sup> For greater drama, Smith gives each adversary in his narrative a name, although this is often a title or a description rather than an actual name, for example Lord Turbashaw comes from *türk başı*, or Turkish captain. This bit of literary flourish later led his editors to doubt his word, for the names did not seem

familiar or identifiable. Smith gained a promotion for his bravery in defeating three Turkish champions, his patent of nobility, and a pension from Báthori when Gyulafehérvár was later taken:

Prince Sigismundus, coming to view his Armie, was presented with the Prisoners, and six and thirtie Ensignes; where celebrating thanks to Almighty God in triumph of those victories, hee was made acquainted with the service Smith had done at Olumpagh, Stowle-Wesenburg and Regall, for which with great honour hee gave him three Turkes heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture in Gould, and three hundred Ducats, yearly for a Pension (175). Both the Latin and the English text of the patent are reproduced in the narrative, as is also the engraving of the coat-of-arms. William Segar, Garter Principal King of Arms, recorded it at the College of Arms, thus making Smith's claim to knighthood quite legitimate in England also.<sup>43</sup>

Yet, though a mercenary and one who gained the coveted title of gentleman through his Hungarian adventures, Smith was aware of the devastation of war. In a passage critical not only of Basta's policy of destruction which left behind it the peace of death, but even of the Emperor's indifference to the welfare of his subjects, he echoes many contemporary Hungarian accounts:

Busca having all this time been raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperour againe to invade Transilvania, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those parts, was now rather a desart, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrowne with weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces and best buildings, as for feare, hid with Mosse and Ivy; being the very Bulwarke and Rampire of a great part of Europe, most fit by all Christians to have been supplied and maintained, was thus brought to ruine by them most concerned to support it (197).

The Emperor, having decided to make an attempt to bring Transylvania under his rule, sent Basta to devastate the land. Smith took part in some more campaigns under the command of Meldritch in the army of Mózes Székely.<sup>44</sup> The last encounter described is in the vicinity of Verestorony, about twelve miles south of Szeben [now Sibiu, Romania] where initial victory was turned into defeat because of the overwhelming number of the Tartar allies of the Turks. It was here that Smith was taken captive, and according to custom, sold into slavery in Turkey.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, we come to the consideration of Sir Philip Sidney and Hungary. He was, like others, a traveller to Europe; his connections, however, included men close to the Court and he was obviously preparing for a statesman's and diplomat's role. While he later probably met Hungarian travellers and diplomats in England, for example Parmenius as has been mentioned already, he also established some long-lasting friendships during his stay in Vienna between 1573 and 1575. He could have heard about Hungary from John Dee, his teacher and a family friend, who was in Pozsony [now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia] for the coronation of Maximillian I as King of Hungary in 1563. In his *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1562–1564), which Dee dedicated to Maximillian, he says that he has come to admire the Emperor's greatness not only from the reports of others, but also from personal experience when "in September of the previous year" he was in Pozsony in the Hungarian kingdom.<sup>46</sup> While such a comment does not necessarily mean that Dee knew, or even met the Emperor, it does place him in the city conclusively. The humanist scholar travelled widely in Europe and while his tolerant views on religion might have been suspect in more than one court, his scientific knowledge, embracing as it did astronomy and alchemy with its suggestion that he held the key to turning baser metals into gold, made him welcome. His contacts in scholarly circles were equally wide: his handbook on navigation and astronomy brought him in direct contact with Sir Walter Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert, probably in the 1560s and 1570s when his house near London was something of an academy. It is not unlikely, as Szőnyi points out, that Dee also knew Budai Parmenius, who was in England in 1581 at a time that Parmenius' patron Gilbert was an almost daily visitor in Dee's house.<sup>47</sup> Dee was to return to the Continent in 1583 at the invitation of Olbracht Łaski, a Polish nobleman who had come to England as Báthori's ambassador sometime after 1575 when Báthori was elected King of Poland. Łaski had been born in Késmárk, Hungary [now Kežmarok, Slovakia] and was both a widely respected humanist and an unscrupulous politician. Regarded as a Polish king-maker, the idea for Sidney to have been raised to the Polish throne (mentioned by Fulke-Greville) seems to have originated with him.<sup>48</sup> He became acquainted with Sidney on the latter's first visit to Vienna, and the friendship continued. Dee comments that it was Lord Russel and Sir Philip Sidney who accompanied Łaski to Oxford.<sup>49</sup>

The ties between Sidney and Hungary, or more precisely Sidney's interest in Habsburg politics, are numerous, and in many of them Dee seems to have an important role. It is more than likely, for example, that

Dee was part of the secret service ran by Walsingham, and that he, as later Sidney, were charged with providing information on Continental politics. Sidney was sent to the Continent not merely for the fashionable "grand tour," but to gather information and to make contacts — the real and original purpose of such travel. This is evident in his many side trips, first to Hungary in the fall of 1573, then, upon his return to Vienna from Italy in 1575, to Cracow, Prague, Cracow, and finally Dresden on his way home. His letters to Lord Cecil, to the Earl of Leicester, and to Walsingham pay particular attention to the situation between the Habsburgs and the Turks, as well as to the Hungarian and Polish question.

It should be noted that the political, as well as the intellectual and scholarly life of Central Europe was closely intertwined. The two great powers in the area were the Habsburgs and the Turks, with Hungary, Poland, and Transylvania attempting to gain advantages in the political power play. The Habsburgs as Holy Roman Emperors were a formidable opponent of France, and so of interest to England, who, however, were at war with the Spanish branch of the family in the Netherlands. The Austrian Habsburgs were also Kings of Bohemia and of the area in Hungary called Royal Hungary, that is, the northern and western portions. Moreover, their hold was not yet secure: they had to be elected and had not hereditary rights. They were also limited, in theory at least, by a constitution whose observance the Estates made a condition of their election. Poland, too, was an elective monarchy, and in late 1575 Stephen Báthory was elected king. Báthory was at the same time Prince of Transylvania, an independent state comprising most of eastern Hungary. The split in Hungarian national unity had come about in 1526 as a result of the defeat of the Hungarian forces by the Turks and the death of the Hungarian king, Louis II, in the battle. The Estates broke into two factions and elected two kings: Ferdinand of Habsburg and János Szapolyai. The former was able to extend his rule in western and northern Hungary and depended on the Hungarian lords who saw in the Habsburgs a powerful ally against the Turks. The latter and his successors ruled Transylvania and lands between the two regions, known as the Partium, as independent Princes though at times paying tribute to the Turks. The center of the country was under Turkish rule. To complicate matters even further, fortresses, cities and regions could change sides according to the fortunes of war or the sentiments of the lord of the region. Furthermore, Transylvanian noblemen, including the princes, owned estates in Royal Hungary and thus had interests in the part of Hungary ruled by the Habsburgs. Hungarian noblemen also had estates in Transylvania, and

travel, marriages, and all kinds of contact were common. Poland entered into the picture as some noblemen from either country had lands in any of the others. Families often sought refuge in Transylvania, Hungary, or Poland, according to circumstances.<sup>50</sup>

Sidney's and Dee's interest in Hungary was thus well motivated by England's interest in the political situation of Central Europe where Elizabeth sought to gain an advantage against the French (who had a long history of diplomatic relations with these regions, and who also had a contender for the Polish throne) and the Habsburgs. Religious considerations colored but did not overwhelm the political ones. However, as humanists, both Dee and his student Sidney were receptive of the intellectual atmosphere that prevailed not only in cities like Prague and Cracow, but at the courts of the Hungarian lords such as Boldizsár Batthyány whose house at Némétújvár was visited by men such as Sambucus and the physician Tamás Jordán who is mentioned in the correspondence of Sidney and Languet. Jordán was a native of Kolozsvár [now Cluj-Napoca, Romania] who was practicing in Prague when Sidney met him. In his introduction to *Monas Hieroglyphica* Dee mentions a Hungarian nobleman who had helped him: this person could have been Batthyány, whose interests also included both scientific experiments and mystical philosophy.<sup>51</sup>

When Sidney had made the acquaintance of Hubert Languet, he also received an introduction to a distinguished society of Central European humanists. These included Andreas Wechel of Frankfurt, the writer Charles de l'Ecluse, the imperial physician Crato von Crafftheim, Hugo Blotius, the imperial librarian, Jean Aubri and Tamás Jordán — all of whom were also in close contact with Batthyány.

Having indicated something of the political and intellectual milieu into which Sidney entered when he went to Vienna with his friend Languet, it is time to turn to his own comments about Hungary. While he says relatively little, and even this has been largely ignored by English critics, an analysis proves fascinating and raises the possibility of comparison with the contemporary Hungarian poet, Bálint Balassi (1554–1594).

Sidney visited Hungary in late August or early September of 1573. Little is known of his motives for the excursion, but it was undoubtedly both the lure of adventure and the invitation, or at least the urging, of friends and contacts in Vienna. He seems to have gone on the spur of the moment, intending to stay for about three days in Pozsony. He stayed, instead, for at least three weeks, and travelled some in the region, though where is not known. He continued his journey to Italy not from Vienna, but from

Wiener Neustadt, and visited on his way out of Hungary the Fertő tó (Neusiedler See). His host in Pozsony was the Hungarian humanist George Purkircher, a native of that city.<sup>52</sup>

They seemed to have gotten along well, and exchanged letters even years later. The only specific information on the trip comes from Languet's letter to Sidney of September 22, 1573:

I thank you for having written me from Bratislava<sup>53</sup> as a token of your friendship, and I am pleased to hear that my introduction so impressed Dr. Purkircher that he showed you the courtesies which your virtue and manners deserve. I have seen him here and thanked him for this, and have proved that I owe him more than if he had done the same for me. But I have reason to complain about you; for I did not think you had so ill an opinion of me as not to confide your plans to me. Perhaps you feared that I would prepare an ambush for you along the way. When you left here you said that you would not be gone for more than three days. But now, like a little bird that has forced its way through the bars of its cage, your delight makes you restless, flitting hither and yon, perhaps without a thought for your friends; and you scarcely guard against the dangers that so often occur on such journeys. I do admire your noble eagerness to "observe the manners and cities of many men," as the poet says, for this is the best way to develop judgement and master our feelings; but I regret that you have no one to converse with along the way about various subjects, no one to tell you about the manners and customs of the peoples you visit, to introduce you to learned men, and when necessary to serve as an interpreter. I might perhaps have found you such a travelling companion, had you wished to tell me about your plan. I write as I do because I am anxious about you, and about the glorious flowering of your character which, I hope, will eventually bring forth the delightful fruits of your many virtues. I am giving this letter to Dr. Purkircher who will meet you in Neapolis [Wiener Neustadt] (but not that Neapolis rendered notorious by the Sirens' song) so that as you ride you may meditate on how to reply to the charges of your friends. Your comrade Conningsby left here a week ago. Farewell, and come back to us (Vienna, September 22, 1573).<sup>54</sup>

I have quoted the entire letter, for it gives a good idea of the relationship between Languet and Sidney, and also because the references can best be interpreted in context. Thus we learn that Purkircher did not accompany Sidney on his travels, though the lack of a travelling companion did not seem to have hampered Sidney's enjoyment of the trip. Certainly with the contacts mentioned earlier, he was not a stranger, and Purkircher would have naturally given him whatever introductions he needed. That the

impressions he received were favorable is clear from his later correspondence which recalls pleasant days spent in the company of friends. The direct comments he himself makes, in the *Defense of Poesie*, in a sonnet, and in an eclogue incorporated in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, also testify to his having been well entertained.

Szónyi argues convincingly that one such host could easily have been the nobleman Boldizsár Batthyány who was mentioned earlier. Batthyány was in close contact with the humanistic circle into which Languet had introduced Sidney on their arrival in Vienna, and was, moreover, a leading Protestant statesman. In any case, each host (and there were several according to the testimony of the *Defense*) would have received him as if that were the only stop on his visit to Hungary, and he would have been accorded a princely welcome. In a famous passage in *The Defense of Poesy* Sidney cites as a justification of poetry its ability to inspire to great deeds in these words: "In Hungary I have seen it the manner at all feasts, and other such like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valor, which that right soldierlike nation think one of the chiefest kindlers of brave courage."<sup>55</sup> The passage discusses the lyric, i.e. the ode, and the relevant sentence comes between comments on the ballads about Percy and Douglas and the Spartans' use of music to inspire. Thus, Sidney seems to be referring not only to verse narrative but also to something like Balassi's own poem, "In laudem confiniorum" (In Praise of the Border Forts).<sup>56</sup>

It is interesting that Sidney should need to justify poetry, and to be able to do it only in terms of Medieval examples in English poetry while a Hungarian genre had developed that was quite consciously cultivated for this very purpose. Whether Sidney heard such songs in the house of Batthyány,<sup>57</sup> or if any of these was the poem by Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, "Kapitány György párviadala" [The Duel of George Kapitány], which described a duel witnessed by Bálint Balassi's father János,<sup>58</sup> are interesting sidelights. More pertinent is an examination of the kind of songs Sidney mentions. Viktor Julow, studying the background of Balassi's poem, mentions a poem in the same tradition by Mihály Szabadkai from 1515, "Cantio Petri Berizlo," which already contains the elements of the genre: the joy of the battle and the nobility of the goal.<sup>59</sup> Tinódi Lantos' "Kapitány György párviadala," emphasizes the rewards of the battle, but the Hungarian is the champion of national and Christian ideals. The ultimate patriotic and religious purpose of the conflict is never absent. Thus, in the Tinódi poem (which Balassi undoubtedly knew) Berizlo's phrases "with honor and valor" (tisztességgel, vitézséggel) have been expanded:

Jó legényök vitézők végházakban,  
 Vannak gyakran terekkel bajvívásban,  
 A körösztén hitért gyakor harcokban  
 És jó hírért, névért sok országokban.<sup>60</sup>

Balassi echoes these sentiments in his "In laudem confinium" or "Katonanének" [Soldier's Song], the best of several military songs that he wrote. It is this tradition to which Sidney refers, it is such poems that he would have heard. Balassi's poem still emphasizes the joy of battle and material gain, but he glorifies the whole experience:

Vitézek mi lehet ez széles föld felett  
 szebb dolog a végeknél?  
 Holott kikeletkor az sok szép madár szól,  
 kivel ember ugyan él;  
 Mező jó illatot, az ég szép harmatot ad,  
 ki kedves mindennél.  
 Ellenség hírére vitézeknek szüve  
 gyakorta ott felbuzdul,  
 Sőt azon kívül is, csak jó kedvéből is  
 vitéz próbára indul,  
 Holott sebesedik, öl, fog, vitézkedik,  
 homlokán vér lecsordul.

The obvious joy of battle is not only evident in the first stanza, but also in the impromptu duels referred to in the second. In stanza five, the goals of their life, of the battles, are stated in words that echo Berizlo and Tinódi, but expand on it: these soldiers fight not only for fame and honor, but also to give an example to all, and they will risk all in this endeavor:

Az jó hírért névért s az szép tisztességért  
 ők mindent hátra hadnak,  
 Emberségről példát, vitézségről formát  
 mindeneknek ők adnak,  
 Midőn mint jó sólymok mezőn széllal járnak,  
 vagdalkoznak, futtatnak.

Then, in the following stanza he uses an image from the Turkish warfare that was also to strike Sidney: if the enemy seems too strong, they allow pursuit only to turn and snatch victory from seeming defeat:

Ellenséget látván, örömmel kiáltván  
 ők kopiákat törnek,



S ha súlyosan vagyon az dolog harcokon,  
 szólítatlan megtérnek,  
 Sok vérben ferteztén arcul reá térvén  
 űzött sokszor megvernek.

Finally, the poem ends on the note of dedication to a cause which infuses all of these soldier's songs: the warriors form a glorious army whose good name is recognized by the whole world and who have God's blessing:

Ó végbelieknek, ifjú vitézeknek  
 dícseretes serege!  
 Kiknek ez világon szerte-szerént vagyon  
 mindeneknél jó neve,  
 Mint sok fát gyömolccsel sok jó szerencsével  
 áldjon Isten mezőkbe!<sup>61</sup>

The best and fullest expression of the inspiring poem was given by another Hungarian and commander of frontier fortresses, Miklós Zrínyi, in his *A Szigeti veszedelem* ([The Peril of Sziget] 1645–46). Wherever Sidney may have visited in Hungary, later correspondence with Languet and others whom he had met in Vienna, Hungary, or Poland, attest to the friendship formed with several Hungarian leaders. Languet, in reporting of the events of 1572, writes on the 6th of June: "Bekessius,<sup>62</sup> the Transylvanian exile whom you knew here, having hastily collected troops in Poland and the neighboring parts of Moldavia, twenty days since invaded Transylvania. Some say that a good many of the Emperor's soldiers from the garrisons in Hungary have joined him. I fear we are putting our hands into a wasps' nest, for the Turks will not overlook this business, seeing that Transylvania is under their protection."<sup>63</sup> Jean Lobbet, another of the scholarly circle, professor of law at Strassbourg, later also wrote to Sidney: "The Transylvanian war is over, because he [Bekes] who was the cause of it has been defeated. The present moment the Turks are fighting in Hungary: apart from the Blaustein Castle, which they had already captured, they have conquered three or four other fortresses".<sup>64</sup> The mention of Kékkő (Blaustein Castle, now Madrykamen, Slovakia) is interesting, for it was the ancient seat of the Balassis. Lobbet mentions it by name, and Languet had indicated that Sidney met the elder Balassi. In writing of the Bekes episode, he comments: "The Turks, certain that Bekes undertook the campaign with the encouragement of the Austrian Emperor, have broken into the Hungarian territories and already occupied four castles: Blaustein (Kékkő), Dyrvyn (Divény), Kerpen (Korpona) and Fonod (Fonyód)." He further no-

tes, however, that "the proprietor of Kekko and Diveny is the János Balassi, whom you know, and whose only son also, according to the news, is on Turkish hands. ... I feel sorry for the old gentlemen's unluckiness."<sup>65</sup> Sidney could easily have met both Bekes and János Balassi in Vienna. In fact, he might have met the poet Bálint also, for between 1572 and 1575 the elder Balassi was at court as Chief Chamberlain to the Emperor. Bálint, who had distinguished himself as one of the young noblemen who danced at the coronation of Rudolph as King of Hungary in September of 1572, was named a cup-bearer and so also had duties at Court. As commander of Zólyom, Balassi could have been one of Sidney's hosts there, or he could have entertained the English poet at one of the other castles the family held in Hungary.

While the information Languet sent about Bekes for Sidney was simply news and reportage about friends and acquaintances, for Balassi it was a crucial event. As Languet had indicated, Bálint Balassi was taken prisoner, although not by the Turks but by Stephen Báthory. Báthory not only refused to surrender the captured Balassi to the Turkish forces, he also treated him well enough to convince the prisoner to accompany Prince Báthory to Poland. This move led to suspicions at the imperial court, and Bálint's chief purpose in returning to Hungary in 1577 was to clear his father's name.<sup>66</sup> He entered the service of the Emperor and served in the frontier forts until his death.

Balassi's fortunes declined over the years, and once he even left Hungary for Poland, seeing little chance to regain his fortunes. He came back, however, in 1591 upon news of the death of his uncle. This uncle had largely been responsible for cheating Bálint out of his inheritance. In the fall of 1593 he joined the forces besieging Esztergom. The Turkish war heated up again, but this was to be Balassi's last campaign: a cannonball went through both his thighs on May, 1594. In this, as in other aspects of their career, Sidney and Balassi show amazing parallels. It would be interesting to compare these two men in terms of their lives and somewhat shared experiences, as well as in their works. Balassi wrote two cycles of love poems, moving religious poetry, and several patriotic songs one of which had been mentioned. He also wrote a pastoral drama, the first in Hungary in the genre. But, whatever Balassi's place in comparative literature, here we are concerned with the effect of Sidney's sojourn in Hungary.

As the correspondence with Languet proves, Sidney continued to be interested in Central Europe upon his return to England. The Turkish wars were increasingly a topic in England in the closing years of the 16th

century, and Sidney's connections made him something of an expert. He could not have put the years in Vienna and the visit to Hungary out of his mind, even if he had wanted to, and these years certainly influenced him poetically also. There is, for example, a passage in *Astrophil and Stella* that refers to Báthory's Russian campaign. In Sonnet 30, Sidney writes:

Whether the Turkish new moone minded be  
To fill her hornes this yeere on Christian coast?  
How Poles right king means without leave of hoast  
To warme with ill-made fire cold Muscouy?<sup>67</sup>

Languet had written Sidney about the war in Russia on February 6, 1580, as indeed did his other correspondents.<sup>68</sup> Editors of this poem give differing explanations on why Sidney called Báthory the "Poles right king." It was, from historical evidence, because Báthory had been the one elected, but also because Sidney seems to have considered him the most suitable king for that throne. This belief would certainly have been influenced by Languet, who wrote on March 31, 1578: "Everyone praises most highly the wisdom and moderation of Báthori, King of Poland. I am glad that we have in Christendom at least one king who possesses some goodness." Furthermore, Languet, and presumably Sidney also, preferred someone who was not inimical to the Protestants, and who, moreover, could counteract the great Catholic powers, the Valvois and the Habsburgs. On February 6, 1580 Languet had written about the war in Russia.

The passage from the poem, with its teasing references to the modern reader, is often dismissed as a piece of erudite name-dropping by Sidney. A.C. Hamilton, however, has shown it to be crucial in the sonnet cycle<sup>69</sup> and as such the poem and its references take on added meaning. The listing of international problem spots he no longer cares about suggests an abdication of his responsibilities. It echoes his dissatisfaction with the lack of duties assigned him at court, a dissatisfaction that led him into semi-retirement at Wilton, and which elicited a chiding letter from Languet on September 24, 1580 about his succumbing to the "sweet pleasures of lengthy retirement".<sup>70</sup> But, it also serves as an important declaration of Sidney's, for it implies that the poet's chief business is being neglected for his lady. Of course, judging from the lively correspondence about Central European politics, these did not really cease to concern Sidney. In fact, rather than being dismissed as inconsequential, the lines should convey the great love of the poet who is willing to allow even his primary concerns to take a secondary position to his love. Hamilton further argues that the sonnet is a

pivotal piece — 30th in a cycle of 100 — and as such marks a turning point not only in the relationship described in the sonnet cycle, but also in the poet's life.

Sidney's final reference to his Hungarian trip is less obvious, but poetically more interesting. It is a metaphor he uses in the poem, "Lamon Sings of Strephon and Klaius".<sup>71</sup> This uses an image which harkens back to the one in the soldiers' songs that was discussed above. In the poem *Urania*, sought by both Strephon and Klaius, pretends to flee in a game of barley-break, but then turns on her pursuers:

But this strange race more strange conceit did yeeld;  
Who victor seem'd was to his ruine brought,  
Who seem's orethrowne was mistress of the field:  
She fled, and tooke; he followed, and was caught.  
So haue I heard, to pierce pursuing shield  
By parents train'd the Tartars wilde are taught,  
With shafts shot out from their back-turned bow.<sup>72</sup>

While this method of fighting is described in several works that Sidney might have been familiar with, for example *Marco Polo* and *Mandeville*, I do not think it too much to conjecture that he also, or possibly chiefly, drew on his Hungarian memories. The constant warfare with the Turks — which by this time had been going on for some fifty years — meant frequent skirmishes with their allies, the Tartars. The Hungarians themselves had adopted (or re-learned) some of the Oriental tactics. As has been demonstrated, the image was used in the soldiers' songs and in Balassi's remarkable poem also.

Sidney, of course, would not have understood the Hungarian of the poems sung in the frontier forts, such as the ones by Tinódi. He would have conversed with his Hungarian hosts in Latin or French, since these were languages all of whom knew while Sidney admitted to Languet that he had difficulty with German, another language in which the Hungarian magnates were generally fluent. But, as one who was interested in the Turkish-Habsburg wars and its military tactics, he certainly would have had a demonstration of these tactics. Balassi mentions in his poem that the warriors of the frontier forts often staged tourneys for their own amusement, and no doubt to keep their skills up, and it would have been strange if Sidney had not been treated to such a one. That Sidney was interested in military tactics is not only understandable since he, himself, was a soldier (and died, ironically, on the battlefield, like Balassi), but is also clear from

his letters. He had met Baron Lazar Schwendi, who was the commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in the 1564–66 campaign. In 1573 Sidney asked Languet to forward his letter to Schwendi, and in this he thanks the general for his help and poses some questions on the method of fighting the Turks. Gömöri argues convincingly that the aid Schwendi had given might have been letters of introduction to the Hungarian castles, since it is not improbable that Sidney and Schwendi had met before the Englishman's arrival in Vienna.<sup>73</sup> What is important in this context, however, is Sidney's interest in warfare, and the book he is requesting most likely is Schwendi's treatise *De bello contra Turcas gerendo*, a tract composed around 1570 and circulated in manuscript form. He was also familiar with Pietro Bizari's *Historia della guerra fatte in Vngheria dall'inuittissimo imperatore de Christiani, contro quello de Turchi* (Lyons, 1569) dealing with the campaign of 1566. The work is cited in the correspondence between Sidney and Languet on December 5 and April 15 of 1574 and June 4 and 14 of 1577.<sup>74</sup> The campaign was, incidentally, the one in which Miklós Zrínyi distinguished himself in the defense of Szigetvár while the imperial forces dallied near Győr. The role of the border fortresses thus had to be clear from the work. Given Sidney's active interest, it is most likely that he drew the image of the fighter turning on his steed to face the enemy and thus turn defeat into victory from real life, not from texts detailing earlier and remote events.

A full study of Sidney and Balassi still needs to be done.<sup>75</sup> Direct influence of one on the other, or even reciprocal influences, are not likely and would be almost impossible to prove. But, a comparison of the two poets who share not only a poetic tradition but also similarities in their backgrounds, would yield much of interest; all the more so as their lives were not only parallel in many aspects, but also intersected.

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Contacts, often of a literary and cultural nature, flourished between Hungary and England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The impact of the students who returned home after several years in England was perhaps the greatest, for they brought back not only English Protestant theology but also an admiration of English institutions and government. Such studies and exchanges were, of course, a continuation of the Medieval tradition; but, with the Renaissance new interests changed the nature of these exchanges, and the universal, religious emphasis became both more nationalistic and more comparative. While the full flowering of the political

and even scientific ideas had to wait for the period of reform in the early 19th century, the ideas themselves were kept alive in the libraries of the educated noblemen, or at schools such as Sárospatak and Debrecen. The impact of the Hungarian connections in England was much more ephemeral, and was largely forgotten in the 18th century when such contacts virtually ceased.

Travel to England from Hungary, not a rare occurrence in the 16th and 17th centuries, also seems to have had limited impact, though the interest did not cease immediately. The writings of Sir Thomas Browne, for example, contain many references to various aspects of Hungarian culture. While later contacts never quite shook the aura of exoticism that came to surround Hungary for the English public, they undoubtedly paved the way for the revival of travels to Hungary in the 19th century, and to the interest in Hungary in general in the latter part of that century — even before the surge of sympathy that accompanied the Revolution of 1848.

More work could certainly be done, not only in identifying the early travellers, but also in assessing their impressions of Hungary. While this might not lead to dramatic, revolutionary reassessments of the cultural relations of the two countries, it would certainly lead to a better understanding of such connections, of the cultures of both countries, and of the mechanics of cultural relations. These are worthwhile goals.

### Notes

1. John Kósa, "The Early Period of Anglo-Hungarian Contact," *American Slavic and East European Review*, No. 3 (Oct. 1954), pp. 414–431.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 418–419.
3. Several studies deal with such travellers, notably: Stephen Gál, "England and Transylvania," *Hungarian Quarterly*, 1 (Summer 1939), 246; Kósa, p. 414; Alexander Fest, "Hungarian Protestants and England in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries," *Danubian Review*, 1, no. 5 (1934/35), 14–17; Bertha Trócsányi, "Magyar református teológusok Angliában a XVI. és XVII. században," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 5 (1944), 115–146; Alexander Fest, "Anglo-Hungarian Historical and Cultural Relations," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Debrecen) 4 (1964) 5–44; and *Utazások a régi Európában: peregrinációs levelek, útleírások és útinaplók (1580–1709)* selected, with an introd. and notes by Pál Binder (Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1976). Binder cites from the letter of Cseffei and Pálóczi Horváth.
4. Kósa, Fest.

5. László Országh, "Adalékok az angol renaissance magyarsággépéhez," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, 4 (1942), 37–53.
6. Kósa, p. 415.
7. Lajos Kemény, "Thallyai János cambridge-i tanuló levele," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 19 (1909), 484–485.
8. Martin Holmes, "The London of Márton Csombor," *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 5, no. 15 (Autumn 1964), 134–142; Gál, pp. 248–249.
9. Gál, pp. 250–251.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 251–253.
11. Lajos Kropf, "Egy ismeretlen magyar költő Skóciában," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 24 (1914), 19.
12. György Gömöri, "Az angolok magyarsággépe a XVII. század első felében," *Filológiai Tanulmányok* 26, no. 3 (July–Sept. 1980), 355–364.
13. The Palatine was head of the Administration in the king's absence, and the second most important person in the realm after the king himself.
14. Gömöri, p. 363.
15. The two chapters are given in full in István Gál, "Maksai Péter angol nyelvű Bethlen Gábor-életrajza 1629-ből," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 80, no. 2 (1976), 223–237. The cited passage is on p. 225.
16. Lajos Dézsi, "Magyar irodalmi hatás Shakespeare költészetében," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 21 (1929), 235–242. Other studies of Hungarian references in Renaissance drama are to be found in: Lajos Bodrogi, "Shakespeare mirőlunk," in *Magyar Shakespeare Tár*, ed. Zoltán Ferenczi (Budapest, F. Killián, 1908–1916?) 1 (1908), 178–209, and Fest, *op. cit.* "Mit tud a Shakespeare-korabeli angol irodalom Magyarországról?" 6 (1913), 168–182; "Adalékok a Shakespeare-korabeli irodalom magyar vonatkozásairól," 9 (1916), 282–283; and two other articles by Fest: "Magyar vonatkozások Ben Jonson műveiben," *Egyetemes Filológiai Közlöny*, 37 (1913), 206–208, and "Magyar vonatkozások Marlowe drámáiban," *Irodalomtörténet*, 1 (1912), 117–119; László Országh, "Magyar tárgyú angol renaissance-drámák," *Egyetemes Filológiai Közlöny*, 67 (1943), 405–411; Eugene Pivány, "Hungarians of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Literature," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, 2 (1937), 83–92.
17. Carlos Slafter, *Sir Humfrey Gylbert and His Enterprise of Colonization in America...* (1903); rpt. New York, B. Franklin, 1967); David Beers Quinn, *The New Found Land, the English Contributions to the Discovery of North America* (Providence, Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1964); Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 vols. (1940; rpt. Nedeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprint, 1967). I mention only some of the more important works. Hungarian studies include: Kropf, "Budai Parmenius István," *Századok*, 23 (1889), 150–154; Pivány, *Hungarian–American Historical Connections from Pre-Columbian Times to the End of the American Civil War* (Budapest, Royal Hungarian University Press, 1927); Tivadar Ács, "Egy tengerbe veszett magyar humanista költő a XVI. században," *Filológiai Közlöny*, 8 (1962), 115–122, and Tibor Klaniczay, "Jegyzetek Budai Parmenius Istvánról," in *Hagyományok ébresztése* (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1976), pp. 225–241.

18. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds., *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius; the Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972). References to Parmenius' poetical works are to this edition, and are identified by page and line number within the text.
19. *Ibid.*, Preface, i.
20. Quinn, *Voyages*, p. 413.
21. "6. August 1683. Stephen Parmenius of Buda to Richard Hakluyt, Preacher," in *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (Nedeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprint, 1967), pp. 379–383.
22. Quinn and Cheshire, p. 8–22.
23. Quinn, *Voyages*, p. 349.
24. Quinn and Cheshire also examine the changes in the two versions, and give information on the earlier and later editions, pp. 42–45.
25. Quinn and Cheshire, p. 44.
26. Quinn and Cheshire, pp. 27–30. For the information on Sidney, see below.
27. The Latin poem was prefaced by the letter to which I have already referred, and a short poem on the Thames. Parmenius also published, in 1582, a Thanksgiving Hymn modelled on Psalm 104 for his safe journey from Hungary to England.
28. Parmenius uses "Dacia" since he is writing in Latin; Quinn and Cheshire translate this as "Rumania," incorrectly since this country was not in existence until the late 19th century. Dacia can refer either to Moldavia or Walacchia, but most probably to the former which came under Turkish rule in 1504. It certainly does not refer to Transylvania which was still autonomous.
29. Gál, pp. 247–248, and Fest, "Anglo-Hungarian Historical and Cultural Relations," pp. 24–27. See also the section on Sidney below.
30. Martin Fumee, *The Historie of the Trovbles of Hvngarie* (London, F. Kyngston, 1660); Sir Thomas Roe, *A Letter from the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Rovve, Extraordinary Embassadour to his Majestie at Vienna ... read in the ... House of Commons* (London, A. Roper, 1642); *Florus Hungaricus* (1664); *The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini* (i.e. Zrínyi; 1664); *A True Account of the Christian Taking Barthfeld in Upper Hungary* (1684); John Sirley, *The History of the Wars of Hungary* (1685); *The Present State of Hungary* (1687); *Observations upon the Warre in Hungary* (1689)
31. Fumee, Translator's dedication.
32. *A Declaration of the Lords and States of the Realm of Hungaria* (1606).
33. "English Prayers for Hungary, 1566" in a Letter to the Editor of *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* by E.M. Tenison, given in 4 (1942), 36.
34. Éva Róna, "Hungary and the Beginnings of English Journalism," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 4 (1942), 54–71; "Magyar vonatkozások a XVI–XVII. századi angol irodalomban," *op. cit.*, 1 (1936), 6–49.
35. Philip L. Barbour, ed. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631)*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), III, 186. Citations from Smith's narrative are from this edition, with page numbers given in the text.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 141, note 3.



37. *Ibid.*, pp. 330–332; 345.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
39. Laura Polányi Striker, "Captain John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania," in Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith, His Life & Legend* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1953), pp. 311–342.
40. Franz J. Pichler, "Captain John Smith in the Light of Styrian Sources," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 65 (1957), 332–254.
41. Given in Barbour, pp. 146–151; the authors of these four poems were: Edward Jorden, Richard Meade, M. Cartner, and Salo. Tanner.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 173, note 1. But Hungarian literature of the time is full of such accounts of duels between Turkish and Christian champions, and they receive mention in historical accounts and legal documents as well.
43. Purchase did not include the grant at arms because it had not been validated when he published his work; the record is dated August 19, 1625, when *Purchase His Pilgrimage* was already in print. Barbour, pp. 129, 176, 353.
44. Mózes Székely was an able general who was briefly Prince of Transylvania. During the tumultuous times of Sigismund Báthori, who had allied himself with the Habsburgs but who alternately abdicated and returned to rule Transylvania, Basta, the imperial general conducted several campaigns in 1601–1604, partly on Báthori's behalf. Fighting few engagements, he killed and looted with abandon. Székely rose against the Imperial forces under Basta in April of 1603 and defeated him. On May 8th, Székely assumed the title of Prince of Transylvania, but he did not have the full support of the Székely nation. Radu Serban, the voivode of Wallachia, broke into Transylvania, and Székely was defeated and killed in the battle near Brassó [now Brasov, Romania]. Smith's last engagement was part of the same campaign.
45. Chapter X. The account is somewhat confused, but does reflect the politics of the time, particularly in Transylvania where the Princes maintained a precarious independence by playing the Habsburgs off against the Turks. Sigismund Báthori was not too successful, and in case of a miscalculation, either the Imperial forces, or the Turks, would send in soldiers to force the payment of tribute or the cession of certain fortresses.
46. György Endre Szőnyi, "John Dee angol 'mágus' és Közép-Európa," *Valóság*, 22, no. 11 (Nov. 1979) 47.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 52.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
49. *Ibid.*
50. General accounts in English of Hungarian history are to be found in C.A. Macartney *A Short History of Hungary* (Edinburgh, University Press, 1962) and Dominic G. Kosáry *A History of Hungary* (Cleveland, Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, 1941). A reprint of this latter was issued in 1969 under the title *History of the Hungarian Nation* (Astor Park, Fla., Danubian Press). The best account of the history of Transylvania is to be found in *Erdély története* edited by Béla Köpeczi with László Makkai, András Mócsy, and Zoltán Szász (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1986). 3 vols. It has not yet been translated into English.

51. Szőnyi, pp. 49–50. A good study of the intellectual world of Central Europe at this time is Robert J. W. Evans *Rudolf II and his World: a Study in Intellectual History 1572–1612* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, New York, Oxford University Press, 1984).
52. James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572–1577*. Elizabethan Club series, 5. (New Haven, London, Published for the Elizabethan Club, Yale University Press, 1972), 102–104.
53. Languet, in Latin, uses *ab Posonio*. The city at the time was the Hungarian capital, and its name in German was Pressburg, in Hungarian Pozsony. Bratislava is a 20th century name.
54. Osborn, p. 103. Stewart A. Pears *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London, W. Pickering, 1845) reproduced some 17 of the 66 letters at that time known to have existed in this correspondence. This is still the definitive English edition, as William Aspenwall Bradley's 1912 edition was based on this and did not include any new letters. Pears did not think the others, chiefly ones dealing with "the Turkish wars," to have been of interest. Osborn, however, uses Pears but supplements it by various Latin editions of the correspondence, unpublished letters in various archives, and also a cache of 76 letters from the private collection of Sir Thomas Philipps which was made public in March of 1967. These include letters from Purkircher, Crafftheim, and de l'Ecluse. Languet's *Epistolae ad Philippum Sydneium, Equitem Anglum*, was published in Frankfurt in 1633, in Leyden by Elsevier in 1646, and in Edinburgh in 1776. The total number of letters is 117 from Sidney's own pen and 165 written to him (Osborn, Preface xi, xiii, xvii–xx).
55. Robert Kimbrough, ed. *Sir Philip Sidney: Selected Prose and Poetry*. 2nd ed. (Madison, Wisc., University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 130.
56. Bálint Balassi, *Összes versei és Szép magyar komédiája*, Sándor Eckhardt, ed. (Budapest, Magyar Helikon, 1961), p. 121.
57. Szőnyi, p. 52.
58. István Nemeskürty, *Balassi Bálint* (Budapest, Gondolat, 1978), pp. 31–32.
59. Viktor Julow, *Árkádia körül* (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1975), pp. 9–17.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 12. The English would be something like the following: Good lads, brave warriors in the frontier houses,/Are often in duels with the Turks,/For the Christian faith often in battles,/And for good fame and name in many lands.
61. The English of the above stanzas is approximately the following: Warriors, what could be more beautiful in this whole wide world than the frontier forts?/Where the many lovely birds that live with man sing at dawn;/The meadow gives fragrance, the heavens shining dew that is sweet to everyone./Hearing of the foe the warrior's heart grows excited there,/And even without that, for the sheer spirit of it, he will seek a brave encounter,/Where he wounds, kills, captures, fights bravely as blood trickles down his brow. (1–2) For their good name and fame, and for noble honor, they leave all behind, /They give to all examples of manliness and models of bravery,/When like good falcons they run with the wind on the meadow, hew and make the enemy run. (5) Seeing the enemy, they shout with joy and break spears,/And if the battle stands dangerously, without a word they turn,/Tainted by much blood, they turn about face, and often beat the pursuer. (6)

62. Gáspár Bekes was a Hungarian general used by Maximilian I in his attempt to bring Transylvania under his control. A treaty of 1571 had accepted the right of the House of Szapolya to Transylvania, but did not extend to other successors. Nevertheless, the Emperor was reluctant to go openly against the Principality, although he was not loth to allow Rueber, the commander of Kassa [now Košice, Slovakia] to interfere. For this, Bekes, who was a contender for the Transylvanian throne supported by the Habsburgs, seemed an appropriate ally. Bekes was defeated on July 10, 1575, and with this defeat similar efforts at Habsburg control ceased for a time. They accepted the status quo of an independent Transylvania which was only strengthened by the election of Báthory as king of Poland. In fact, Vienna accepted the principle of the free election of the Princes when István's nephew Sigismund Báthory came to the throne upon the former's death. Under Sigismund, of course, there were to be more problems.
63. William Aspenwall Bradley, ed. *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*. The Humanist's Library. (Boston, Marrymount, 1912) p. 108.
64. Cited in Osborn, p. 354.
65. George Gömöri, "Sir Philip Sidney magyarországi kapcsolatai és hírei Magyarországról, *Kortárs* 27 (1983 March), p. 432. This letter had not been translated into English and is omitted from both of the editions of the Languet-Sidney correspondence (Bradley, and Stewart A. Pears, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* [London, w. Pickering, 1845]).
66. Cited in Bálint Balassi, *Balassa Bálint Összes művei* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951-1955) I, 309-313.
67. Sir Philip Sidney, *The Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, Alexander B. Grosart, ed. 3 vols. Library of English Renaissance Literature. (1877; rpt. Freeport, N.Y., books for Libraries Press, 1970) 1, 44-45.
68. Languet was not the only correspondent to write Sidney about the Polish events. Jean Lobbet wrote six letters, Theophile de Banos three, Zacharias Ursinus one, and Andreas Paull also one. Languet wrote further also on March 17, 1578. Thus, Sidney's interest in Central Europe was well known. Of Sidney's editors, Grosart takes the phrase "Poles right king" to erroneously conclude that Báthory was Polish and thus the proper king of the country (p. 44, note). Ringler merely comments that Báthory was crowned king in 1576 after a contested election, thus inferring that coronation confers legitimacy. See William A. Ringler, ed., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963), 470-471.
69. A. C. Hamilton, *Sir Philip Sidney: a Study of His Life and Works* (Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 93-94.
70. Bradley, p. 201; Osborn, p. 506.
71. Grosart places the poem in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1613) as one of the songs in the Second Eclogues. Ringler gives it as No. 4 in *Other Poems*, pp. 242-256, and has simply the title "Lamon." The confusion goes back to the Countess of Pembroke who inserted it in the 1593 edition of the *Arcadia* at the end of the First Eclogue, immediately after *Old Arcadia*, 13.
72. Grosart, II, 140, ll. 345-351.
73. Gömöri, pp. 429-430.

74. István Gál, "Sir Philip Sidney's Guidebook to Hungary," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Debrecen) 4 (1969) 53–64 examines this work and its relevance to Sidney's interest in the military situation of Central Europe.
75. Gy. E. Szőnyi of the University of Szeged traced some of the parallels in a paper presented at the Indiana University New Perspectives on the Renaissance in Hungary Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, October 29, 1986. See his paper in this volume.

# JÁNOS ZSÁMBOKY (SAMBUCUS) AND HIS THEORY OF LANGUAGE

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Although János Zsámboky,<sup>1</sup> the famous 16th century Hungarian humanist published almost fifty books (works of classical authors in addition to his own), only a few of these were written in vulgar languages.<sup>2</sup> Zsámboky wrote his diary<sup>3</sup> in Latin and among his emblematic<sup>4</sup> and poetical<sup>5</sup> works one only finds texts in Latin or in Greek. Although he wrote a few letters in German, Hungarian, and Italian, these concern business, legal, and family matters, and were thus not written with any artistic intent.<sup>6</sup> This is a great pity in the case of a personality who played such a significant role in the history of European, as well as Hungarian humanism as did Zsámboky, especially considering that during the years of his peregrination he spent longer periods in two major European cultural centres where the question of national languages was the question of the day. Paris and Padua set excellent examples for 16th century Europe both in theory and in practice. Since Zsámboky was highly respected by humanists in Hungary, a detailed analysis of his theory of language is of special importance.

## Zsámboky's library

Based on the evidence of a list<sup>7</sup> that fortunately survives of the books comprising Zsámboky's library, it would seem that Zsámboky paid special attention to the debate about the national language. He procured the most important works written in vulgar languages. One tenth of the collection, which alto-

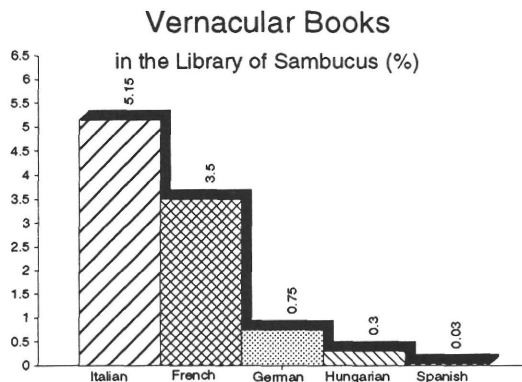


Figure 1

gether contains 3,327 volumes of manuscripts and printed material, consists of texts written in national languages. The majority of this ten percent is in Italian (5.15%) and in French (3.5%). Quite surprisingly, books written in German or in Hungarian<sup>8</sup> represent a relatively small proportion of his library (0.75% and 0.3%) (*Fig. 1*). Among the volumes in *Italian* we find works of such writers as Dante, Petrarca, Castiglione, Bembo, Aretino, the Spanish writer Guevara, Boccaccio and Ariosto; we also know about certain unidentified cantilenas in Italian. He also procured the works of the most renowned *French* writers. Among these we find the poetry of Theodor Bèze, Clement Marot, and Ronsard. In addition to the Italian he might have read a French translation of *Amadis de Gaula*, a romance-novel originally written in Spanish. Besides a Latin and a German version and the original, he also knew Boccaccio's *Decameron* in French. Of the volumes in German a work by Sebastian Brandt and a manual of court etiquette stand out. Among the *Hungarian* works we find Heltai's translation of the New Testament, Tinódi's *chronicle*, and a work about the siege of Szigetvár by Ferenc Tőke of Hahót.

In Zsámboky's library, which was rightly famous all over Europe, works in the field of language theory can also be found. He knew Bembo's *Prose*, in which the author discusses the equality of the tongue of Tuscany with the language of the Latins; he knew Sperone Speroni through his *Dialogue*, which refers to classical languages as mere ink and paper; he had a work by Joachim Perion discussing the relationship between French and Greek; he had another by Charles Bouelles lauding Latin at the expense of French; he knew Konrad Gessner's *Mithriades*, which mentions written Hungarian; and, although it is not one of the books on the list, he must have known Du Bellay's *Deffence*. In addition to these he had several volumes on rhetoric and grammar written in vulgar languages.

### Zsámboky and Paris

Zsámboky was quite young, only 11 years of age, when he began studying Greek under Georg Riethamer in Vienna (1542–1543).<sup>9</sup> Thereafter Zsámboky, who had started out as a Hellenist, sought, whenever possible, the instruction of the best Grecians. Such as Joachim Camerarius in Leipzig (1543–1545?), Melancton in Wittenberg (1545), Veit Amerbach in Ingolstadt (1549), and Johannes Sturm in Strassburg (1550). It was probably Sturm who recommended Zsámboky to be admitted to the Paris college

where the most renowned Hellenist of the age, Jean Dorat held his professorship (1551).<sup>10</sup> The name of the twenty year old youth probably did not sound entirely unfamiliar to Paris scholars, since by that time he had already published a few works of his own;<sup>11</sup> in addition, some of his former teachers, many of them quite famous, may also have acted as his patrons. These circumstances must have helped him considerably in making contact with the most significant Paris scholars. Inspired by Guillaume Budé,<sup>12</sup> Adrien Turnèbe<sup>13</sup> founded a society of highly trained Grecians in Paris; some of the original members were Pierre Danes,<sup>14</sup> Denys Lambin,<sup>15</sup> Robert Estienne<sup>16</sup> and his son Henry, Étienne Dolet,<sup>17</sup> Pierre de la Ramée,<sup>18</sup> and Dorat, who has already been mentioned. Each of these young scholars was in close contact with the most renowned Italian humanists of the age.<sup>19</sup>

### Zsámboky and Dorat

Of all the humanists mentioned above it was Dorat, also known by his humanist name as Auratus, whom Zsámboky first contacted.<sup>20</sup> Dorat taught Homer,<sup>21</sup> Callimachus,<sup>22</sup> "Orpheus",<sup>23</sup> Sophocles,<sup>24</sup> Euripides,<sup>25</sup> Pindar,<sup>26</sup> Hesiod, Anacreon, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Theocritus at the Collège de Coqueret. Of the Latins he interpreted Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid,<sup>27</sup> and two Neo-Latins: Marullus<sup>28</sup> and Macrinus<sup>29</sup> (Jean Salmon). Of the Greek poets he chose to set Pindar as the best model for his students; of the Latins, he chose Horace. Dorat, who educated the greatest poets and philologists of the age, and whose lectures were extremely popular, always explained the phenomena of Latin literature in terms of their relations to their Greek models.<sup>30</sup> Dorat, who was called the father of French comparative linguistics and criticism, held that Greek culture as a whole was superior to Latin.<sup>31</sup> His theory was adapted and further developed by his most renowned pupils (Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Baïf), who renounced the ideas of servile imitation and the primacy of Latin, and they began to emphasize the ideas of emulation (*æmulatio*) and the importance of the French language. This fulfilled Budé's prophecy, which implied that within the near future the French shall cease to imitate the classical authors, and they shall start competing with them as rivals, or "æmuli".<sup>32</sup>

Dorat was the first French humanist to receive a poem from Zsámboky. The poem *Friendship*, published in 1552, shows how well Zsámboky knew and how deeply he appreciated Dorat's Latin imitations of Horace.<sup>33</sup> Their

friendship, first documented by this poem, was probably born in 1551, on the occasion of Zsámboky's first visit to Paris. In September of the same year Zsámboky gave public lectures at an unidentified Paris college.<sup>34</sup> Since at the time Dorat was his only contact, there is a considerable chance that this college was Dorat's Collège de Coqueret.<sup>35</sup> Although Dorat left Coqueret in 1552 and joined the Collège Royale<sup>36</sup> as "lector de grec", there was no break in their friendship; in fact, in December 1560 Zsámboky found himself in the company of Dorat again.<sup>37</sup> In 1564 he honours his friend and professor with an emblem.<sup>38</sup> This is how Zsámboky remembers Dorat's poetry and poetical commentary when explaining Horace:

I have great hope in Dorat, who does not only compare the learning of the Greeks and that of the Latins, but also shows us whatever other purposes these Latin examples may be suited for.<sup>39</sup>

Zsámboky often emphasizes the importance of following the great examples of the Greek both in arts and in the sciences:

Noone should boast of his erudition who neglects the learning of the Greeks, for this is the origin of the wisdom without which noone can find the secret meaning of the antique authors.<sup>40</sup>

Dorat's influence seems to be detectable in his attitude towards Latinity. Zsámboky, just like Dorat, considers Greek culture more original and of greater value than the culture of the Latins.<sup>41</sup> This is why he considers them most worthy of imitation: "... we must take our best models from the Greek".<sup>42</sup> He also considers their dramatic literature superior.<sup>43</sup> He places Aristophanes, Pindar, Homer, Æschylus and Sophocles — each of them analyzed in depth by Dorat in his lectures — on a much higher pedestal than any of the Latin authors.<sup>44</sup> Although Zsámboky propagates the superiority of Greek literature and although he valiantly defends the language of the Greek against its adversaries,<sup>45</sup> still, in the matter of language he considers Latin superior to Greek. His personal conviction that — in his own words — "... the Latin language is richer than the language of the Greek"<sup>46</sup> was not his only reason. His insistence on Latin, the language that is so "flowing and as pure as a virgin",<sup>47</sup> has much more deeply-rooted reasons.



### Nature (*natura*) and art (*art, artificium*)

It is in Zsámboky's statements concerning the relationship of these two, art and nature, that we must look for the basis of his theory of language. Collecting his statements related to the topic may serve to give us a fairly clear idea of his views. This is what he writes in his *De imitatione ciceroniana*:<sup>48</sup>

Nature is the mother of all, she creates and perfects all things, which in turn share in her in equal proportions and with proper variety; so fertile she is, that in the meantime she appears to struggle with herself, and while she seems to procreate and polish certain things with great studiousness and accuracy, others, as if fatigued and in oblivion of herself, she seems to attend but negligently, as though she was both in deficiency and in superabundance. This can be observed in other things as well, not only in things that are born and pushed forth from the depth of the earth or in animals that are deprived of reason, but also in the most coveted glory of eloquence, in which she is as manifold as there are things in which she, according to her very nature, can disseminate herself. Thus in this greatest gift of hers, with which she distinguishes us from other living creatures, she can appear in as many forms as there are persons and personalities. This variety or gradualness, although it is not without defect and although it causes no small hardship, can still greatly invite us to study and to achieve the award by enticing us with eternal fame and with the remembrance of our posterity. If the virtue of eloquence, as every other thing, were equally perfect in each and every one of us, there would be no variety or gradualness for us to seek and strive for, and in such a state of nature this uniformity or equality would bring forth much discomfort.

When interpreting this quotation, we must be quite cautious not to jump to the conclusion that, for reasons recalling Lucretius (*De rerum natura* II. 1150–53. and V. 826–27), Zsámboky considered nature mostly infertile. Had he held this opinion, we would have to think of him as a radical Aristotelian not unlike Christophorus Preyss Pannonius,<sup>49</sup> a pupil of Melanchton, who prophesied the infertility of Nature, and whom Zsámboky knew well. Speaking of Nature's capricious ways of creation, Zsámboky never claims that she is exhausted or infertile. On the contrary, Zsámboky believes, nature is not at all infertile; in fact, at times she creates imperfect things precisely because she is too fertile, is involved in the creation of too many things at the same time, and does not have enough time to bring everything to complete perfection. His friend Lambin is of a similar opinion

when he writes in his famous commentaries to Lucretius that "... certainly, our Earth does seem exhausted; yet it is far from being infertile".<sup>50</sup>

All this we have considered important to mention because, as we shall see, it is exactly due to nature's sometimes erroneous, sometimes defective ways of creation that Zsámboky considered it of utmost importance that man (i.e. the artist) intervenes in the process of creation.

In the core of Aristotle's teaching about φύσις — ζων λόγον ἐκόν — lies the question whether language was given to man by god, that is, to what extent it is part of φύσις, and to what extent it is to be treated as θεσις,<sup>51</sup> a creation of human intelligence. Zsámboky adopts a generally accepted idea that has been around ever since Dante<sup>52</sup> and which implies that language is a divine gift and was granted to man along with his soul; on the other hand, he goes one step further and claims that, although the faculty of speech, just like the mind and the soul, are gifts from god (φύσις), we must treat it as a device (θεσις) and we must develop it to a higher level:

Justinian says somewhere in *Kingdoms* that [...] it is the miracle and the power of that divine and heavenly gift, that most important, one and main thing [i.e. the idea of perfect eloquence], that commands our quills and lives, not to attain and abuse it, but to admire and use it as the most perfect and complete form of eloquence which we have been granted in order to accomplish our work. This is the teaching of Plato and Aristotle ...<sup>53</sup>

His emblem dedicated to Dorat also bears witness to his intention to reconcile Plato and Aristotle.

Whatever there may be within us, it is from the high heavens; it was granted to us to help us and we must receive it with a kind heart! (...) It is good to know what the truth is; it is good to know who had created all from nothing in order to grant man a face and a mind so that he can observe the stars of the sky.<sup>54</sup>

Here the concepts of *face* and *mind* are congenital with that of language and are just as teleological in their nature as was eloquence in the previous quotation. Degenerate and untamed as they are, cast among Nature's other underdeveloped, malformed, unshapely or confused creations, languages await their measure and their regulator. Nature, which exists in its original chaos, in the confusion of languages, must be formed and shaped by the help of elevated style (θεσις). This is the task of the creative artist, the poet-craftsman; so polishing Nature is art itself. This thought of Sperone

Speroni,<sup>55</sup> an Aristotelian disciple of Pomponazzi, is adopted by both Du Bellay, and Zsámboky. According to Du Bellay languages, even though they have been created by nature, are unable to develop on their own, without the help of man who treats them with the craftsmanship of the artist.<sup>56</sup> Zsámboky believes that "in the chaos of (vulgar) languages"<sup>57</sup> "nature, rough and unhewn as she often is, must be refined and polished"<sup>58</sup> by practice and elevated style. As he writes in his interpretation of Horace's *Ars poetica*, "... beauty takes its origin from great things combined in order; the mere excellence of things is just as useless as is abundance in confusion or formless and disorderly chaos".<sup>59</sup> In another emblem of his, it is again *θεσις* — practice (exercitatio) and diligence (labor) — Zsámboky emphasizes: "There is no such grand or grave fault in nature that diligence and effort could not polish."<sup>60</sup>

The *pictura* of his emblem (Fig. 2) dedicated to Lambin<sup>61</sup>, however, is just as eloquent. Here the allegorical figure of poetry is shown with Apollo's solar symbol, the wreath of bay leaves on her head;<sup>62</sup> the divine inspiration, *enthesma divinum* radiates upon her from above. In her left she holds a measuring rod and a pair of scissors, which are the attributes of the artist who forms nature with the help of the divine measure;<sup>63</sup> on her right we see the perfect forms of the natural world, demonstrating how "nature is distinguished by the forms".<sup>64</sup> (The palette and the brushes are references to Horace's *ut picta poesis*.) On her left we see *ΧΑΟΣ* itself, all the things that await the poet, whose mission is to continue god's great work and to elevate things from their formless state by forming them with the help of measures, rules, and normative models, that is, by making them articulate.

Zsámboky, as we can see, adopts, on the one hand, the Neoplatonic idea of the divine inspiration of the creative artist; on the other hand, however, he combines it with the Aristotelian notion that no important and



Figure 2

Sambucus, *Emblemata*, 50.

valued work of art can be created without practice and hard work. The following excerpt serves to illustrate this well:

... not even the smallest fragment of that little sparkle (i.e. the divine emanation) which is still present in our souls should ever be neglected; rather, we have to rekindle it with diligence and striving.<sup>65</sup>

### Latin as pillar, measuring rod and scissors

To survey, to make rules, to create order — these are the aspirations of the *poeta doctus*; none of these, however, can be achieved without normative models or examples (*exempli*). These examples or models — or, applying Zsámboky's symbols, the measuring rod and the scissors — can only play their roles efficiently, if they meet the requirements of constancy and permanence.<sup>66</sup> In this respect Zsámboky follows a generally accepted idea that has been around ever since Dante<sup>67</sup> and which implies that while the vulgar is "impermanent and subject to mutability", Latin is "permanent and resists mutability". He also acknowledges that it is only in comparison with the vulgar that Latin seems to be, to some degree, permanent; therefore, when dealing with the question, he must inevitably come to terms with the concept of language as it exists in history. Zsámboky tries to give an answer in terms of *res* (the human and the material world) and *verba* (the linguistic means used to refer to them).<sup>68</sup> He adopts the generally accepted idea that language has a dual function as it reflects reality. It is simultaneously used to reflect and to describe, on the one hand, the outer — or material — world, and, on the other hand, the inner — or spiritual — world. Somewhere he writes that "... in a manner of speaking, verbs are the shadows and reflections of things".<sup>69</sup> Somewhere else he writes that "... verbs are, in a way, the forms and reflections of things"<sup>70</sup> and signs "... are the servants and the revealers of things and sensations".<sup>71</sup> "As eyes are given to express the intellect, so is speech given to express the sensations of the mind."<sup>72</sup> Zsámboky is well aware that reality (*res*) is subject to constant change;<sup>73</sup> it is therefore necessary that language (*verba*) follow its changes:

As there is certainly nothing eternal in things themselves, nothing that could escape destruction, so is there nothing constant in the use of words; also, as the ways of people are changing, so is their speech; it is therefore the practice of all these things together that justice and good judgement lie in.<sup>74</sup>

Zsámboky's thought indubitably owes a lot to Horace, an author to whom he wrote extended commentaries: "Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos; / prima cadunt, ita verborum interit ætas" etc. (Horace, *De arte poetica*, ll. 60–72).<sup>75</sup> The above quotation was a comment on line 72. Zsámboky also mentions very similar ideas when referring to Servius, a commentator on Vergil from late antiquity; ideas that, in fact, were quite common in Varro, Cicero and other grammarians:

... why do you attribute special importance to signs that are the servants and relievers of sensations and things and are devised according to the judgement of the multitude and according to certain norms of speaking? For many things are received and brought into custom today that shall be refused by our posterity and had never been heard of old. Wars as well as the wanderings of peoples alter and change much ...<sup>76</sup>

Based on all these arguments Zsámboky finally comes to the conclusion that speech is both "mutable and eternal".<sup>77</sup> He believes that mutability is more characteristic of vulgar languages than Latin, which in turn he considers more eternal than changing. This "eternalness" is obviously related to the fact that Latin is a "dead" language. Zsámboky claims that the "eternalness" of Latin is embodied in Latin grammar, an idea that is in fact the very foundation of Latin humanism. His emblem dedicated to Carlo Sigonio<sup>78</sup> shall serve to illustrate this point. In the picture (*Fig. 3*) we see four female figures symbolizing Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, and Historiography. Dialectics, Rhetoric, and Historiography stand on a pillar heavily set on the trembling shoulders of "Virgin Grammar". Zsámboky, not unlike many other humanists, regards Latin as the very foundation of humanism; in fact, he identifies Latin grammar, perceived as the Latin language proper, with humanism itself.



Figure 3

Sambucus, *Emblemata*, 142.

Based on this correlation between *grammatica* and *humanitas*<sup>79</sup> he declares Latin indispensable:

... you cannot make much use of them [i.e. these latter three] without Grammar, [for she is the foundation of any work of permanent value]. He who is not well versed in Grammar shall not accomplish anything of everlasting value.<sup>80</sup>

Although he considers Greek as well, his final decision is against Greek in favour of Latin, for, he believes, Greek eloquence was made even "better and more fertile"<sup>81</sup> by the Latins. By "fertility" Zsámboky means the richness of means of expression (*copia verborum*), to which he attributes special importance; he is well aware that the unknown depths of the human soul, or the mysteries of our material reality for that matter, can only be expressed successfully by a language that is rich, flexible, and has the ability to express fine shades and nuances:

If words are the signs of things, it is necessary that the knowledge of things be adjoined by the explanation of words: and the more polished and elegant this latter is, the more pleasing as well as the more comprehensible it is for the intellect.<sup>82</sup>

Considering the above arguments Zsámboky, as becomes a true humanist, comes to the conclusion that the most important cultural task of humanism lies in the knowledge and cultivation of languages. Taking a step further he even derives the great scientific problems of the age from the ignorance of language and from the inappropriate use of words:

... if our mind or intellect falters in anything, it happens not so much because of the obscurity of things as because of our ignorance of language and our abandonment of eloquence.<sup>83</sup>

As we know, this very idea was to appear again back in the philosophy of Bacon. In Bacon the misty image or *idolum* of the "market" refers to errors of judgement that arise from the inadequate use of words. In this situation Zsámboky regards Latin as the only possible means of solution; Latin is the most adequate means by which reality can be most accurately expressed; besides, Zsámboky considers Latin the only language capable of refining and polishing other languages.<sup>84</sup> Since, according to Quintilian<sup>85</sup> and most of the humanist writers it was Cicero of all the Latin authors who succeeded in uniting the virtue of all the Greek authors in his art, Zsámboky

also regards Cicero as the best writer of prose, in fact, the embodiment of *Latinitas*,<sup>86</sup> the only idea and ideal of style, purity and richness in language:

... *Cicero* is the one and only prince of the Latin language, or, if you like, *the one greatest and most perfect orator of all languages*.<sup>87</sup>

This concept was the very foundation of Cicero's European reverence in the 16th century as an indispensable model of imitation both in Neo-Latin prose and in emerging national literatures of vernacular languages,<sup>88</sup> and most humanists never transcended it during the 16th century. They continued to regard the authority of Latin unquestionable and supported its primacy over vulgar languages. In practice they continued to insist on imitating Latin. Zsámboky was one of these humanists. However, referring to the distant future in one of his dialogues, he put the following words into the mouth of one of his disciples, György Bóna:

I, too, believe that once our mother tongue is adequately refined, we shall not need the patronage of Latinity. [...] We must therefore defend our vernacular language<sup>89</sup> so that we do not have to endure that old servitude [ie. the servitude of imitation] and, neglecting our own language, commit ourselves to a foreign tongue.<sup>90</sup>

His emblem dedicated to Lambin (*Fig. 7*) also shows that Zsámboky regarded the national language as a child still in need of discipline and education.<sup>91</sup> This is why he believes that the exaggerated claims of those in favour of vulgar languages are not without danger:

Some, either because of their selfish arrogance or their lack of talent, so much wish to cherish their congenital languages, that they are ready to murder the very mother of most of those tongues. Moreover, they want to see her deprived of her dignity and of all the riches she has preserved through many centuries, so that no ignorant soul can see the footprints of science and the very marks of their robbery. It is therefore necessary for us *to defend her*.<sup>92</sup>

Zsámboky, although acknowledging the Latin origin of what today are referred to as Neo-Latin languages, still considers the defence of Latin appropriate. He points out that although the knowledge of the authors who write in their national languages comes from Latin (thus what they do is imitate Latin), the multitude who are neither acquainted with Latin literature nor educated in philology regard all the treasures of Latin as solely the virtue of the vulgar and tend to neglect Latin as an incomprehensible and

scholarly language. It would be wrong to think that Zsámboky was the only scholar who held this opinion. In his public lectures given in Bologna in 1529, Romolo Amaseo, who had extensive connections in Hungary<sup>93</sup> and whom Zsámboky knew in person,<sup>94</sup> already urged an insistence on the use and study of Latin in literature and refused all exaggerated claims for vernacular languages.<sup>95</sup> Amaseo defended Latin as a sophisticated and erudite international language and emphasized that those who argue for the exclusive use of national languages should not be allowed to rob Latin of the spiritual traditions incorporated in its richness.<sup>96</sup> The vulgar was also refused by, among many others, Francesco Bellafini<sup>97</sup> and Francesco Florino Sabino,<sup>98</sup> and a few decades later by Bartolomeo Ricci,<sup>99</sup> and Carlo Sigonio,<sup>100</sup> who had excellent relations with Zsámboky. French humanists, however, were much less inclined to push the discrimination between the classical Latin and the vulgar French to the extremes, which may be partly explained here without going into too much detail by mentioning that the French, unlike the Italian, never invested Latin with a national character.

### Notes

1. His name has been misspelt as Sámbokei, Sámbokei, or Zsámbokei. He signed most of his letters written in German and Hungarian as *Samboky*, and the letter *s*, even long after Zsámboky's times, represented the sound *zh* (as in French 'je') written as *zs* in modern Hungarian (see 16th century 'sidó', 'soltár' for modern 'zsidó', 'zsoltár' etc.); therefore the most adequate orthography seems to be *Zsámboky*.
2. László Varga, "Sámbokei (Sambucus) János filológiai munkássága" [The philological works of János Zsámboky]. *ActClassUnivDebr* 1 (1965): 77–103.
3. H. Gerstinger, *Aus dem Tagebuch des kaiserlichen Hofhistoriographen Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584)* (Wien–Graz–Köln, 1965); reprint with a study by A. Buck (Budapest, 1982).
4. *Emblemata* (Antwerpen: Plantin, 1564).
5. László Varga, *Sámbokei (Sambucus) János filológiai és költői munkássága* [The philological and poetical works of János Zsámboky] (Manuscript, Debrecen, 1963), 142–222.
6. Gerstinger, *ibid.*
7. Pál Gulyás, *Sámbokei János könyvtára* [The library of János Zsámboky]. Budapest, 1941.
8. Béla Holl, "Sámbokei János könyvtárának magyar könyveiről" [On the Hungarian books in Zsámboky's library]. *MKsz* 80 (1964): 344–348. Gulyás has suggested that Zsámboky's books might have been arranged in groups according to their subjects, which was customary at the time. We may add that the vulgar language material was also mostly arranged in separate groups, which shows that Zsámboky did sort his books according



to languages. This is supported by the evidence of such fairly concentrated blocks of catalogue items as the sequence 2486 to 2532 in the Italian section. The original arrangement, which was based on *subject, format, and language*, was probably broken when the library was transported and the books were taken into inventory. Gulyás suggests that most of Zsámboky's books and manuscripts were discarded or even stolen. Thus Blotius's list does not give an entirely accurate account of the books written in national languages either. Cf. Gulyás, 30.

9. On the chronology of the years of his peregrination see, A. Vantuch, *Život a dielo renesančného učenca* (Bratislava, 1975), 108–210.
10. Before arriving in Strassburg (1537), Johannes Sturm (1507–1589) taught in Paris.
11. By 1551 he had published the following works: *Tabellæ dialecticæ in usum Hefflmari* (Viennæ, 1547); *Homeri opera correxit, novis indicibus expedit* (Argentorati, 1550); *Luciani opera scholis (!) artificii notatione illustravit* (Argentorati, 1550) [RMK III. 391]. Cf. G. Borsa and J. Walsh, "Eine gedruckte Selbstbibliographie von Johannes Sambucus". *MKsz* 81 (1965): 128–133.
12. Zsámboky had altogether three copies of two different editions of Budé's famous work *Commentarii linguæ græcæ*. He also mentions Budé's *De asse* in his commentaries to Horace. Cf. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 163.
13. As director of the Greek section of the royal press, Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565) published works by Cicero, Philo, Plutarch, Aiskulos, and Sophokles. I. Silver, *The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard. I. The Formative Influences* (St. Luis, 1969), 51. — Turnèbe was a good friend of Du Bellay and Ronsard. Their friendship was not in the least disturbed by the fact that Turnèbe was one of the Latinists. In one of his letters he argues that the French language is not refined enough to receive nobler works. Cf. Béla Zolnai, "Nyelvek harca" [The war of languages]. *MNy* 22 (1926): 101. — Turnèbe was also a close friend of Zsámboky. In 1559 he writes an elegy on occasion of the death of György Bóna, a disciple of Zsámboky. The poem *De immaturo Bonæ obitu* — along with obituary elegies of P. Manunzio, P. Vettori, Fr. Robotello, and others — was published twice: *Epistolæ aliquot, et epigrammata funebris doctissimorum ætatis virorum, de obitu Georgii Bonæ* (Patavii, 1560) [RMK III. 477], and as an appendix to *De imitatione* [RMK III. 488]. This collection of poems afforded an opportunity for the poets to lament, besides the death of Bónay, the suffering of Christian Hungary under Turkish occupation. — See E. Bach, *Un humaniste hongrois en France. Jean Sambucus et ses relations littéraires. 1551–1584* (Szeged, 1932), 24–26. — Zsámboky had in his library several commentaries on and editions of classical authors by Turnèbe, as well as many of his own works and a collection of epitaphs written with Dorat. Cf. Gulyás, *op. cit.* "It is a credit to Turnèbe that Paris became the world centre of classical languages and literatures in the 16th century", writes C. Schmitt in his "Platon dans les universités du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Platon et Aristoteles XVI<sup>e</sup> Colloque internationale de Tours* (Paris, 1976), 96–97. Another Hungarian pupil of Turnèbe was András Dudith. Cf. János Faludy, *Dudith és a francia humanisták* [Dudith and the French Humanists] (Minerva, 1928), 80.
14. Pierre Danes (1497–1577) was a disciple of Lanus Lascaris and Budé. After 1530 he is the leading professor of Greek studies at the Collège Royal, mainly teaching Aristotle.

15. Denys Lambin (1519–1571), publisher and commentator of Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, and Lucretius. The most famous of his works is his commentary on Lucretius; it was published three times during the 16th century (Paris, 1563, 1565, 1570) and is still indispensable. He dedicated individual chapters of his book to Ronsard, Muret, Turnèbe, and Dorat. — Ch. Marty-Laveaux, *Oeuvres poetiques de Jean Dorat* (reprint Genève, 1966), xxiv–xxv. Lambin had excellent relations with Zsámboky, who honoured him with an emblem in 1564. Lambin also knew a friend of Zsámboky, Nicasius Ellebodus, who was also interested in Greek studies. — D. Wagner, *Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodus und zu sein "Notæ" zu den aristotelischen Magna Moralia* (Heidelberg, 1963), 14.
16. Robert and Henri Éstienne, father and son, the two most famous French printer-philologists. Henri dedicated his *Pseudo-Cicero* (published in 1567) to Zsámboky, a noted expert on Cicero. The book was about the philological problems raised by literary forgeries.
17. Étienne Dolet (1509–1546), ardent Ciceronian, one of the great opponents of Erasmus. He translated Plato into French. Zsámboky used his dialogue *De imitatione Ciceroniana* (Lugduni, 1535, ed. É. V. Telle, Genève, 1974) extensively as one of his sources.
18. Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572) was primarily noted for his new logic. However, he also played an important role in the campaign for the correct use of French and for its independence from Latin. In the foreword to his grammar written in French (Parisiis, 1562, 1572; reprint Genève, 1974) he argues that French is a pleasant and soft sounding language that has the same effect on foreigners as Greek and Latin on the French.
19. While staying in Rome, Du Bellay met Pinelli, a man of broad international connections and a collector of a famous library. This latter later worked closely together with Ellebodus, who was originally from the Netherlands but lived and worked mostly in Pozsony. Cf. G. Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden, 1960), 19.
20. Jean Dorat (1508–1588), Neo-Latin poet. As a professor of Greek, he taught De Baïf, Ronsard, and Du Bellay at the Collège de Coqueret. Ronsard started his Greek studies under him in 1544 and, along with Turnèbe, he lauds his professor as "lumières de nostre âge". — Silver, *op. cit.*, 57, 51. — Other students of his also remember him with enthusiasm. Lucas Fruytier claims that having Dorat, the French do not have to envy the Robortellos and Sigonios of Italy any more. — H. Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* (Paris, 1961), 102. — Marc-Antoin Muret believes that Ronsard owes a lot to Dorat for becoming the first poet to attract the attention not only of bored ladies but also of men of erudition — that is, philologists — with his poetry written in the national language. Silver, *op. cit.*, 70–71. — Papire Masson claims that Dorat's fame is due to his excellent knowledge of Greek and poetics, and that it was to him and his seminars on Homer and other Greek poets that Ronsard owes his own knowledge of poetics and philology. He also mentions that his school was attended by all of France and "the best of the surrounding nations". Silver, *op. cit.*, 36. — A Hungarian student of Dorat was Márton Berzeviczy, who received a poem from Dorat in 1565. Cf. M. Berzeviczy, *Oratio Funebris* (Parisiis, 1565) [RMK III. 540] — He probably also taught Lénárt Uncius from Transylvania and János Braun from Hungary (Sándor Baumgartner, "Adalékok a magyar humanisták francia kapcsolataihoz" [Further data concerning the

French relations of Hungarian humanists]. *EPhK* 67 (1943), 80. Another Hungarian, András Dudith, might have also been one of Dorat's students; Dudith received a poem from G. E. Imbert, a disciple of Dorat. Faludi, *op. cit.*, 64. — Before transferring to the Collège de Coqueret to attend Turnèbe's lectures, Dudith might have been a student of Dorat's. Dorat himself did not write love poems, he was known as an occasional poet. Nevertheless he was a master of sonnet writing; his disciples were also quite successful in this genre. — H.-W. Wittschier, *Die Lyrik der Pléiade* (Frankfurt/Main, 1971), 14–15. — He based his philological and pedagogical activities on Greek language and literature, which he taught comparatively with Latin. H.-W. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 12.

21. Silver, *op. cit.*, 36.
22. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 79.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Chamard, *op. cit.*, 108.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Silver, *op. cit.*, 255.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Besides Marullus, Dorat might have also mentioned the poems of Joannes Secundus, another fashionable poet of the day. Both poets seem to have a great influence on the poetry of Baïf and Jodelle, both of whom were disciples of Dorat. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 79, 119, 160.
29. He had one of Salmon's works in his library.
30. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 12.
31. Chamard, *op. cit.*, 103.
32. A. Buck, *Die humanistische tradition in der Romania* (Berlin–Zürich, 1968), 48.
33. J. Zsámboky, *Δημηγορία* (Basileæ, 1552) [RMK III, 402, 121]. Marty-Laveaux quotes Robert Breton's words of appreciation spoken of Dorat in 1540 and adds: "Robert Breton is either biased, or he saw a manuscript of Dorat that has since been lost." — Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, xi. This modern critic of Dorat seems to forget that humanists did not try to write according to our modern taste; Ronsard, Zsámboky and many others judged and appreciated Dorat's imitations of Horace's poetry in terms of their own peculiar aesthetic principles. A new edition of Dorat's odes: *Les odes latines*. Ed. G. Demerson (Clermont-Ferrand, 1979).
34. J. Zsámboky, "Oratio quod oratores ante poetas a pueris cognoscendi sint". In *Δημηγορία*.
35. Unfortunately, Zsámboky does not give the name of the college; he refers to it as *societas scholastica*, *puerorum sanctissima communio* and *coetus clarissimus*. *Ibid.*, 86.
36. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 14–15.
37. Gerstinger, 51.
38. *Emblemata*, 87–88.
39. "De Aurato magna spes est, qui Græcorum facultatem non modo cum Latinis confert, sed quid e latinorum exemplis adhuc fieri amplius possit, notare solet." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 147.
40. J. Zsámboky, *Poemata quædam* (Patavii, 1555) [RMK III, 430, 11]. In the foreword to his edition of Lucianus, which was written in verse by Sebastian Heyden, signs of a comparative approach can already be detected: "He who fails to connect his Greek

examples with examples from the Latin, does not really deserve to be called a scholar." J. Zsámboky, *Luciani Samosatensis Dialogi* (Argentorati, 1550) [RMK III, 391].

41. The primacy of Greek models and the method of comparison are both profoundly characteristic of Dorat's pedagogy.
42. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 34.
43. *Ibid.*, 38.
44. *Ibid.*, 146.
45. *Ibid.*, 86.
46. *De imitatione*, 31<sup>a</sup>
47. *Ibid.*, 8<sup>a</sup>
48. "Natura omnium parens, quæ cuncta molitur, ac perficit, omnibus rebus congruenti, ac idonea varietate tribute, ita lætatur, ut interim ipsa secum certare, et perinde quasi maioro studio, et accuratione quadam procreare, expolire, alia velut effoeta, et sui oblita, negligentius procurare, deficere et superflua esse, videri possit. Patet hoc quum in aliis rebus, quæ terra nascuntur et abdita eruuntur, adeoque animalibus a ratione destitutis: tum in ista laude expetitæ ita ipsa est multa, ita varie discedens per ingenia sese disseminat: ut quo vel præcipuo munere cæteris nos vivis disiunxit, in eo differentiæ, quot capita, et sensus videntur, totide appareant. Quæ varietas sive gradus etsi defectum, ac molestiam quandam præfert: ad studium tamen, et præmia æternitate memoriæ, ac posteritatis iudicio excitata, non parum nos etiam invitant. Etenim si omnia æque in singulis perfecta essent ac summa dicendi ornamenta, vel aliarum rerum: nullus gradus reliqueretur nostris studiis, et laboribus: nun pauca, in hac naturæ conditione, æqualitas ea incommoda apportaret." *De imitatione*, 4<sup>b</sup>.
49. Cf. Judit Vásárhelyi, "Két XVI. századi magyar ciceróniánus" [Two 16th century Hungarian ciceronians]. *ItK* (1978): 279.
50. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (ed. D. Lambin, Parsiis, 1563), 188.
51. Apel, 108.
52. Dante A., *De vulgari eloquentia*. In Dante A., *Opera Omnia* (Leipzig, 1921), 2: 389.
53. *De imitatione*, 16<sup>a</sup>.
54. *Emblemata*, 87–88.
55. Sp. Speroni, *Dialogo delle lingue*. In Sp. Speroni, *Dialogi* (Vinegia, 1542), 117.
56. J. Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la langue Francoyse* (ed. H. Chamard, Paris, 1966), 26.
57. "... in hac obscuritate linguarum..." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 106.
58. *De imitatione*, 49<sup>b</sup>.
59. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 100.
60. This emblem has quite an eloquent title: "Efforts correct the faults of nature" (*Emblemata* 52). He compares Jaques Grévin's French translation of his emblem with Boileau's *Art poétique* and comes to the conclusion that although no direct relationship between the two can be detected, they share the same poetical heritage inasmuch as both of them follow the teaching of the Pléiade (Bach, *op. cit.*, 39–40). About the Pléiade's concept of nature see G. Castor, *Pléiade Poetics* (Cambridge, 1964), 37–62.
61. *Emblemata* 50.
62. Cf. R. J. Clements, "Renaissance Emblem Literature." *PMLA* 70 (1955): 789–790.

63. These are in fact the symbols of Grammar; Turóczi-Trostler notes about her as follows: "She is a Queen resting under the tree of knowledge, with a crown on her head, with a whip in her left to discipline, and with a knife in her right to cut out all grammatical mistakes from the language..." József Turóczi-Trostler, "A magyar nyelv felfedezése" [The discovery of the Hungarian language]. In J. Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar irodalom — Világirodalom* [Hungarian literature—World literature] (Budapest, 1961), 20.
64. "... natura formis distincta est..." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 28.
65. J. Zsámboky, *De imitatione ciceroniana* (Antverpiæ, 1563) [RMK III. 503. A 7<sup>a</sup>]. Henceforward abbreviated as *De imitatione*<sup>2</sup>.
66. About the role of Latin grammar as a regulator see János Balázs, "A nemzeti nyelvek nyelvtanirodalmának kialakulása" [The development of the literature of grammar in national languages]. *MTud.* 7/12 (1956): 313–322.
67. Dante A., *Il Convivio*. In Dante A., *Opera Omnia* (Leipzig, 1921), 1:80.
68. For a discussion of the philosophical aspect of these two concepts, which, in fact, are the foundation of linguistic humanism, see M. Wesseler, *Die Einheit von Wort und Sache. Der Entwurf einer rhetorischen Philosophie bei Marius Nizolius*. München, 1974.
69. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 100.
70. *Ibid.*, 104.
71. *Ibid.*, 28.
72. *De imitatione*, 20<sup>b</sup>
73. *Ibid.*, 9<sup>b</sup>, etc.
74. "Certe ut in rebus ipsis nihil est perpetuum, nihil quod interitum fugiat: ita in vocibus nullus usus est constans, atque ut mores hominum, ita sermo variatur: horum omnium penes usus ius, et arbitrium est." *Ars poetica Horatii*, III.
75. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry. The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge, 1971), 57.
76. "... cur potius notis conditionem tribueris, quæ ministræ, ac indices sensuum, ac rerum ad arbitrium vulgi, ususque certa norma loquendi sunt comparatæ? Plurima enim sunt hodie recepta, et in consuetudinem adducta, quæ posteritas respuet, nec olim exaudita fuere: bella quoque, gentium migrationes multa corrigunt, immutant..." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 27–28.
77. "... sermo, qui mutuus, et perpetuus est..." *De imitatione*, 9<sup>b</sup>.
78. *Emblemata* 142–143.
79. Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 2., 15., 33. Valla and Poliziano base their synthetic theory about the role of grammar and philology on this locus. Apel, 147.
80. *Emblemata* 143. — The source of this old commonplace is Isidorus, *Etym.* 1.5.1. — Further, see: Tamás Adamik, "Grammatika, retorika, logika Joannes Saresberiensisnél" [Grammar, rhetoric, and logic in Joannes Saresberiensis]. *A Tan* 29 (1982): 39–50.
81. *De imitatione*, 81<sup>b</sup>.
82. "Si vocabula rerum sunt notæ, ad cognitionem rerum explicatio verborum adiungenda est: quæ quo politior, et elegantiores, hoc magis grata, et ad intelligendum accommodatior esse debet." *Ibid.*, 19<sup>b</sup>.
83. "... si in aliquo mens, et intelligentia nostra hæret, non tam rerum obscuritate, quam ignorance linguarum, et elegantia posthabita, contingit." *Ibid.*, 8<sup>b</sup>.
84. *Ibid.*

85. Quintilianus, *op. cit.*, 10.1.108, *De imitatione*<sup>2</sup>, B 1<sup>b</sup>, a favourite, much quoted locus of Ciceronians.
86. Cf. Chapter II., notes 72, 73 and 74.
87. "... docuero unum et solum Ciceronem Latinæ linguæ principem, vel potius æque omnium linguarum summum et cumulatissimum esse oratorem..." *De imitatione*, 17<sup>b</sup>.
88. Some efforts to imitate Cicero in national languages were already made as early as the 16th century. A document of this (still in manuscript and, as far as we know, not yet studied) is a work written in Italian by Georgius Vallagusa entitled *Elegantia Ciceronianæ materna lingua in quotidianum usum expositæ ad Jo. Ant. Girardis* (Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, Cod. 262 [4719]). — By the 16th century we find several opinions about the topic, most of which are similar to that of Zsámboky and his Spanish contemporary A. Matamoros: "Cicero is the greatest example for all orators, for anyone can imitate him in any language. I say this about our vulgar languages, the languages in public use, and I suggest that we refine them by the art of Cicero." E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1909), 732.
89. The motif of "defence" from Du Bellay's *La Deffence*.
90. *De imitatione*, 8<sup>a</sup>.
91. In our picture the child has the legs of a goat. This circumstance supports the interpretation that the child (that is, the vulgar language in its rude and unhewn state) belongs to the sphere of chaos.
92. *De imitatione*..., *ibid.*
93. Cf. Mária Révész, *Romulus Amasæus. Egy bolognai humanista magyar összeköttetései a XVI. század elején* [Romulus Amasæus. The Hungarian connections of a Bologna humanist at the beginning of the 16th century] (Szeged, 1933).
94. Zsámboky considers Amaseo one of the great defenders of Latin. Cf. *De imitatione*, 18<sup>a</sup>.
95. P.-O. Kristeller, "Ursprung und Entwicklung der italienischen Prosasprache." In P.-O. Kristeller, *Humanismus und Renaissance* II (München, 1976), 146.
96. About his rhetorics see P. Rajna, "La data di una lettera di Claudio Tolomei ad Agnolo Firenzuola." *La Rassegna* (1916) Ser. III. fasc. I. 7.
97. V. Cian, "Contro il volgare". In *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna* (Milano, 1911), 252–297.
98. R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo* (Torino, 1885), 127–136.
99. B. Ricci's work about the supremacy of Latin was one of the books in Zsámboky's library: (25) *Bartholomæi Riccii de imitatione libri 3* (Parisiis, 1557), 35<sup>a</sup>–37<sup>b</sup>.
100. Zsámboky quotes these lines almost literally from Sigonio's speech given in Venice in 1556: "There are a few in our literary circles [...] who, either because they trust their own talent or because they fear the hard work that lies ahead of them, have started to cherish these — so to say — vulgar languages to such an extent that in the meantime they completely repudiate Latin. I believe they are governed by a false and dangerous view." C. Sigonio, "De latinæ linguæ usu retinendo" (Venetiis, 1556). In C. Sigonio, *Orationes septem* (Coloniæ, 1592), 51–52.

# COURTLY LITERATURE IN RENAISSANCE HUNGARY AND ENGLAND: BÁLINT BALASSI AND PHILIP SIDNEY

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While numerous studies have been devoted to English—Hungarian cultural contacts of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as travellers and peregrinants, Hungarian Renaissance literature, produced for aesthetic purposes, remains a *terra incognita* on the map of English or American scholars. Until recently, one of the major obstacles was the lack of translations from early Hungarian literary works; this has now partly been resolved by recent publications which contain the most important lyrical output of old Hungarian literature as well as some important excerpts of the prosaic oeuvres.<sup>1</sup> My paper tries to highlight one segment of our Renaissance culture which offers good points of comparison for the students of the Elizabethan period.

The aesthetically minded Hungarian, who wants to introduce the foreigner to the Renaissance literature of his country, would, naturally, wish to start with **Bálint Balassi**, the greatest Hungarian poet of the 16th century. Balassi also fully matched the contemporary European standards of literature, while developing some specifically Hungarian and 'Balassian' poetical features. But how to transmit his poetry to foreigners which is engaged in the amber stone of a strange, hardly accessible language and was fostered by a culture so ambiguous for the inhabitants of Western Europe: contemporary and akin, at the same time remote and barbarous.

For the English speaking world, fortunately, there seems to be a convenient and intriguing parallel: the life and poetry of Sir Philip Sidney.

The biographical convergencies of the two poets and Sidney's travels in Hungary have been well covered by both English and Hungarian scholars.<sup>2</sup> What I attempt in the present essay is to pair the two poets, according to their literary activities, by employing in my comparison the terms of historical poetics and some aspects of the sociology of literature.<sup>3</sup> Such an approach, I hope, can help to answer the obvious question: why it might be

profitable for a Renaissance comparatist to study the literature of 'old Hungary'?

To make the comparison more justifiable, however, a brief summary of the biographical parallels might still be useful.

Both poets were born in the same year (1554), Balassi on October 20, Sidney on November 30. Both their fathers were high aristocrats, famous military leaders, owners of numerous estates and castles. Both of them had excellent teachers: Sidney among others John Dee, the queen's astrologer and renowned scientist; Balassi had Péter Bornemisza, leading writer of the Hungarian Reformation and author of the first Hungarian classical tragedy which preceded *Gorboduc* with a few years. Sidney studied at Oxford, Balassi in Nürnberg, but neither of them went for a degree — they rather preferred travelling as a natural expansion of regular schooling.

Both of them had early experiences of courtly life, Sidney in London, beside Elizabeth, then, criss-crossing Europe in various royal and princely centers; Balassi in Vienna, in Cracow and at the court of the Transylvanian Princes. In 1573 Sidney even visited Hungary and we cannot be sure if the two youths did not meet personally. In the lesser known part of the humanist correspondence sent from the Continent to Sidney, there are references to many prominent Hungarians, among others, to Balassi and his father.<sup>4</sup>

The similarities between the two poets' literary programs will be reviewed later in this essay; it should be noted here, however, that both were pioneers in institutionalizing literature by recognizing the importance of the audience-response, literary community, groups, and 'academies'.

Even their deaths were of the same kind: heroic Christian deaths. Sidney was mortally wounded at the siege of Zutphen, where he fought as a volunteer commander for the Protestants against the Spanish. Balassi was hit by cannon fire at the siege of Esztergom, where the joint imperial and Hungarian armies sought to recapture the ancient Hungarian city from the Turkish occupiers. Both of them suffered blood poisoning and during their several days' struggle with death they "performed" exemplary conversions and Christian departures. The contemporaries monitored these model passings-away, and the poets were not only commemorated by quickly published volumes of *epicedia*, but their fate also became promptly mythicised, and the growing legends played a part in the subsequent canon-formation of their works.<sup>5</sup>



Before starting our survey of their poetics, we should refer to the circumstances of their literary activity and also to the significance of courtly culture in the Renaissance states.

### I. Courtly Literature in the English and the Hungarian Renaissance

Since Burckhardt we know that the social basis of the Italian Renaissance was the rising urban population, a basically bourgeois layer which dictated the strategies of money-making, and even the rules of government and the style of leisure, to their local aristocracy. But we also know that this process was soon reversed, and the wealthy and powerful middle class started imitating the nobility. What we define as Renaissance culture is a curious blend of this bi-directional movement. North of the Alps the situation was even more paradoxical. Although the bourgeoisie was not as strong as in Italy, many of the cultural ideals of the Italian revival seemed attractive to the local leaders. New ways of money-making yielded new wealth everywhere in Europe (in Spain colonization, in England enclosures, in Poland and Hungary the increasing meat- and wine-export) but this wealth remained mostly in the hands of the aristocracy. This is why we witness the mixture of classical and Italian elements on the one hand, and a great deal of chivalric and high-courtly ideals on the other, in the Renaissance culture of most European countries.

Looking at the most general characteristics of the English and the Hungarian Renaissance, we find strikingly similar phenomena, and, naturally, greatly differing features, too. The socio-historical framework could hardly be more different. In spite of the fact that in the mid 16th century both countries were 'on the fringe' of civilized Europe and neither of them played a leading role in continental politics, England was on the way to integration, consolidation, and a rising wealth which was going to lead to the formation of the world's leading empire. On the other hand, Hungary was disintegrating. After the 1526 Mohács disaster (cf. Thomas More's *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*) the country was torn between two *de facto* (and even *de jure*) rulers while the fall of Buda to the Turks in 1541 established a third power within the historical Hungarian territories.

This situation resulted in the fact that while in other parts of Europe Renaissance culture was concentrated around strengthening royal courts and became the mode of expression for the growing integral national spirit, in Hungary, our vernacular Renaissance came into existence while suffering

the lack of such a central power and made claims for national sentiments, while at the same time registering the tendencies of political disintegration.

An interesting similarity between these two radically differing political models was that both in the rising Western national states and in politically declining Hungary it was the nobility which first became interested in sponsoring the new type of culture and the new literary and artistic fashions. England — in spite of the early appearance of capitalism and industrialization — remained essentially an aristocratic, courtly culture. This curious fact can be explained by the overwhelming impact of the court of Elizabeth which invited everybody — from lords to burghers — to imitate it. This phenomenon coincides with a general European trend of the late Renaissance, which Arnold Hauser referred to as the revival of chivalry.<sup>6</sup> In Hungary there was no capitalistic development, nor a growing bourgeoisie. The result was that culture, developing in Renaissance directions, necessarily had to take a courtly shape, sustained by magnates, who, in the absence of a royal court in Hungary, tried to create courtly centers with a microclimatic culture. They exercised patronage much like the rulers of other countries, supporting schools and printing presses, inviting writers and scholars to their palaces, employing artists and musicians.

The examples to be followed were not very far from Hungary. I have already mentioned the great regional courtly centers in all of which Balassi was a frequent visitor: Vienna, Cracow, the Transylvanian capital, Gyulafehérvár (today Alba Iulia in Rumania), and Pozsony-Pressburg (today Bratislava in Slovakia). After the fall of Buda the latter became the site for hosting the Hungarian diet (Parliament) and the coronation of its rulers.

This developing urban culture, however, should not deceive the modern cultural historian. The strongly feudal basis of the Hungarian Renaissance is unmistakable beneath it, and thus we arrive at the point where the social development of Eastern and Western Europe became strongly divergent. The lack of the strong burgher communities undoubtedly made the Eastern Renaissance a self-contradictory formation, finally leading to the foundation of the second serfdom, a product of practically total refeudalization.

To sum up my thesis: we can see that both in England and in Hungary the system of noble patronage had a decisive role. In the case of the English and the Hungarian Renaissance two totally different socio-political formations lead to a cultural product in many ways so parallel to each other: in England the very strong and spectacular center of the Queen which outshone and *mutatis mutandis* united the most various social groups; in Hungary, the unstable political circumstances and the lack of urban

development produced an aristocratic layer responsible for the achievements of the national Renaissance.

Another peculiar — and rather unfortunate — feature of the Hungarian Renaissance was, that, in contrast to the continuous (however belated) development of the English Renaissance, here the cultural tradition shows sharp discontinuities. The 15th century witnessed an early blossoming of an Italian type of Humanism and courtly splendor under King Matthias, which did not evolve into a vernacular Renaissance like in France; nor can we see a strong medieval vernacular literary tradition which, as in England, could have been upgraded in the 16th century.

There were poets, however, in England, too, who believed that the future was more important than the past and who were desirous of creating something new and entirely different from everything that had been known in their literatures before. Sidney was one of these in England, and Balassi was *the* one in Hungary.

## II. Balassi's Art Contrasted to Sidney's

(Poetics) Although both poets had a complex literary and poetical tradition at hand, they were also conscious of starting something new. The lack of an appropriate tradition was most apparent in love poetry. During the Middle Ages, England did not produce such versatile and great chivalric love poetry as the French troubadours, the German minnesinger, or the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. In Hungary such a tradition seems to have been missing almost entirely.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, as Professor Ringler notes, "Sidney, looking at the English poetry of his own time and before, found it inadequate, and found none of his countrymen suitable guides to aid him in making it better".<sup>8</sup> Much the same can be said about Balassi.

Sidney had a conscious aim not only to introduce new topics into poetry but also to reform English poetic diction in order to prove its flexibility and perfect suitability for high level expression and refined form. Following the path of the Pléiade, he looked at the classics with great reverence, but at the same time defended the English language, and, with the aim of demonstrating its excellence, compared it to other vernacular languages (among others, to Hungarian!)<sup>9</sup> rather than to the classical idiom. This was a characteristic feature of late Renaissance literature everywhere, witnessing the rise of the national languages against the primacy of Greek and Latin. Balassi set up a similar program announcing new topics and arguing for the

excellence of the national language: "I too desired to enrich the Hungarian language ... so that all may realize that what can exist in other languages can also exist in Hungarian..."<sup>10</sup>

It is equally interesting to look at the two poets' views on the nature and function of poetry. In their programmatic writings (by which I mean Sidney's *Defence* and Balassi's much shorter but equally pioneering Preface to his *A Pleasing Hungarian Comedy* which was meant to fulfill the same role in Hungary as Sidney's apology in England) they seem to have put the stress on the entertaining features of literature, referring to invention rather than to didactic, or prophetic, 'sacred inspiration'.

Sidney differentiated among three categories of poets: the first "...imitate the unconceivable excellencies of God ...". The second deal with philosophical matters, and the third are set apart as "indeed right poets ... they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight, and to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shal be; but range, only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be".<sup>11</sup>

Balassi seems to have in mind a similar classification when he comments on the nature of the poetry he intends to write: "I have not been able to write a story i.e. history, scientific writing, ... nor could I write from the Holy Scripture, for quite enough has been and still is written about that on both sides. Therefore I had to produce something that, as I have explained earlier, would bring joy and a gay spirit even to the sad. It will not bring offence to anyone, because there is honest love in it."<sup>12</sup>

The dialectic contamination of three currents — a pragmatic approach (teach and delight); the Aristotelian principle of imitation; and the expressive theory of the platonic poetical fury — seems to be a very characteristic feature of both poets. Their theoretical programs and their poetry complement each other like two sides of the same coin: while they boast with their own inventions or imitate others' achievements (*licentia poetica* as Balassi calls it), their best poems come inspired by love's supernatural power which is but a class of Plato's sacred madnesses.

Whatever Sidney writes about imitation, when he comes to formulate his own poetic diction he flatly rejects the Aristotelian principle:

But words came halting forth, wanting Invention's stay,  
Invention, Nature's Child, fled step-dame Studie's blows...

...

'Foole', said my Muse to me, 'looke in thy heart and  
write'.  
(AS 1)

Balassi was much less of a theoretician than Sidney. In an unforgettable poetical image, however, he also recorded his inspired state being overtaken by poetical fury:

My mind's on the boil, wild as an anthill  
with many a new poem  
For only you are in my heart the fire  
of love's delicious flame...  
("A Prayer to Cupid", English by Keith Bosley & Peter  
Sherwood in Klaniczay, ed. 1985, 167)

**(Iconography)** The inclination towards Platonism encouraged our poets to develop an elevated love poetry and their insistence on the cultivation of invention spurred them to be individual and try to express their feelings by means of inspiration. At the same time, Platonism also demanded — as much as any other trend in Renaissance humanism — a confrontation with tradition. Lyric poets simply could not bypass the warehouse of Petrarchism, the stock of which dominates the iconography of both poets.

The scope of this paper does not permit an extensive analysis of motifs and iconographic details, I shall only briefly list the dominant common elements in Sidney's and Balassi's lyrics:

- images of the planets, fire, sea, angels, all this equated with the beloved's beauty, eyes, soul;
- various appearances of Cupid;
- other common emblematic motifs, such as swans, cranes, pelicans, salamanders, personified jealousy and others;
- *basium* (that is kiss)-poems; and 'remedia amoris' motifs (escapes to other, consoling females when the idealized beloved proves to be unconquerable).

The similar texture of poetry is not surprising as both poets — although not to the same extent — used the same sources of inspiration: Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Petrarch, the Neo-Latin poets (Marullus, Angerianus, and Janus Secundus) and some of the contemporary Italians and Germans: Sidney took notice of Sannazzaro's poetry, Balassi paraphrased Castelletti and Regnart. In addition — in accordance with the geographical areas — Sidney studied Spanish and French literature while Balassi's uniqueness in the

European Renaissance lyric lies in his familiarity with Slavic, Rumanian, and, above all, Turkish poetry and philosophy.

In spite of all this, we cannot say that they exploited the common sources in the same way. Our comparison becomes really interesting when we look at the divergencies, when we examine how a common cultural heritage brings different fruits in different contexts. All this demonstrates the variety within the unity of the same tradition — European Renaissance poetry. It is obvious that both Sidney and Balassi were attracted to the ideals and formal characteristics of international Petrarchism, and as part of an attempt to enrich their national cultures they consciously intended to create something like that in their own vernacular languages. It is also certain that they saw the character of their own poetry as something refined, courtly and addressed to an aristocratic audience rather than to the general Protestant reading public of their times.

In this context, their individual rewriting of Petrarchism becomes equally important. It is proper to apply to both poets what Marion Campbell recently noted about Sidney: "It is the business of critics to recognize that there is no monolithic interpretation of Petrarch. The history of the readings of Petrarch is at least as varied as the range of readings of Sidney that we are trying to use Petrarch to arbitrate between."<sup>13</sup> Consequently, the critic has to observe the synchronic interactions of texts as well as their diachronic progression in a parallel manner.

The common ideal and the unifying poetic tradition brings Sidney's and Balassi's poetry into a common category but the sociological and political differences between Hungary and England (as noted earlier) explain the divergencies in the resulting poetry they produced. There is one common denominator, however, from which they set out in different directions: this is their varying degree of detachment from Petrarchistic clichés, or, to be more precise, their very special treatment of the Petrarchan heritage.

A closer look at this aspect, the individual characteristics of rewriting Petrarch, places the two poets at opposite ends of the same field. Sidney got acquainted with Petrarchism at its ripest form, and he absorbed it so quickly that he could at the same time detach himself from it. A characteristic feature of his poetry is the ironic approach to the Petrarchistic clichés, such as in AS 71:

So while thy beautie draws the heart to love,  
As fast thy Vertue bends that love to good:  
'But ah', Desire still cries, 'give me some food.

Sometimes his invention arrives at almost manneristic extravagances — like in the following little footnote on the Renaissance iconography of horses:

I on my horse, and Love on me, doth trie  
Our horsemanships, while by strange worke I prove  
A horseman to my horse, a horse to Love;  
And now man's wrongs in me, poor beast, descrie. (AS 49)

Balassi's relationship to his sources was more serious and more naive. While he seems to have tried hard to follow the prescribed patterns and become a 'poeta doctus', his natural inspiration often drew him back to a fresher, simpler style, which recalled the medieval May songs as much as the refined Renaissance *conchetti*.

I don't want this world without you, fair love  
Who stand beside me: good health, my sweetheart!

My woeful heart's cheer, my soul's sweet longing,  
You are all its joy: God's blessing be yours!

My precious palace, my fragrant red rose,  
My lovely violet, live long Julia!

But when he finishes his song, the closing image could be taken from any Petrarchan iconography, indeed, from many a Sidney poem:

Thus Julia I greeted, seeing her:  
I bowed knee, bowed head and she merely smiled.  
("When He Chanced Upon Julia He Greeted Her Thus"  
English by Bosley and Sherwood, Klaniczay, ed. 1985,  
164)<sup>14</sup>

No wonder that Balassi's detachment from Petrarchism is of a different nature than that of Sidney. The English knight had already overstepped the tradition and looked at it with benevolent — sometimes frustrated — irony; in the poetry of Balassi we observe a stronger presence of the 'popular register' which never allows erudition to overgrow emotional inspiration.<sup>15</sup>

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No talk about poetry becomes meaningful without offering an encounter with the poetry itself, in its entirety, evoking a complex experience instead

of theses resulting from isolated examination of fragments, images and distilled ideas. Sidney's poetry is widely known and his most famous poems have been exposed to various examinations, close readings, and explanations. In the followings I would like to take a bird's eye's view of two of Balassi's poems in order to demonstrate the evolution of his voice from a skillful follower of international patterns to a dramatically individual variant of European Petrarchism.

Balassi was twenty-four when he got acquainted with Anna Losonczy (daughter of a famous Hungarian baron and commander who had been killed by the Turks), and they fell in love. By then the woman was the cultured and attractive wife of an elderly high-ranking magnate, so a liaison followed. This relationship inspired Balassi to address Anna with a dozen love lyrics. As literary historians agree, this affair was responsible for the birth of Renaissance love poetry in Hungary. Balassi's apprenticeship in poetry was characterized by an effort to imitate fashionable foreign models of his day (Italian 'padovanas' and Regnart's lyrics) and to follow the elements of contemporary Hungarian poetical patterns; but his feelings were so strong and naturally overflowing that they actually flooded through the chosen patterns.

After a period of passionate rhyming he became conscious of contemporary lyrical trends and conventions and tried to follow more advanced foreign models which had not existed before him in Hungarian poetry. His becoming acquainted in 1583 with the volume, *Poetae tres elegantissimi* (Paris, 1582) which contained the Latin lyrics of Marullus, Angerianus, and Janus Secundus proved a decisive point in this development. From this moment his poetry became complicated through various modes of role-playing. He consciously hid himself in enigmas and among the scenarios of poetical conventions; this shows that — apart from having experienced a 'spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings' — he must also have consciously considered the idea of audience-reception.

It was at this time that he revived his interest in his old love, Anna, who was by now an aging widow, possessing an attractive dowry rather than personal charm. The lady must have seen through Balassi's motivation. All of a sudden he found himself in the situation of the Petrarchan lover: he had to imagine that he was desperately in love with a woman who did not accept his wooing and did not return his feelings. Balassi, following Janus Secundus, renamed his beloved Julia, and his achievement became a superb monument of Hungarian lyrical poetry, a blend of fine poetical invention, an adaptation of an intricate mythological framework, and the transmission



of direct experiences of nature in its rough, Hungarian reality. All this can quite clearly be seen in one of the best poems of his middle period:

**A Prayer to Cupid**

- (1) My love who long since in many torments  
have kept me, in deep dole  
To you now I cry weeping bitterly  
in agony of soul:  
Make my sorrows less with loving-kindness  
do not be so cruel!
- (2) By parting made gall poisoned by recall  
I'm flung in the abyss,  
And face to face brought with the sins I've wrought  
in my foul thoughtlessness.  
From whose great burden as from mortal sin  
bid now my soul be loose!
- (3) The darkness of night brings a sweet respite  
brings to all creatures rest -  
Men from their affairs, beasts from their labours  
are for a space released:  
Day and night alike leave me wide-awake  
alone, in anguish, lost.
- (4) You have born away with you all my joy,  
all my good humour hence:  
The love you kindled has never dwindled  
but sears my grieving sense.  
Burns upon my mind, your eyes that looked kind,  
your soft, fair countenance.
- (5) Cupid, do not brand with such grave wound  
her face on my heart so  
Who hates me to death steals my every breath  
looks on me as her foe:  
Soften her to me, or if that can't be  
snuff out my love, my woe!
- (6) But what shall I say? Salamander may  
not live without the fire,  
So I from my grief can find no relief  
cannot live without her:  
No! to die, to eat poisoned honey, sweet  
with bitter were better.

- (7) My soul in your eyes like wax in fire lies  
and melts - see the tears brim! -  
For your fair eyes' light is my spirit's plight  
if anger slant its beam  
But restores my life lightens my great grief  
if it smile a welcome.
- (8) As fair trees and flowers don't regain their powers  
unless the spring sheds dew  
So my cheerfulness, my joy dies unless  
it is revived by you:  
Comfort, then, console beloved of my soul,  
griefless let me live now.
- (9) Why, O wise Nature in one great creature  
are all fair things combined?  
How the world's wonder every heart's kindler  
in one sweet form confined?  
How an angelic, blessed, lightsome look  
contracted to mankind?
- (10) She is bright with gems, just as fresh blood gleams  
on ice in the sunlight  
Brilliant her eyes as stars in the skies  
on a fair winter night  
With which long ago she forced me to bow  
my freedom to her might.
- (11) O small frame with great glorious beauty straight  
from heaven radiant!  
How can cruelty and harshness so be  
mixed with embellishment?  
Pity now your slave who burns with your love  
your suffering servant.
- (12) My mind's on the boil wild as an anthill  
with many a new poem  
For only you are in my heart the fire  
of love's delicious flame:  
Your words are the fair and echoing air  
that drives away my gloom.

- (13) With clasped hands, bended knees and with bowed head  
 to Julia I prayed  
 When of her kindness as of a goddess  
 mercy I expected  
 That she have mercy, no more torment me:  
*amen* to that I cried.  
 (English by Bosley & Sherwood, in Klaniczay, ed. 1985, 164–8)

The reader may immediately notice the general direction of progress in this poem. In Balassi's terminology it is an 'inventio poetica' which means it has a kind of a narrative framework, and, indeed, it is the lover's prayer to Cupid to whom (as we know from other poems of the cycle) he had vowed fealty. He has not gained much from this vassalship so far, consequently he begs the little god to lift his oath. The monologue, however, is soon addressed directly to the beloved, whose indifference causes much the same effects in Balassi as in other European followers of Petrarch (stanzas 1,2,4). But we also have here a fresh image taken from everyday life rather than from rhetorical manuals (stanza 3: "Men from their affairs, beasts from their labours / are for a space released ...").

Stanzas 4–5 develop a complex but highly traditional description of love's enflaming and burning effects which culminates in the emblematic image of the salamander: the torturing fire is really the lover's natural environment outside of which he cannot exist (stanza 6).

In stanza 7 we have an eye-image, which, as an opening window, leads us out from the world of bookish humanist topoi to wide nature in stanza 8: "As fair trees and flowers 'don't regain their powers / unless the spring sheds dew ..." The following reference to the poet's soul transcendentalizes Nature, which, consequently, gains a definite Platonic aura in the following stanza. Here the poet bursts out in a kind of hymn of praise to his Julia: "Why, O wise Nature in one great creature / are all fair things combined? ..."

Stanzas 10 and 11 can be seen as an elaboration of the microcosm—macrocosm theme: first Julia (microcosm) is compared to the elements, seasons and stars (i.e. to the elemental and celestial worlds of the macrocosm) then her "small frame" becomes the container and mirror of heavenly beauty (here we have the third macrocosmic world, the angelic hierarchies).

Stanza 11 also echoes a common Petrarchistic cliché about the cruel character of the Lady but the self-pity of the lover suddenly turns into the already quoted high-intensity image about his mind being overtaken by poetical fury. According to the Platonic doctrine, his frenzy is inspired by

the beauty of her beloved and by the elevating force of love (the lines: "My mind's on the boil wild as an anthill ...").

Concluding this climax, a quiet, moving scene closes the song: the lover bends and kneels before his sovereign idol and in an almost religious trance calls for mercy: "To Julia I prayed / mercy I expected / That she have mercy, no more torment me: / Amen to that I cried".

This poem shows Balassi as an inventive and skillfully rhyming representative of international Petrarchism and his Julia-poems alone should be enough to earn him a decent place in the Pantheon of this school — had he written his poems in a more easily accessible language. But this is not all we can say about his art.

Balassi's poetical development reached its zenith in 1588–9 when his hopes of gaining the love (and hand) of Anna-Julia vanished and when his life arrived at yet another crisis. At that point he decided to leave the country and pursue military adventures in Poland, but before doing so he wrote a few poems in which he synthesized his poetic achievement, set up a new life-program for himself ('to become the soldier of Mars and Pallas instead of Venus') and, above all, with the intention of publication or, at least, circulation, he worked out the compositional plan of a lyrical collection of all the poetry he had written to that time. I shall return to the importance of his advanced ideas of volume-composition, but first I should like to introduce another poem, his most unique masterpiece. It deserves to be a standard anthology-piece of Renaissance poetry.

Being desperate and trying to get out of the strangling net of his hopeless love, he looked for 'remedia amoris': partly in the traditional way, as is nicely commemorated in his poem 'He Wrote This about Susanna and Anna-Maria in Vienna'. But he also found another means of escape: by turning to Mars and seeking *virtú* and fame in the fierce struggle of Christian Europe against the pagan Turkish conquerors.

His poem, the 'Soldier's Song', does not follow the epic treatments of mythological heroic combats (such as the medieval romances, Ariosto, or Spenser); rather, he creates a new, purely lyrical genre. Referring to the soldiers who defend the Hungarian borders adjoining the Turks-occupied territories, he calls it "In laudem confiniorum". This genre would be much imitated in the following decades, usually labelled as "cantio de militibus pulchra" or "cantio militaris", that is, "Soldier's Song".

What is unique in Balassi's "Soldier's Song" is the way he employs the arsenal of humanistic rhetoric and the imagery of love poetry for the

purpose of expressing patriotic feelings combined with hymnic praise of nature and an encomium of individual, adventurous free life.

Puttenham would have called this song a "carol of honor",<sup>16</sup> but in its special combination of elements and subject matter, to my best knowledge, the poem is without parallel in contemporary poetry.

**In Praise of the Marches: Soldier's Song**

- (1) Brave men, what could be in any country  
fairer than the Marches?  
Out there in the spring many fair birds sing  
for which man yet searches:  
The fields are fragrant and dew heaven-sent  
everything unparches.
- (2) Hearing news of foes the brave man's heart grows  
often excited there  
And though he hear it not, for sheer spirit  
the brave man turns to war:  
He will risk the grave, kill, capture, be brave  
his brow rippling with gore!
- (3) Beneath bloody flags every brave man wags  
a banner-bearing lance:  
He rides the field, faced with a mighty host  
and — see in the distance —  
With leopard-skin, dome of bright helmet, plume  
each one's magnificence!
- (4) Good Arab horses prance in their courses  
and when the bugle blared  
Some stood guard, others dismounted to doze  
at morning where they'd heard  
The cock crow, for night after night in fight  
all are weary and tired.
- (5) To win a good name and excellent fame  
they leave all things behind:  
Their humanity and their bravery  
all men should bear in mind  
When hawk-like they fly hunting, racing, high  
over fields as the wind!

- (6) When the foe is in sight they give a glad shout  
 and each one breaks a lance:  
 If matters are grim in the fight, they come  
 back in utter silence  
 Blood-soaked, retreating, often defeating  
 even in their defence!
- (7) The great, wide fields, fair groves and forests are  
 the parks of their pleasure:  
 By spying out way and battle-site, they  
 learn to read and measure:  
 Hunger after fight and thirst and great heat  
 and tiredness their leisure.
- (8) Their good sharp sabres lighten their labours  
 for all the heads they yield:  
 Many are lying bloody and dying  
 hurt on the battlefield -  
 Beasts', birds' guts often the only coffin  
 of such brave bodies felled.
- (9) Men of the Marches, your country's riches  
 brave young men worth our praise!  
 Throughout the wide world your good name is told:  
 and as he blesses trees  
 With fruit, may God bless you with good success  
 in all your fields and ways!  
 (English by Bosley & Sherwood, in Klaniczay, ed. 1985, 172—4)

There is hardly an eminent scholar of Hungarian Renaissance literature who has not tried to analyse this set of nine perfectly constructed stanzas. Some have praised the simplicity of the poem, explaining how it moves away from humanistic artificiality towards a fresh realism which depicts the brutality of soldier life with a still beautifying poetic diction. Others have emphasized Balassi's success in avoiding the traps of narrative: he does not develop a plausible sequence which would correspond to the chronological evolution of combat; he remains purely lyrical, flashing up pictures which exist independently and are kept together by form and structure rather than thematic correspondences. Examining the structure of the poem with regards to possible divisions of the nine stanzas, some readers have called it a 'three-pillar' composition which follows a strictly symmetrical pattern. Others have discovered in it the reflection of the *aurea sectio*, and still others a hidden number symbolism hiding the shape of the Holy Cross in the distribution of the keyword "meadow" throughout the poem.<sup>17</sup>

What we witness here is really amazing: a poet who not long ago still struggled with the incorporation of humanistic ornaments into his more archaic, medieval-type lyrics now creates a surprisingly modern poem. He reduces the rhetorical images to the minimum, and also treats moral didacticism very sparingly. Instead, he flashes up clear-cut sensuous images, he juxtaposes the lights and odours of a sunny morning in the country (stanza 1); the sounds of galloping horses and the blowing wind across the plane (stanza 3); the shining-glittering minute details of armor (stanza 3); and thus he reaches his intellectual message at the exact middle line of the poem: "Their humanity and their bravery / all men should bear in mind." Even this is not didactic, explicatory, rather a laconic and affirmative statement, after which he immediately shifts back to the terrain of sensuous images: "...hawk-like they fly hunting, racing, high / over fields as the wind!" (stanza 5).

The second part of the poem paints the darker side of the soldier's life: the combat (stanza 6), the hardships (stanza 7), and the often inevitable death with its cruel naturalism: "Beasts', birds' guts often the only coffin / of such brave bodies felled" (stanza 8). In the concluding stanza, the question of the first line is passionately answered following again the tone of encomium. This statement is likewise verified by a nature-image which smoothly evolves into a reference to a wider, cosmic force and ultimate harmony — God who is guardian of trees and soldiers alike: "...as he blesses trees / With fruit, may God bless you with good success / in all your fields and ways!"

**(Composition of Poem Sequences)** One of the most fascinating aspects of Balassi's talent remains to be discussed. By way of conclusion I would like to refer to his skills as *artifex*, maker, a constructor of poetic structures. In this respect the comparison with Sidney will be apt again.

Looking at the poetry of either Balassi or Sidney, we find that both set up their collections very carefully, and with the intention of conveying special poetical messages. The idea of 'lyrical biography' as an organizing principle is present both in *Astrophil and Stella* and in the poems of Balassi's "Julia-cycle", but at the same time both of them contain more than the base narrative of a 'lyrical novel'. In fact, there has been a conviction among a number of scholars that an underlying number symbolism, present in Sidney's as well as in Balassi's poetry, serves to express their deep, but hidden Christian message.

Among others, Thomas Roche has most recently analysed the structure of Sidney's sonnet-cycle.<sup>18</sup> I will refer only to Balassi's cycles now. He has generally been acknowledged as a superior constructor of compositional structures in old Hungarian literature. His "great cycle" contains 66 poems, but we have evidence that he had intended to expand it to 99 and then, by adding a prologue, to build a collection which would imitate Dante's *Commedia*.<sup>19</sup>

From the level of stanzas up, number-symbolism can be felt in his entire oeuvre. The famous Balassi-stanza is a combination of 3 x 3 elements with internal rhymes and ceasuras (aad bbd ccd). By the end of his career he arrived at the one stanza poem, which could be paralleled with the sonnet as an equivalent of the entirely closed poem-structure.

As for the collection, Balassi's "book" was to be introduced by three hymnes, written to the three persons of the Holy Trinity, and, as one may expect, altogether consisting of 99 lines. In the first, addressed to the Father, Balassi promised:

If you redeem me, the following goods will result in: / First  
is, that I shall praise you till my death...  
(‘On the First Person of the Holy Trinity’ – literal translation)

Literary historians have long been pondering the seriousness and content of this promise. What would the praise consist of and how would it be carried out? According to a fairly recent – and fascinating – hypothesis, the "praise till death" would have been executed in the employed number symbolism, embracing his poetry from stanza construction to whole poem sequences, performing a sacred ternary system even when literally talking of love.<sup>20</sup>

As I have mentioned, at the end of his career Balassi arrived at a poem structure which contained only one Balassi stanza. He never wrote sonnets, but by the end of his individual poetical development he created an entirely closed structure, practically equivalent to the sonnet in aesthetic function. His last poem, surviving in his own handwriting in the company of four other one-stanza poems, reads as follows:



Julia longest, Celia the most  
 I have loved to this day:  
 From that one, grieving, from this one, loving  
 I have gone on my way:  
 Now Fulvia burns and the flame returns —  
 till when I cannot say!  
 ("On Fulvia", English by Bosley & Sherwood, in Klaniczay,  
 ed., 1985, 183)

Some critics have interpreted the form of these short poems as Balassi's attempt to create epigrams in Hungarian.<sup>21</sup> A newer — and in my opinion more plausible — hypothesis explains the distillation of the one Balassi stanza from the earlier, open constructions into an individual, complete generic unit, on the analogy of the development of the sonnet from a special stanza of the provençal *canço*.<sup>22</sup> In this context Balassi appears in the extraordinary role of a poet who in one person, and in one oeuvre, created the Hungarian troubadur lyric as well as Renaissance courtly poetry.<sup>23</sup>

Many more aspects could be included here to make my selected topic more complete, but I hope that even this fragmentary picture will serve to raise some interest in the lyrical achievement of the Hungarian Renaissance.

I have taken into consideration the social-political differences between Hungary and England, countries situated on the two fringes of 16th century Europe, and was none the less able to identify the parallels in the ideals and efforts of some of the leading poets. All this should warn us against employing too easily deterministic formulas in cultural analysis: culture does not always subserviently follow the patterns of political and economic history. Or does it? A Hungarian critic, Antal Szerb, fifty years ago evaluated Balassi's poetry while referring to Sidney and Spenser, in the following words:

As for his culture, Balassi can be paired with the best European poets of his age, but what about his civilization? The Platonism of Sidney and Spenser required a high lifestyle, and a court, glamorous with a sophisticated civilization where such lives could be lived. Balassi, the solitary rider of Hungarian forests and Hungarian frontiers could only dream of such a lifestyle, developing an ideal which would nurture great poetry, giving Heavenly Love a form.<sup>24</sup>

Until recently this comparison, with its parallels and contrasts, has not been challenged. But today's renaissance of Sidney-research has done a lot to change the traditional image of the English poet. The ideal hero of Romanticism is disappearing to give way to the image of a passionate, but highly responsible young man, who, torn between the contradictions of his age and his own nature, tried to realize something of the new ideas but often ended up with noble failure.

Huizinga's opinion was typical for the legacy of 19th century mythologizing about Sidney, when, following Burckhardt's admiration for the harmonious Renaissance individual, Sidney was treated as "a spiritual treasure for the world". Tillyard likewise spoke about Sidney's platonizing as something that "created an enthusiastic idealism". Today's studies are more inclined to see Sidney in the context of Elizabethan politics, and treat his idealistic posture as a product of Elizabethan propaganda, amplified by nineteenth century romanticism.<sup>25</sup>

Balassi's literary image has been changing in the other direction. Szerb and his generation saw in him the instinctive genius, something of a prefiguration of the Romantic poet. Recent research, on the other hand, has proved that Balassi, while being an aristocratic amateur much occupied by politics, warfare, and the usual feudal struggle for life, in fact became a kind of *poeta doctus* who more consciously studied Renaissance literary conventions than had previously been thought.<sup>26</sup>

The new emphasis falling on each poet might help to work out a new type of comparison which will follow new paths, diverging from the traditional trails of contextual criticism and thematic comparative studies. The latter have become known as pursuing issues like "source", "influence" and "allusion". In the case of Sidney and Balassi such an approach is excluded as they did not know about each other's poetry. On the other hand, the surprisingly great similarities of their literary development offer a good chance to examine in European perspective what Gary Waller has set up as a program for Sidney studies alone: how the poets rewrote the diversities and contradictions that made up the language of their time.<sup>27</sup> Studying the functioning of Petrarchism in two geographically and culturally different late-Renaissance media should enhance our perception of that era as well as enable us to examine an interesting case of intertextuality.

## Notes

1. The *Old Hungarian Literary Reader*, an anthology entirely dedicated to early Hungarian literature was edited by Tibor Klaniczay and published in Budapest in 1985; Douglas Kirkconnell's recent collection of Hungarian poetry, the *Hungarian Helicon* (1986), also contains a few fine English renderings of our Renaissance poetry.
2. On Sidney's engagement in Central Europe see: Pears 1845; Gál 1969; Osborn 1972; Evans 1973; Szőnyi 1980; Barlay 1986; Nagy 1990, Gömöri 1990 and 1991.
3. This is not the first time that Sidney has been used for this type of comparison. Babin (1953) has offered a similar comparative study by juxtaposing Sidney and the Spanish Garcilaso de la Vega, in order to trace convergencies and divergencies of Platonizing love poetry in European literature. Babin's study employs the comparison of image patterns. I have tried to do something similar in my article, "Self Representation in Petrarchism" (1990).
4. A list and analysis of these references can be found in Gömöri 1991.
5. In a longer study published in Hungarian, I have compared the extraordinary similarities between the reception and canon-formation of the two poets (Szőnyi 1989). For a shortened English version see Szőnyi 1994.
6. Cf. Hauser 1957, 2:144–72.
7. See the article of Ferenc Zemplényi in this volume.
8. Sidney 1962, xxxiv. All subsequent quotations from Sidney's poetry follow Ringler's edition.
9. Cf. his famous remark in the *Defence of Poesie*: "In Hungarie I have seene it the manner at all Feastes, and other such like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors valure, which that right soulderlike nation, think one of the chiefest kindlers of brave courage" (quoted from Sidney/Feuillerat 1962, 3:24).
10. Cf. Balassi's Preface to his pastoral drama, *A Pleasing Hungarian Comedy*; English text in Klaniczay, ed., 1985, 185.
11. As summarized by Hamilton 1977, 111. The appearance of Platonic elements have been a recurrent topic in the studies dealing with both poets. Cf.: "The question of the extent of Sidney's idealism in poetry is, of course, a complex one about which there is a considerable disagreement and little hope of arriving at a definitive answer" (Connell 1977, 21). The Platonic world picture of the *Defence* is emphasized by Davis 1969, 30; and Robinson 1972, 132. Idealism and hermeticism are traced in Sidney's literary circle by Jayne 1952; Mahoney 1964; Yates 1964; Phillips 1965; French 1972; Steadman 1974; Council 1976; Heninger 1983. It is interesting, that in a later article than in his large monograph, Heninger put a greater stress on the Aristotelian, "realistic" element in Sidney's literary theory (Heninger 1984 and 1989). Balassi's Platonism has been asserted by Zolnai 1928; Eckhardt 1972, 152; Bán 1976, 122–39; Szőnyi 1980; Horváth 1982, 110. No doubt, Balassi never treated the philosophical doctrines as thoroughly as Sidney may have done, this overtone, however, can surely be felt in his poetry.
12. Cf. his *Preface*, English text in Klaniczay, ed., 1985, 185.
13. Cf. Campbell 1984, 84–5.
14. The poem was composed to the tune of a refined Turkish rhythm: a8a8a8a8, unfortunately the English translation reflects very little of the original melody.

15. Compare the opinion of Kalstone 1965, 2 on Sidney, and Eckhardt 1972, 252 on Balassi, respectively.
16. *The Arte of English Poesie* (1598); cf. Donker & Mudrow 1982, 90.
17. Cf. Klaniczay 1961, 267–271 (as military song with the vocabulary of love-lyrics); Varjas 1970 ("three pillars"); Süpek 1971 (number symbolism); Julow 1972 (complex analysis, Christian symbolism); Komlowszki 1976 ("aurea sectio"); Nemeskürty 1983, 1:161–165 (thematic analysis).
18. See Roche 1982, *passim*.
19. Some scholars insist on the idea of the mere "lyrical biography" (Varjas 1976; Nemeskürty 1978; 1983). The idea of the theological construction-plan was asserted by Gerézdi–Klaniczay 1964, 471, and extensively argued for by Horváth 1982, 31–103.
20. This is Horváth's theory, originally proposed in 1973 and extensively argued for in Horváth 1982, 67–78.
21. Cf. Eckhardt 1972, 337.
22. Ferenc Zemplényi's view as quoted in Horváth 1982, 112. It should be noted, though, that the origin of the sonnet is equally obscure. As for the Balassi stanza there are arguments to establish its derivation (1) from foreign, mostly medieval models; (2) from earlier Hungarian metrical patterns; (3) from Balassi's own invention. The point in the theory of Zemplényi–Horváth is that as the sonnet – as an entirely closed and self-contained structure – emerged from sequentially built medieval poetry, Balassi also realized the superiority of the closed structures and by the end of his career created such a poem – whether inspired by other models or not. It remains a question if he ever came across sonnets in any language he knew (he was well versed in nine languages, among others Latin, Italian, German, Polish, and Turkish). Even if he did, as is most probable, he evidently felt the metrical structure of sonnets inapt for the rhythm of Hungarian which generally contains longer words than the Indo-European languages and in the 16th century especially preferred longer lines. The Balassi stanza consists of three 19 syllable lines – the English translation could render these at best into 16 syllable lines (see his last poem, quoted above). It is notable that in Polish, the first sonnet was written in the 1580s, while in Hungarian only in the late 18th century.
23. Horváth 1982, 218. This thesis – ever since having been proposed by Horváth – has been in the focus of debates in Hungarian Renaissance scholarship. The opposing group of scholars maintain that there had been courtly love poetry before Balassi – only it has not survived.
24. Szerb 1982, 153.
25. The phrase, "noble failure" derives from McCoy 1979, 9 (*Rebellion in Arcadia*). Huizinga is quoted in Van Dorsten, ed., 1986, ix. An effort to radically demythicize the Sidney-image is the provoking article of Hager 1981. The numerous studies in Van Dorsten 1986 also consciously aim to learn "not only how true [the traditional Sidney-image] is, but also how it came about, and why" (*ibid.*). For a comprehensive view see also Katherine Duncan-Jones' new biography (1991).
26. Cf. Imre Bori's afterword in Balassi/Horváth 1976. Also Ács 1982; Komlowszki 1982; Zemplényi 1982.
27. Waller 1984, 69.

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# LATIN POETRY IN HUNGARY IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

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Hungary

With this paper I shall attempt to introduce a group of poets — to date largely neglected by Hungarian scholarship — who, in the period of the Late-Renaissance, wrote mostly or exclusively in Latin. From among the rich but often hardly accessible material of Hungarian Neo-Latin poetry only four poets, who left considerable oeuvres, will be treated in some detail. As for the geographical scope, Hungary is to be understood as the historical *Regnum Hungariae* that fell into three pieces as a result of (1) the Turkish occupation of Buda (1541), (2) the establishment of the Principality of Transylvania, and (3) the entrenchment of Habsburg power in the northern and western parts of the country. It should be noted, however, that neither these weighty events, nor the cruel wars of religion, nor the so-called Fifteen Years' War, which made the division of Hungary last for almost another one hundred years, could demolish the common concept of a historically unified country.

The poets in question belonged to a distinct cultural layer of the same generation. Their homeland, or at least their place of residence, was North-East Hungary, though some were born in the western parts and others descended from families who had to leave their crofts in the South because of the Turkish conquest. Until 1600 almost all of them studied at the University of Wittenberg. The followers of the Swiss Confession soon moved over to the German academies in the West (Heidelberg), but as a result of the Thirty Years War they had to go even further, to the universities of the Netherlands. These poets emerged in the 1590s; the very last and most important publication of their generation was the collection entitled *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum* released by J. Ph. Pareus (1619). In fact, this editor published two entire poetical oeuvres in the work. These Hungarian poets deserve particular attention because they were succeeded by no other similar group during the 17th century.

Considering the era and the territory, one rightly expects that most of the poets were of Hungarian birth, while some were of German or Slovak-

ian origin. They spoke a number of languages and several of them wrote in two languages. This multilingualism made it possible for J. Filiczky, who was born in the Szepesség — a typical multilingual county of Northern Hungary — to undertake a private tutorship in a Czech family. The poetical witnesses of this multilingualism are poems, written often in two versions, sometimes in the same metre, e.g. hexameters.<sup>1</sup> The German speaking poets were either citizens of German towns founded in the Middle Ages and spoke the so-called main Hungarian languages (Hungarian, German, and Slovakian),<sup>2</sup> or they were new immigrants from Germany who served as clergymen and school-rectors in the German-inhabited areas. Around 1600, according to all indications, the number of foreign academics rose in Hungary. Except for a few, however, they did not stay in the country for very long. One such exception was the Silesian Johannes Bocatius, the most prolific poet among his contemporaries, who later became mayor of Kassa [Košice in today's Slovakia], and even served as a diplomat. The Hungarian community soon got to like him, and after marrying the daughter of a well-educated preacher who had previously been the pastor of the imperial embassy in Constantinople, he was considered a native Hungarian. Nevertheless he could never learn the language well. Once a foreign painter asked him why he decided to stay in Hungary; he answered with the following epigram, referring also to the classical *sententia*:

Plus patria doctis fauet exera terra poetis,  
Hinc peregrina etiam me capit ora magis.<sup>3</sup>

Aside from the sense of historical unity, the Turkish danger, the Reformation, and the common humanist education, it was also a politically and historically interpreted tradition that connected these poets. The basis of this feeling was provided by the work of Janus Pannonius, which had been published a few decades earlier by Johannes Sambucus. The 15th century humanist poet and bishop of Pécs was not a Protestant, of course, but his epigrams against the popes have made him popular ever since. His poetical status was always unquestioned, and this is why he became the court poet of King Matthias, the last Hungarian-born king who founded a flourishing Renaissance culture in his royal court, while successfully defending his lands from the Turkish onslaught. Interestingly enough, it was Bocatius, the Silesian, who published a number of anecdotes on Matthias in verse, and later he also published the source of these anecdotes, a work of the Italian Marzio Galeotto, under the title *Salomon Hungaricus* (1611).<sup>4</sup>

The latter publication was achieved with the assistance of the Hungarian Palatine of the day, the highest dignitary after the king. Further literary models and authorities mentioned in the works of our poet-group were Georgius Sabinus, Georgius Fabricius, Petrus Lotichius, also Nicodemus Frischlin, Nicolaus Reusner, Friedrich Taubmann, and above all Paul Schede Melissus; here and there one even finds references to Justus Lipsius, Scalichius the encyclopedist, and Ramus the philosopher.

Among the poets, one can at first glance observe — except for Bocatius — the lack of love themes. Bocatius, being a scholar-tutor, did not at all represent more liberal moral principles or more open habits than the other significant personalities, who, as pastors and also often members of the town council were his superiors. It was rather a matter of his being the only one among his fellow-poets who, as poet, adopted the role of the perfect layman, and thus accepted and tolerated the traditional conceptions of love-poetry. His *Rubella*, for example, had originally been a creature of poetical fantasy according to classical patterns, and only later did the poet associate his love poems with his fiancée, who, of course, spoke no Latin.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, young Hungarian clergymen had the ability to write useful and suitably conventional love poems, if their patron requested them. Apparently, young barons did not care much about such poetry, but the author, the private tutor preserved it and passed it on in his works to posterity. Without commission, a clergyman would write at most for his own wedding, though it sometimes happened that the same poem, with minor alterations, served for two additional marriages and wives.<sup>6</sup>

When evaluating the literary topics of these Hungarian poets, it is crucial to consider the intellectual strata to which the authors belonged. They were generally students, or educators of young nobles, and, after graduating from their academic studies, some of them served as court preachers, others as clergy in small provincial towns and villages, where, far away from the foreign and internal cultural centers, their poetry was greatly influenced by the traditions of the village gentry and the church order. Bearing these factors in mind, one might reasonably ask to what extent were their literary themes determined by their personal backgrounds and by the tasks and interests of their audience.

Hungarian students typically attended the theological faculties of foreign universities with the support of a rich diocese or a noble patron; the peregrinants thus committed themselves to return the costs of their studies by serving in a school or a church. Students at foreign universities established an organization for themselves, the so-called *Coetus* with an elected

director who represented the group and had certain rights within this community. Under these material conditions and moral obligations the student fell under the influence of three factors: that of the patron, the Coetus and the university.

György Thury represents a typical case of a poet who developed in such a cultural context. His poems, together with the *Poemata* of Johann Philipp Pareus, appeared in the second book of the latter's *Carmina adoptiva*, and later in *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum*.<sup>7</sup>

Thirteen of his elegies have survived. One of them was written in the name of the Coetus,<sup>8</sup> two on the occasion of the Coetus-members leaving for home, three more as tributes to his Patron,<sup>9</sup> and another three concerned to the sphere of university studies. One of these was dedicated to the birthday, the second to the death of Schede Melissus, and the third to the defunct pastor primarius of Heidelberg and professor of theology; one more elegy belongs to this group, written for two graduating Danish students.<sup>10</sup> Finally, three more poems are characteristic, referring to the strata that promoted Latin poetry in the writer's homeland. The themes are: the death of a professor, and deceased sons of former students of Heidelberg.<sup>11</sup>

György Thury's epigrams demonstrate the range of the young poet's cultural interests. Two thirds of his poems are addressed to poets and scholars, among others Justus Lipsius, Scalichius, and Paracelsus, and they often contain interesting information about his political opinions. On the other hand, names of students are mentioned in those epigrams that he originally wrote into theses and dissertations and later decided to bring together here. His epigrams written to relatives and patrons show the same typology of themes and aspects as the elegies. These throw light not only on facts concerning the poet's biography, but also provide important data about the audience for Neo-Latin poetry in Hungary.

The second poet under consideration, János Filiczky represents the type of Praeceptor who for fifteen years served as a private tutor of the children of various Hungarian and Bohemian families and spent nearly half his life abroad. He descended from a family of the lower nobility, and he already spoke three vernacular languages in his childhood. His patrons sponsored the publication two collections of his poems (Prague, 1604; Basel, 1614), the latter being reprinted in *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum*.<sup>12</sup> The first volume consisted of 30 poems, while the second, a much more comprehensive book, contained 140 poems. The first volume was sponsored by a Hungarian noble family, the Thököly, the second by a Bohemian, the Hodejovský z Hodejova. The most remarkable addressees of the first, the thinner volume, are Sebestyén Thököly and his son, István Thököly; a few other

families of the poet's homeland in the Szepesség, and a few school rectors who worked in the Protestant schools supported by the above mentioned noble families. Nine poems were addressed to the Thökölys, three to other magnates, as well as twelve to priests and schoolteachers. In the poems dedicated to his patrons, the poet often treated the topic of *vera nobilitas* and interpreted their coats of arms and emblematic symbols. The second group of the addressees expressed thanks for the education and help they had provided during the poet's studies. The volume published in Prague shows the distinct cultural contours of those gentry courts which flourished at that time and whose members, such as the members of the Thököly family, also patronized the Neo-Latin poets.

The author included his later poems in his second book published in Basel and grouped the material as follows: *Genethliaca* — *Novus annus* — *Gratulatoria* — *Sententiae parainetikai* — *Propemptika* — *Philothesia* — *Prosphonesteis* — *Epithalamia* — *Paramythica* — *Funebria*. The chapters created in this way embrace various situations of life from birth to death, which, according to the traditions of patronage, had to be praised with poems. Most of the occasions are obvious from the cited group titles, some chapters, however, need further clarification. The *Genethliaca* in this case, meant only Christmas poems; the rather comprehensive series, *Novus*, consists of New Year's greetings; the only poem of more than one part, entitled *Gratulatoria*, praises a schoolrector of Nassau and contains Latin and Greek epigrams in accordance with the addressee's education. The group *Propemptika* is notable for two of its epigrams which Filiczky took out of his own *album amicorum*. Under the title *Philothesia* there are poems that the author himself wrote into memorial albums. The title *Prosphonesteis* refers to poems which were written into academic theses and dissertations, as well as into books of friends at their request. With the label *Paramythica* Filiczky titled poetical exegesis of scriptural texts, which were popular even in the school curriculum.

If we review the addressees of these occasional poems, we can quite clearly see the relationship that developed between the praeceptor and his young pupil. It is only too obvious that Filiczky dedicated more than ten percent of his poems to the families of his tutorees, but it is conspicuous that only in a very few did he address university professors. When he dedicated a poem to a person associated with the university, he usually chose the prince of the land, or the rector of the institution, with whom his aristocratic student, according to his rank, had to make contact. What also becomes clear is the strategy by which the praeceptor chose his acquaint-

tances at a foreign university. There are surviving poems by various university members which were dedicated both to the private tutor and to his young lord. When escorting his pupil abroad, the Hungarian praeceptor looked for his equals, among the rectors and their associates of the Latin schools who were graduates and *mutatis mutandis* occupied a similar position in the hierarchy of academic life. All in all, we can expect the praeceptors to have had a certain status somewhere between the professors and the students. It is a fact, that they were not simply completing their studies but, as teaching assistants, also reviewed the lectures of the professors with their students.

It is the school rectors who belonged to the third group of Neo-Latin poets in Hungary. A typical representative of this group was the already mentioned Bocatius who held the post of *ludimagister* in two towns of North-East Hungary. The title of his first volume was: *Siracides vel Ecclesiasticus Iesu, filii Sirach, parainesis ad vitam bene beateque transigendam, in locos redactae et versibus elegiacis redditae* (Wittenberg, 1596). It is prefaced by Aegidius Hunnius, the famous theologian of Wittenberg, whose pedagogical belief was that the versified version of biblical texts would bring the sentences of the Holy Scriptures closer to the pupils, and thus making them more easily learnable. As he organized the biblical *sententiae* according to their topics, his work was useful even for clergymen, who, in search of authorities, used it while preparing for their sermons. Bocatius versified scriptural texts which today belong to the *Apocrypha* but were then appreciated as an important part of the curriculum for the first years of Latin studies. Considering that the addressees were pastors of six royal free towns, who constituted the local ecclesiastical leadership, we can complete the list of important sociological aspects of the book. Its usefulness seems undoubtable in a certain sphere and also characterises the author as a representative of school poetry.

His other, previously mentioned volume was dedicated to his noble patrons, the counts Zsigmond Forgách and Kristóf Darholcz. The son of the former addressee, Mihály Forgách became famous in Hungarian literary history at least in part for a letter he wrote while a student at Wittenberg, to Justus Lipsius. Lipsius' reply had been rendered into Latin distichs by Bocatius.<sup>13</sup> This close relationship between the Forgách family and the poet can be demonstrated best by the brief letter Mihály Forgách wrote after his father's death and in two sentences asked for *Carmina funebria*: "Plange Bocati, amisimus heri heroem magnum, Hungariae solem, patrem meum. Plange Bocati et omnes Tuæ Musæ."<sup>14</sup> Bocatius' Muses answered with ten

poems which appeared within three months of the funeral.<sup>15</sup> István Drugeth of Homonna, another nobleman, writing a long letter in which he called Bocatius — according to the etiquette of the day — the best poet of North Hungary and also requested poems from him.<sup>16</sup> Darholcz, the other addressee, became acquainted with Bocatius through the preacher-poet, János Tolnai Balog. Both of them will be considered in greater detail below.

The four hundred page book, entitled *Hungaridos libri poematum libri V.* and the appendix of letters written to and from Bocatius, deliver a great deal of material reflecting on the relationship between a poet and his audience in the last decades of the 16th century. These letter-writing humanists, who occasionally wrote poems, too, were clergymen and school rectors. Their lowest stratum consisted of cantors. The town clergy who dealt with their steady and interested flock also as educators, and who sometimes also acted as poets, often appear as addressees and patrons themselves. It happened that two priests, after receiving their dedicated copies, sent gold coins to the author. In other cases, however, persons of the same rank expressed their applause with poems.<sup>17</sup> The most financially promising patron was a nobleman, who, besides expressing his polite appreciation, showed his satisfaction by giving money. Significant positions among the patrons were held by the clerks of the royal finance administration: the counselors, the provisors, and the accountants.

The patron and the addressees of the occasional poems acted according to the requirement of their status and tradition, but the examination of the mechanisms of the patronage system have been neglected in Hungarian Renaissance scholarship and more thorough research is still badly needed. It was, of course, fairly common that the cost of printing was financed by a rich noble, especially in the case of large volumes. For example, István Illésházy, the later palatine, once sent a courier with 50 forints to a printing house in Wittenberg, the voyage of his servant cost him another 25. Bocatius had been backed in a similar way by a magnate when he submitted his book, *Salomon Hungaricus*, for publication. It is important to mention though, that in both cases only the cost of printing is known, the honorarium of the author still remains a mystery. Bocatius' *Carmina funeralia* belongs to the category of typical occasional poetry, in it he commemorated the deaths of Simon Forgách and István Drugeth of Homonna. Both collections were printed at the cost of the commissioner but there is no reference to any honorarium paid to the author. The town judges, town

clerks and senators almost always gave money to the poet, and gold coins represented the highest form of appreciation.<sup>18</sup>

It is remarkable how carefully Bocatius chose his patrons, how cleverly he kept himself away from the arguments over religion between the followers of Lutheranism and the Swiss Confession, and how he avoided confessionalism. It is also noteworthy that most of the time he relied on the high nobility and the patricians of the cities. Members of the lesser nobility (gentry) cannot be found among the addressees of his poems. The exceptions, however, are the families of Máriássy and Darholcz. Bocatius was introduced to the Darholcz family by János Tolnai Balog, his best friend, and also the most gifted poet among them all.

This poet represents the fourth type of Latin versifier of that day, namely the educated village preacher, who, together with his patron Kristóf Darholcz, and a few little known poet-friends, formed a humanist group not far from Bocatius' home, at Kassa, and also enjoyed the friendship and hospitality of the Silesian. These relations and connections within the developing literary institution were quite complex, as this provincial Humanist group also had close contacts with contemporary vernacular Renaissance poets. Darholcz financed the publication of a booklet in honor of the fallen Balassi brothers. In this Tolnai Balog wrote eight poems. One of them is an epigram that was later translated into Hungarian by János Rimay, thus becoming the best poetry *in memoriam* to the poet, Bálint Balassi.<sup>19</sup> Tolnai Balog's social position was quite different from that of Bocatius. In a letter written to the Silesian, he referred to himself as a village clergyman and he obtained his patrons mostly from among the gentry. Thus while Rimay<sup>20</sup> was not mentioned in Bocatius well-known poems, he received an honorable place on the list of Tolnai Balog.<sup>21</sup>

At least by 1592 Tolnai Balog was serving as a clergyman in a village on the estates of the Darholcz family. It was in that very year that his humanist group came into existence and held its occasional meetings in the castle of the Darholczes or in the vicarage. In the presence of friends and guests, Tolnai Balog wrote an epigram celebrating the marriage of Bocatius in his own garden. Bocatius must also have liked writing occasional poetry so spontaneously. Earlier he had produced a poem on the garden of an imperial clerk in a similar manner.<sup>22</sup>

The humanist group of a village had an environment very different from that of the Silesian poet in the city of Kassa. Without wanting to idealize feudalism or rural noble life, it is easy to notice that the clergyman-poet and his patron saw each other quite often, and that even magnates and pastors attended the occasional literary meetings. It is also well known, how



this loosely organized group pioneered in appreciating poetry written in Hungarian. Darholcz wrote both in Hungarian and Latin, Rimay had also been introduced as a bilingual poet by Tolnai Balog:

*Praeterea gnarus patriis cantare Camoneis  
Romanoque sono Rimaiensis erit.*<sup>23</sup>

The group and the patron had occasional poems printed, though it would have been a much bigger venture to publish the collected poems of Tolnai Balog. In fact, Darholcz promised to do so but could not carry out for his promise for unknown reasons, maybe because of his untimely death. Soon after that, Tolnai Balog left his earlier residence and associated himself with the family Drugeth. They supported Latin poetry as much as Darholcz, and some members of the family wrote Hungarian poetry, too.

When Bocatius prefaced the poetry of his friend, Tolnai Balog, he used the phrases "gravitas moris et oris honor" and greeted in his personality "sacer Christi vates". Somewhere else he mentions an epic poem, written by Tolnai Balog in distichs ("canis heroo grandia gesta sono"), and other lyrical metres following the classical examples of Virgil, Ovid and Horace. Unfortunately, no epic poem by Tolnai Balog has survived and, even his poems in hexameters are rare.<sup>24</sup> The disappearance of so many poems can be explained by the system of their distribution. They were sent as splendid manuscripts to their addressees and as the planned volumes usually did not appear, we can only find them among the remains of the author or, through patient philological work, we can reconstruct them from archives.

Considering the literary activity of the persons dealt with so far, we can see that volumes of poetry could only be published under the right circumstances, with the assistance of a university professor abroad, or a magnate-patron at or from home. The gentry, the preachers, and the school teachers of provincial towns and villages could have their poems printed only in a few cases, and the likelihood of publishing their literary products in the form of a book was even more remote. On the other hand, it is by now beyond doubt that poetical activity was widespread in late-Renaissance Hungary and we can observe the rapid development of this literary institution during the period. Forms and opportunities were greatly determined by a system of tradition codified in school and church orders and by the traditions of the nobility and the urban middle class. Consequently, if we want to know more about the forms and norms of the poetry of this era, we have to take into consideration the socio-ideological factors treated in this paper.

## Notes

1. *Régi magyar költők tára* [Collection of old Hungarian poets], 17th century series (hereafter: *RMKT XVII*). Vol. 2: poem numbers 24, 26, 29, 34, 36, 38, 46; Vol. 6: Nos 183, 184.
2. The poet Bocatius' father-in-law spoke seven languages. Cf. Johannes Bocatius: *Hungaridos libri poematum* V. Bartphae, 1599, 426.
3. Bocatius, *op. cit.*, 375.
4. In an epigram, attached to the book, a friend of the poet wrote:  
     Ergo Pannonius tu nobis lanus es alter;  
     Pannonij haud Iani est laus tua, lane, minor.
5. Bocatius, *op. cit.*, 298.
6. *RMKT XVII*. Vol. 2: No. 16, 35.
7. J. Philippi Parei Poemata. In quibus Odarum Libri duo. Anacreon. Sylvae. Epigrammata. Liber adoptivus. Neapoli Nemetum, 1616, 296–350; *Delitiae Poetarum Hungaricorum ... exhibitae a Ioh. Philippo Pareo*. Francofurti, 1619, 311–354.
8. II. In obitum Iacobi Wagneri, scriptum iussu coetus. V. In discessum Balthasaris C. Debrecini. VI. Ad dominum Petrum P. Aluincium discedentem.
9. II. Ad generosum dominum Ludouicum Rakoci etc. Quum Begum Bacsensem Ibrahim vietum et vinctum adduceret Mense Iun. 1602. XI. Ad spectabilem et magnificum dominum ... Franciscum Mangoczi, etc. XII. In honorem nuptiarum ... Valentini Drugeth de Homonna ... et Elisabethae Rakoci.
10. X. In diem natalem Pauli Melissi Franci. IX. In obitum ... Pauli Melissi Schedii. VIII. In obitum ... Danielis Tossani, pastoris et professoris primarii in Academia Heidebergensi. IV. In lauream magisterii Iani Zeuthenii et Iani Holmii Danorum.
11. Ad Basileum VV. Schepsinum, obitum filii lugentem. II. In obitum Thomae Fabricii. XIII. Ad ... Basilium Szabó ... obitum filiorum lugentem.
12. Xenia natalia etc. magnificis, generosis, egregiis, nobilissimis viris, prudentia, eruditione, maxima rerum experientia, et virtute praestantissimis, [...] ad edendum geni sui indicium, animi grati testimonium, debitae observantiae monimentum, strenae loco in recens ineuntis anni MDCIV. [...] ab Ioanne Filiczio Farkasfalvano Hungaro-Sepusio dedicata, consecrata et oblata. Prague, 1604; *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum*, 465–530.
13. *Forgách Mihály és Justus Lipsius levélváltása* [The correspondence of Mihály Forgács and Justus Lipsius]. Budapest, 1970. *Iusti Lipsii Epistolarum centuriae duae*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1951, II, No. 81; and *Opera omnia*. Vesaliae, 1675, 2:197. Bocatius: *Hungaridos libri poematum* V. Bartphae, 1599, 292–294.
14. Bocatius *op. cit.*, 460–461.
15. Musae parentales [...] Simonis Forgach [...] 20 Septemb. Anno 1598 demortui. Bartphae, 1598; and *Hungaridos libri poematum* V. Bartphae, 1599, 292–294.
16. Bocatius, *op. cit.*, 470–471.
17. *Op. cit.*, 447–448.
18. *Op. cit.*, 455.

19. The modern edition of Darholcz Latin collection of epicedia: Dézsi, Lajos (ed.). *Balassa Bálint minden munkái* [Balassi's collected works]. Budapest, 1923, 625–664. Rimay's translation was published in Eckhardt, Sándor (ed.). *Rimay János Összes Művei* [Rimay's collected works]. Budapest, 1955, 46. A reference of Bocatius about the Balassi family can be found in his *Hungaridos libri poematum V.*, 402.
20. A central figure in the post-Balassi Hungarian literary scene, a poet of gentry descent.
21. Bocatius, *op. cit.*, 499–505. Some of the gentry patron families Bocatius could have, but did not mention are the following: Petényi, Figedy, Kapy, Pécsy, Berthóty, Rimay, Perlaky etc.
22. János Tolnai Balog, *op. cit.*; Bocatius, "Ad hortulum domesticum [...] Georgii Caproncai, praeceptoris caesarei Cassoviae", *op. cit.*, 217.
23. Darholcz's mentioned poetry cf. *op. cit.*, 502; Tolnai Balog of Rimay cf. *op. cit.*, 503–504.
24. Bocatius mentions Tolnai Balog's poems in *op. cit.*, 198–200.



# THE METRICAL HERITAGE OF BALASSI IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARIAN POETRY

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Bálint Balassi's metrical inventions had a longlasting influence in 17th century Hungarian poetry. The imitations of his representative strophical forms denote a metrical universe that can be labelled with the name of the poet: the metrical universe of Balassi. This universe has been available for the methods of metrical mass analysis only recently, thanks to the publication of the entirety of seventeenth-century Hungarian poetry. (The title of the series of publications is RMKT=*Régi magyar költők tára, XVII.* [Old Hungarian poetry, 17th century].)

In the present paper I would like to propose a hypothesis that can lead us nearer to the mapping of Balassi's metrical universe within the system of strophes of 17th century Hungarian poetry, and it can also contribute to the general typological survey of 17th-century Hungarian strophes. In describing individual strophes, I shall not rely on the characteristics of the lines (although this is the usual method in Hungarian scholarship), rather, I take the rhyme-scheme as decisive. The reasons for this are the following: looking at the metrical patterns, the presence of Western European type of lines has long ago been registered even in medieval Hungarian poetry. On the other hand, if we look at the rhyme-schemes, we get the impression that the typical western pattern, the canso-type of strophes appear only in the 17th century, a fact which implies that Renaissance and earlier Hungarian poetry could not use the metrical achievements of Western European poetry. Let me mention some further points that make me to concentrate on the rhyme-schemes and on their comparison to the cansos of the troubadours.

(A) It is self-explanatory that the rhyme-scheme contains the most important information about the structure of a strophe. The analysis of rhyme-schemes is one of several alternatives to produce a systematic description of 17th-century Hungarian strophes.

(B) The characteristics of most of our contemporary poetry, on a fairly general level, can be compared to the characteristics of the troubadour canso. The correspondences can be explained by quite trivial historical

factors: "... it is a fact, that our borrowed strophes, in the largest part, do not show direct influence from Hellas and Rome, rather point towards 'the songs of Provance'. [...] The troubadours of Provance became the vanguards of the intellectual unity of medieval Europe; their radiating art, together with that of the poets of Northern-France, promoted new and strict poetical forms everywhere. Our [the Hungarian] metrical forms, generally called Western European, almost without exception derive from this Provancale, that is Neo-Latin tradition, at least indirectly" (Gáldi 1961, 60–61. "Western European lines [!] in Hungarian poetry" is the title of the chapter from which this opinion is quoted).<sup>1</sup> Naturally, what is true about metrical patterns, may not necessarily be true about rhyme-schemes, strophes. It is nevertheless a fact that both the *canso* and the majority of old Hungarian songs (1) had rhymes, (2) had fixed number of syllables in the lines, and (3) were structured into strophes. The *canso* contained three kinds of elements (rhyme-scheme, melody, and fixed number of syllables) building them into a four level hierarchy. This hierarchy corresponds to the hierarchy of Hungarian melodical songs that were also rhyming, strophic, and counted the syllables.

ASPECTS OF THE <i>CANSO</i>	ASPECTS OF <i>HUNGARIAN SONGS</i>
The highest level, the whole poem, <i>canso</i>	poem, <i>cantio</i>
Second level, the strophe, the <i>cobla</i>	strophes, <i>verses</i>
Third level, the line or <i>bordos</i>	lines, <i>rhythm</i>
Fourth level, counting metrical syllables, <i>sillaba</i>	metrical <i>syllables</i>
(Cf. Roubaud 1986, 197)	

I think that on the basis of the listed parallels — from a typological and not a historical viewpoint — it can be fruitful to compare the strophes and rhyme-schemes of troubadour lyrics and old Hungarian poetry.

(C) By now we have considerable amount of material to carry out mass rhyme-scheme analysis. (1) A research group lead by Iván Horváth has

produced the the metrical repertory of all known Hungarian poetry written up to 1600. It is easy to generate the rhyme-scheme corpus of old Hungarian strophic poetry from this electronic database. (2) As for 17th-century Hungarian poetry, the FC-group of Szeged has also produced a few, partial metrical repertories in the past few years (most important among them is the repertory of the Balassi-universe, that is the variations of the rhythms invented by the poet). (3) I have also set up a metrical catalogue, based on the one thousand verse-adagia published by Péter Kisviczay in 1713. Any of these collections allows mass rhyme-analysis of old Hungarian poetry. I believe, it would be most fortunate to pursue a method of analysis modelled on the already existing "trobar"- and trouvère-repertories,<sup>2</sup> this can be easily adapted because of the similar notation of rhymes. Such a comparative work will make possible to match the various aspects of Hungarian strophical poetry and the verse-patterns of other medieval vernacular languages. To sum up: comparability is the prospective goal of rhyme-scheme analysis. The question is whether it can be carried out at all?

In the first step rhyme-scheme analysis has to answer the question, why a metrical series of elements (apart from the so-called "double nature" series) can be segmented only in one possible way? To give a Hungarian example, the representative strophe of Bálint Balassi: why is it that the series *aabccbddb* can be divided only into the phrases *aab/ccb/ddb* and not *a/abc/cbd/db*, or into any other versions?

In his study of 1973 Jacques Roubaud described the rhyme-schemes of the trouvères by the help of the combination of binaric elements. How could he do this? Let us take a stanza of the last troubadour, Guiraut Riquier, as an example (the first cobla of his song, "Be-m degra de chantar tener"):

Be-m degra de chantar tener, quar a chan coven aleg-  
riers, a mi destrenh tant cossiriers. que-m fa de  
totas partz doler. remembran mon greu temps passat.  
esgardan lo prezent forsat. e cossiran l'avenidor.  
que per totz ai rason que plor.

(The text and its French translation can be found in  
Roubaud 1971, 436–9)

The rhymes of the cobla: -er, -iers, -iers, -er, -at, -at, -or, -or; the rhyme-scheme: *abbacdd*.<sup>3</sup> This scheme is the most common type in the canso-material. The rhyme-scheme contains eight elemental units but consists of only four elemental constituents: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*. The appropriate strategy of

analysis consequently must be the combination of four elements, not the combination of two, as in binary oppositions: 0 and 1, that is *a* and *b*. However, it is still possible to reduce the system into two elements, due to the inner structure of the strophe, generally called *pedes/cauda* or *frons/cauda* division.

In Roubaud's work, the inclusion of the *pedes/cauda* division into the analysis results in the expansion of the four-level canso modell into a five-level structure:

LEVELS	CORRESPONDING NOTATION
bordos (lines)	a, b, c, and d
"pied" (foot)	ab, ba, cc, dd
frons and sirma (cauda)	abba, ccdd
cobla (strophe)	abbaccdd
canso	abbaccdd, abbaccdd, ... ..

If we start analysing the cobla, we see that it is divided into two greater units: (abba) and (ccdd). The traditional names of these parts are *frons* and *cauda*, a beginning and closing unit within the strophe. The *frons* again falls into two parts: (ab) and (ba). The name of these units is *pedes*, "feet" in the sense of Dante.<sup>4</sup> Caudas could also be divided into two or three smaller units. As soon as we separated the cauda and made it distinct, its rhyme-scheme can be retranslated from (ccdd) to (aabb). After this, the only possible further division will be according to the four elemental constituents: *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*.

The rhyme-schemes of the troubadours, in decreasing frequency, are as follows:

abba / ccdd  
 abab / ccdd  
 abba / cdde  
 abba / ccddde



abab / cddc  
 abab / cdcd  
 abab / ccddee  
 .....

I would like to emphasize the following characteristics of the above typology: (1) each scheme starts with (ab) combination; (2) the cauda of each scheme starts where the *c* element appears. To rephrase this: the diesis, that is the border between the two greater units of the strophe in each case should be placed before the first *c* element. While the (ab) opening creates intrinsic versatility in the scheme, the *c* element fulfills the function of segmenting and hierarchy-building within the pedes/cauda structure. (We had better call this a "c-function", as it happens that the described segmenting and hierarchy-building is realized by a *d* element.) Looking at the later development of the canso, we ought to recognize the crucial importance of the (ab) opening in combination with the "c-function". The best example is the sonnet. This form appeared in Sicily about 1230 and many scholars consider it a mutant cobla-structure of the canso which eventually became independent and fixed. As Roubaud writes in *La fleur inverse*: "The sonnet is the formal remembrance of the canso." The sonnet behaves much the same as the coblas of the canso: it has an obligatory (ab) opening and a "c-function" divides it into *octava* and *sestett*. These two features have exercised an ongoing influence on modern (post-trobar) European poetry in such a way that they not only segmented the strophes but also created an horizontal hierarchy within the strophical units and made possible a great variety of rhyme-schemes.

After this introduction let us examine the Hungarian test-material, having in mind the question whether the common general model of the troubadour cansos and Hungarian songs contains common strophical structures, too?

In order to keep our research within reasonable limits, I have decided to reduce the corpus of 17th-century Hungarian poetry to be examined. I needed a great variety of poems by various authors which represent most genres, topics, and registers of 17th-century Hungarian poetry so I have chosen the tenth volume of RMKT. This publication contains the poetry of the 1660s. My conclusions apply to this corpus of verse material, in case they are valid in a wider sphere of reference, I make this application clear.

The material examined, from the aspect of metrics, contains 293 texts. The distinguished 293 rhyme-schemes can be arranged into thirteen groups. The following table indicates their frequency:

<i>RHYME-SCHEMES</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>
(1) of one type of elemental constituent (a):	
1. <i>aa</i>	4
2. <i>aaa</i>	7
3. <i>aaaa</i>	244
(2) of two types of elemental constituents (a) and (b), eventually unrhyming line endings:	
4. <i>aaaabb</i>	1
5. <i>aaaabbb</i>	1
6. <i>aabb</i>	2
7. <i>aabbx</i>	3
(3) of three types of elemental constituents, (a), (b), and (c):	
8. <i>aabccb</i>	3
9. <i>aabbcc</i>	1
(4) of four types of elemental constituents, (a), (b), (c), and (d):	
10. <i>aabccbddb</i>	10
11. <i>abbaccadda</i>	1
(5) of five types of elemental constituents, (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e):	
12. <i>aabccbddbeeb</i>	5
13. <i>abbaccdeed</i>	1
Number of texts:	293 <sup>5</sup>

Let us examine now these thirteen types of rhyme-schemes considering the occurrences of the c-element or "c-function". In this context categories (1) and (2) can be neglected, we need to look at the schemes with 3, 4, or 5 elemental constituents. Categories (3) — (4) — (5) contain altogether 19 texts. The proportion of texts in category (1) and the rest seems to be significant and proves the popularity of mono-rhyming even in the 17th century. At this point we may recall Dante's opinion about this practice; he formulated his views mostly in regard of the poetry of the troubadours: "There is another type of stanza in which the same rhyme appears in each line; it is obviously futile to seek any kind of proportional arrangement in such a form" (*De vulgari eloquentia*, in Dante 1962, II, 13). According to this judgement, the majority of old Hungarian poetry did not contain any kind of proportional arrangement, because Dante's definition of proportional stanzas did not consider rhyme-schemes of homogenous elements.

As Roubaud has clarified, there are only 65 poems in the entirety of troubadour texts having monorhymes, and out of these 65 only 5 are cansos (Roubaud 1986, 221). The dominance of the mostly one- or two-element rhyme-schemes combined with monorhyming four-line strophes in Hungarian poetry show a radically different practice of strophe-building from that of the troubadours characterized by the seven most popular canso-forms of Roubaud's repertory. This statement, though, needs some correction. Roubaud examined the troubadour rhyme-schemes in the canso form and almost neglected the *sirventes* and *tenso*. Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine, for example, still used one- or two-element rhyme-schemes in his poems, and many of his compositions are far from the sophisticated hierarchies of Jaufre Rudel. Some examples from the oeuvre of the "father of trobar":

one-element rhyme:

*aaa* "Companho farai un bers /qu'er/ covinen"

two-element rhyme:

*aaab*<sup>6</sup> "Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz"

*aaabab* "Farai chansoneta nueva"

*abbaab* "Molt jauzens mi prenc en amar"

three-element rhyme:

*abcabc* "Ab la dolchor del temps novel"

Thinking of just the strophes we cannot accept the dichotomy of a *ric* "trobar" and a *paubre* Hungarian poetry, although we must admit that the strophical culture of the Provencal troubadours was richer than that of the old Hungarian poets. We acknowledge very different proportions but not oppositional poles in metrics.

Out of the 19 poems of the three- or more-element Hungarian texts, (1) sixteen are imitations or derivations of Balassi's representative stanza form; (2) one text is of uncertain origin; (3) one seems to be near the canso-form; and (4) one is neither of Balassi nor coble-type. This last one lacks hierarchy, it is a structure of coordinate elements: *aabbcc*. To sum up: as for the "c-function", it appears mostly in connection with Balassi's representative strophe.

The proportion of the Balassi-stanzas among the examined 293 texts is fairly small. It is because this stanza-form became rather exhausted by the 1660s; we are at the beginning of a long period of disappearance of this form in favor of the alexandrine. In spite of this, the Balassi-stanza, with

ten occurrences, is still second in frequency, while the third position again is occupied by a monorhyming strophe.

The 19 poems containing c-elements represent five different rhyme-schemes. Two of them are direct derivations of the Balassi-strophe: the Balassi minor (two periods) and the Balassi maior (four periods). Comparing these to the canso/cobla structures we can see the followings: in the troubadour lyric the pedes/volta and frons/cauda elements constitute an intermediate structure between the levels of the individual rhyme-elements and the rhyme-scheme. We can also find a kind of intermediate level in the Balassi-stanza, this is the period (*aab*). The c-elements here introduce the second period (*ccb*), thus having not only a dividing function as rymes have in general, but also a function to build up hierarchies (a good parallel is the usage of Giraut Riquier). This also designates a border, a *diesis*, only not the type of diesis which separates the frons and the cauda. It is easy to understand why: the frons requires minimum two feet, there is no one-foot frons.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, Balassi's (*aab*) period could function as a foot (as we know about ternary feet among the strophes of the cansos), but it cannot fulfill the role of a frons. Beyond the periods, the whole of the Balassi-stanza also has ternary characteristics: the periods are not hierarchized in the strophe, only juxtaposed (*aab*)(*ccb*)(*ddb*). The first c-element thus is equivalent with the first a- and d-elements, in case of four-period strophe even with the first e-element. In the canso the "c-function" of the cobla is undividable and refers to one distinct elemental constituent. On the contrary, in 17th-century Hungarian poetry, the c-elements have divided functions and they only separate, do not create hierarchies. This last function is reserved only for the b-elements.

Analyzing the rhyme-schemes of the 19 mentioned texts, it is only two in which the c-element has a different function from that of the ones in the Balassi-stanza. These are the following:

(1) *abbaccadda*

(2) *abbaccdeed*

These two rhyme-schemes are variations of each other. The first six elements are the same in both while the last four can also be reduced to identical structures:

(1) (*adda*) — *abba*

(2) (*deed*) — *abba*

The difference lies only in the fact that example (1) contains feedback rhymes (airbridges between the frons and the cauda) while (2) lacks this function. These two, 10-element schemes with (*ab*) openings can be

regarded as frons/cauda, and within this, piedi/volte structures. The (cc) pairs in the center of the schemes are the diesis.

Further and complex examination of these texts, however, greatly reduce our satisfaction over the discovery of pedes/cauda strophes in the Hungarian poetry of the 1660s. The first text is a handwritten strophe of István Kállói Fényes, scribed in an account book of the city of Debrecen in 1666:

Jól vagyon, jó bíránk, szépen számot adtál,  
 Az mit neked adtak, vagy tölled elhoztak, ratióban felírtál,  
 Az város javára s megmaradására rendessen disponáltál,  
 Fáradságod után Isten sok jót adván, s esztendeig nyugodjál.  
 (RMKT XVII/10, item 7e, p. 37)

[It is good that you have given a good account, our good Principal, /  
 You have written down everything to be brought to you or give away,  
 / You have worked well for the benefit of the city, / After your toil,  
 helped by God, enjoy your rest for a year.]  
 (Literal translation)

From the typographical arrangement of this text it becomes clear that the strophe contains an alexandrine and a Balassi-stanza (a + aab/ccb/ddb) thus the rhyme-scheme, following Hungarian traditions, must be described as follows: *a + aabccbddb*. The dichotomy of Hungarian and Provencal metrics is shown by the fact, that such a division would be senseless in troubadour poetry. The text of Kállói Fényes, in spite of the seeming similarity of the canso/Hungarian song rhyme-schemes, has a radically different strophical character.

The second text appears to have a cobla-type of rhyme-scheme. The only problem with it is that — as if by cooperation of author and printer — the text is practically uncomprehensible. The esthetically worthless poem of Timotheus Hillarius Binnerus, student of theology, was published in Jena in the treatise entitled *Cirkov moskovskij sive dissertatio theologica de religione ecclesiastica Moscovitarum...* (Johannes Schwabe, 1665; cf. RMKT *op. cit.*, item 64, p. 283).

We have established that the (ab) opening and the occurrence of the "c-function" are in close connection with the structuring principles of the canso strophes. All this suggests that the inner variability of a rhyme-scheme greatly depends on the beginning. If we understand by "beginning" the first two elements, two possibilities — the identical and the differing pairs (aa) and (ab) — should be taken into consideration. It cannot be by chance that in the poetry of the troubadours the (ab) openings were do-

minant and there also must be a reason that in old Hungarian poetry the usual (aa) openings were followed by monorhyming schemes. I am inclined to compare the importance of openings of rhyme-schemes to openings in chess: the beginning strongly determines the middle game and the two directly point towards the conclusion.

Considering the whole of old Hungarian poetry, the fact — proved by the computer-generated repertory of Iván Horváth and his group — that before 1600 *all* rhyme-schemes started with (aa) opening can hardly be overexaggerated! These (aa) openings naturally contain the variations of the Balassi-stanza, too, as the first two elements of the (aab) period is also (aa). It is really perplexing to notice the total lack of (ab) openings which indicates significant consequences.

There is actually one (!) exception before 1600. As one might expect, it is a poem written by Bálint Balassi, "Kit egy lengyel citerás lányról szerzett" [Which he composed of a Polish zitherist girl] (incipit: "Szít Zsuzsánna tüzet..."). The fifth stanza of the poem runs as follows:

Mert már neked adta  
nagy szerelmű szüvét,  
Viszont nála hadta  
szüvedet, ő színét;  
Így túled vett  
szüven szüvet,  
kit tart mint drága követ;  
Örül s nevet  
s vígan követ  
téged, mert lát víg kedvet,  
Kit régen eszében vett.

[<Cupid says:>

She has given you / Her heart with great love, / In exchange she has taken / Your heart, dearest to her, / Thus she has bought from you / a heart for heart, / That she keeps as a precious stone; / She rejoices / And follows you / Happily, as she sees / Your long awaited happiness.]

(Literal translation)

The strophical structure is *a6 b6 a6 b6 c4 c4 c7 c4 c4 c7 c7*; the rhyme-scheme consequently is *ababccccc*. This is the first cobla-type structure in Hungarian poetry with a clearly distinguishable frons and cauda, with "c-function", (ab) opening, and within the frons with two (ab) feet. This poem,

unfortunately, did not inspire followers, and the (aa) opening remained practically exclusive even in 17th-century Hungarian poetry.

At this point we may venture at some positive and negative statements as conclusions about the general character of old Hungarian strophical poetry.

1. The length of old Hungarian strophical poems was not limited, except for a few experiments in number symbolism and Balassi's aim to create 3-stanza poems. On the one hand we see a tendency to minimize the length of the poem to one strophe or one period, eventually a couplet (which is difficult to call still strophical); on the other, Hungarian poems had a tendency to be very long.<sup>8</sup>
2. As for rhyme-schemes, mono-rhymes were dominant. Among strophes, four-line structures were the commonest.
3. It was the Balassi-strophe that introduced in greater variety and quantity 4-element (or more) and 4-7 lines (or more) structures among the traditional two-element rhyme-schemes and 4-line strophes.
4. Rhyme-schemes are dominated by the juxtaposition of similar elements instead of alternating structures. This seems to be in connection with the lack of (ab) openings. In harmony with the type of rhyme-schemes used we had to register the total lack of hierarchized structures, the cauda/pedes type of inner segmentations. It should be noted, however, that such strophes are fairly common in the Psalter-translation of Albert Szenci Molnár (1607). Seemingly his translations of complicated rhyme-schemes had no effect on later 17th-century Hungarian poetry.
5. The strophes cannot be segmented (coordinated, or juxtaposed lines side by side); because of the lack of the "c-function" the only level that is higher than the line is the period.
6. Within the strophes the rhyme functions only as delimiter.
7. Even if the closing strophe differs from the previous stanzas, it cannot be considered an "echo"; if there is no cauda, there cannot be tornada either. The closures of Hungarian songs do not designate any formal divisions in the way as the tornada defines the cauda.
8. The stanzas of old Hungarian poetry, these "rooms" are narrow, that is they are composed of few or identical elements in their rhyme-schemes and lines in their metrical structures. Within the basic walls there are no thinner space-divisions (why to divide an otherwise narrow room?), not even semi-walls. They are well-known to us, inhabited for a long time. Only sometimes we are longing for more spacious halls.

\*

Although we have been doing no more than setting up a typology in this paper, the question naturally arises whether the summarized VIII conclusions of the canso/Hungarian song comparison apply solely to Hungarian poetry? It would be interesting to know which vernacular languages show similar metrical characteristics in the given period and which do not? Where can we draw the line between canso-type and song-type poetry in space and time? Until there will be more Eastern European metrical repertoires available no definite answer can be given, only more or less wild guesswork.

As a test-case I have compiled a concise catalogue of 16th and 17th-century Polish poetry based on the anthology *Poezja polska* (Warsaw, 1973), following the same methodology as with my Hungarian material. The only difference was the following: while I have disregarded in the Hungarian material those poems which were rhyming, syllable-counting but not strophical (cf. the first point in footnote 5); I have included them in my Polish catalogue. The reason for this is the strong tradition of such poems in Polish literature, out of the 112 texts of the examined anthology 59, all the poems of Mikolaj Rej among them, belong to this category. (I indicate the serial-constructions in my table by adding the  $\infty$  marker.)

RHYME-SCHEMES	FREQUENCY
(1) of one type of element (a):	
1. <i>aa</i>	3
2. <i>aaaaaaaaaa</i>	1
(2) of two types of elements (a) and (b), eventually un-rhyming line-endings:	
3. <i>aabb</i>	32
4. <i>aabbx</i>	1
5. <i>abab</i>	3
(3) of three types of elements (a), (b), (c):	
6. <i>aabbcc</i>	4
7. <i>aabbcc...<math>\infty</math></i>	56
8. <i>aabc bc</i>	1
9. <i>abababcc</i>	1
(4) of four or five types of elements:	
10. <i>sonnets</i>	10
Number of texts:	<hr/> 112



Although it is dangerous to base conclusions on the material published in an anthology, I venture at drawing the following hypothetical conclusions:

- I. This corpus is characterized by the minority of mono-rhyming structures.
- II. Couplets and serial rhymes ((aabb) and (aabbcc)), on the other hand, are more frequent than in Hungarian poetry.
- III. (aa) openings are less dominating than in the Hungarian material.
- IV. (ab) openings appear without "c-function", cf. types 5. and 9.
- V. This latter type of opening seems to be in connection with the appearance of the sonnet.

The Polish corpus shows similarities to the Hungarian, it is also obvious that the former was more open to canso-type of strophes than the latter. In spite of the similar strophes in the two literatures, their "philosophy" of metrics appear to be rather different.

Old Hungarian poetry was *not* a "post-trobar" poetry. We cannot find those forms in pre-18th century Hungarian poetry which in other literatures established the trobar achievements (canzone, chanson, sonnet, sestina, etc.).

As for the lack of (ab) openings and "c-functions", the parallels ought to be looked for more in the East. The chapter entitled "The Stanza" in B. O. Unbegaun's classic study, *Russian Versification*, informs us that strophical structures played little role in old Russian poetry. (Non-strophic forms are generally considered more archaic structures — this is quite clear from Hungarian poetry, too.) Early strophic forms in old Russian appeared with monotonous rhyming, and the first dynamic changes in this tradition occurred only in the 18th century — under Western-European influence. In Lomonosov's poetry (1739) and with Derzhavin (1743—1816) we come across *ababccdeed* rhyme-schemes. Pushkin completed this stanza-form with a ternary foot in *Evgeny Onegin*: *ababccdeffegg*. It is also not by chance that in one of his sonnets, after mentioning Dante and Petrarch, the great Western European tradition, Pushkin referred to his contemporary, Anton Antonovich Delvig, as the father of Russian sonnet. It seems quite certain that the state of pre-18th century Russian poetics — at least in respect of the lack of the canso-modell — shows the closest parallel to the shortages of old Hungarian poetry.

The first Hungarian sonnet was written only at the beginning of the 18th century — the lack of canso-modells logically resulted in the lack of sonnets. It is easy to see that no sooner can sonnets be written than (ab) openings and "c-functions", that is hierarchized structures appear in poetry. This is how it happened that the classical flowering of sonnet-writing in Hungarian — after the beginnings in the 18th and 19th centuries (cf. Kunszeri 1965) — fell in the first half of the 20th century. It has been our contemporary poet, György Somlyó, who most clearly understood the meaning of the lack of old Hungarian sonnets. Using "cento", or "quotation" technique, in 1974 he compiled an imaginary, "potential" poem, "The Sonnet of Albert Szenci Molnár on the Condition of Poetics". This kind gesture was not only meant to pay homage to the translator of the Psalms, he also reflected on the condition of our 17th century poetry. Those who appreciate the idea of the *littérature potentielle*, or like the experiments of the OuLiPo or ALAMO of Paris, will not find Somlyó's method surprising. His comment to the poem is also interesting: he affirms that sonnets potentially could have been written in 17th-century Hungarian poetry. Somlyó quotes from Szenci's preface to the Psalms and comments on it: "Altogether the Psalms follow one hundred and thirty melodies and the same is the number of the types of poems.' If he could translate that many forms, why he could not have translated the sonnet as the one hundred and thirty first? By that time the sonnet, thanks to the Pléiade, became the dominating form of French poetry and already much earlier Clement Marot, Szenci's model, also used it — even if not in his Psalter" (Somlyó 1977, 66). Because of one element, this train of thought must be classified utopistic: just in connection with the poetical conditions of 17th-century Hungarian poetry, that is the lack of the (ab) opening and the "c-function", sonnet writing was impossible at that time. No matter how many sonnets Albert Molnár could read in foreign languages, he could not write even one in Hungarian.

This is the end of our present investigation. The conclusion is obvious: old Hungarian poetry did not develop following the canso-model. This fact generates great difficulties in examinations of comparative poetics. We must realize that the assimilation of canso-type of strophical thinking is still under completion in Hungarian. It has a symbolic significance that the first sestina in Hungarian was written in 1910 by Mihály Babits, translator of Dante's *Divina commedia*. Ezra Pound's famous sestina ("Altaforte: Sextine") appeared two years earlier, in 1908. The structure of Babits' poem is

open, "destructured" while Pound, due to his cult of Dante, could reach back to the closed poetry of Daniel Arnaut.

### Notes

1. I do not want to go into the details of the debate about the contacts between medieval Hungarian poetry and the troubadours. A comprehensive study of the question is Eckhardt 1971. Beside the positive Hungary-image of Gaucelm Faidit and Peire Vidal, we should recall, however, what Eustache Deschamps suggested in the second half of the 14th century. In the dedication of his "Ballad against Hungary and Lombardy" he called the Prince for an ideal utilization of Hungary: as the favorable geographical and natural conditions of France did not provide severe enough circumstances for sending the opposition into exile [cf. the mild environment of Elba], Hungary should be the Siberia of the French!
2. The rhyme-scheme analysis of the troubadours and trouvères have been done by Jacques Roubaud. I have used his 1973 study for the trouvères, and also the material of the colloquium *Changement de forme, Révolution, Language*, organized in the same year. Roubaud worked out the rhyme-schemes of the troubadours in the preface of his anthology of 1971, then, elaborated on the topic in his monograph, *La fleur inverse*. At this point I intend to acknowledge the encouragement of the Centre de Poétique Comparée in my work.
3. My rhyme-scheme notation follows the international usage: the first line-ending is **a**, the upcoming rhyme(s) again **a**, the first differing ending is **b**, ... etc.
4. "We cannot disregard the fact that our mentioning feet runs contrary to the traditional Latin poetics, because they claim that a line consists of feet while we state that a foot consists of lines" (Dante 1962, 395 [II.11]). The division of the strophe into *pedes/cauda* became popular all over Europe as the achievements of the "trobar" poetry were spreading. Traditional names witness this: the **canzone** is divided into **fronte** and **sirma** (*syрма*); while these consist of **piedi** and **volte**. The two greater parts are separated by **diesi**, at the end of the *canzona* there is a **commiato** — this is, just as the **tornada**, the full repetition of the **coda**. As for the *Minnesängers* the **Aufgesang** and the **Abgesang** had similar function. These terms had no equivalents in Hungarian poetics.
5. I have excluded from the examination the following texts published in RMKT volume 10:
  1. rhyming, syllable-counting, but not strophical verse;
  2. rhyming but not syllable-counting and not strophical verse;
  3. non-rhyming, classical versification;
  4. and two texts of uncertain form.
 12 texts versus 293 poems clearly demonstrate the dominance of rhyming, syllable-counting, strophical poetry in 17th-century Hungarian literature.
6. The **b**-rhyme is an **estramp** here!

7. For example the rhyme-scheme of the already mentioned poem, "Ab la cholchor del temps novel" — **aabcbc** — must be divided (aabc)(bc) and not (aa)(bcbc). The plural of the Latin term, **pedes**, also proves this rule.
8. As it is well known, in contrast to the Hungarian usage, the canso was also determined by its limitation of size. The definition of this form started with the following formal criterion in *Leys d'amors*: "La definitios de chanso. Chanso es us dictatz que conte de .v. a .vii. coblas" (Nelli-Lavaud 1960, 1:618).

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# THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL COURT AND LATE RENAISSANCE ART

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As is well known, Renaissance art and architecture in Hungary were, at the outset, predominantly of a courtly nature, and it was also primarily the court which helped the new style take root and become wide-spread in Hungary. This remained the practice even during the period beginning with the 1526 battle of Mohács, when the power and authority of the royal court was already on the decline and the country, whatever was left unoccupied by the Turks, was torn into two separate kingdoms. The Hungarian Royal Court only lost its predominant significance in the continuity of the history of Renaissance art and culture in Hungary when Buda fell to the Turks and the independence of the Hungarian royal court came to an end in 1541. Although the Hungarian crown was worn by the rulers of one of Europe's great powers, the Emperors of the Habsburg Monarchy, who had their residences in Vienna or in Prague, and although the feudal officials of the Hungarian kingdom were also actively present at their court (that is to say, the imperial court also functioned as "the royal court of Hungary"), the imperial seat was nevertheless unable to fulfil the role of an original, independent royal court of Hungary. Yet, since the court of the Habsburg kings of Hungary was one of the regional centres of European art, we may ask: what did the relationship between Hungary and her Habsburg rulers mean for late Renaissance art in Hungary from the second half of the 16th century onwards? More specifically, are there groups of works in the history of Hungarian art that owe their existence to the *Hungarian royal court* and to its demand for artistic representation; are there artistic phenomena that are in any way related to the art of the imperial (royal) court or that were influenced by it? The first part of the question asks what works were created for the Hungarian public by Habsburg emperors as kings of Hungary; the second part of the question concerns itself with the individual patronage of those Hungarian feudal officials, noblemen, courtiers, and high priests who were not only exposed to the art of the court but were also inspired by its example to act as patrons and commissioners of the arts<sup>1</sup> themselves.

It is relatively easy to answer the first part of the question, since we know only a few works of art from the late 16th and early 17th centuries that were commissioned by Habsburg rulers to represent the court primarily in front of the Hungarian public. Besides the sessions of the national diet, another occasion that awarded an opportunity for Habsburg rulers to appear in public as kings of Hungary was their coronation ceremonies in Pozsony (today's Bratislava in Slovakia). Although the ceremony followed a traditional ritual, the splendour of the event varied from time to time. Unfortunately, the written sources related to the coronation ceremonies of the era have not yet been collected, although — since almost no pictorial representation survives — they are indispensable for the scholar attempting to reconstruct this exceptional encounter between the artistic representation of the court and a broader public. Of all the coronation ceremonies of the era, the one organized on the largest scale was probably the 1572 Pozsony coronation of Emperor Rudolph, one of the main patrons of European Mannerist court culture. As Tibor Klaniczay recently brought to my notice, several descriptions of the ceremony survived, although they are still awaiting proper study. We know only one pictorial representation of a Pozsony coronation ceremony that gives us any clue of what the actual occasional artistic representation might have been like. This is a woodcut depicting the coronation of King Maximilian on September 8, 1563 with two *triumphal arches* erected on both sides of the pontoon over the Danube. The arches were strongly architectonic in their design and they were decorated with coats of arms (*Fig. 1*). Fortunately we do know the artist responsible for the plans; his name has come down to us in the royal decrees sent to the Hungarian chamber. These are indeed the most important sources concerning works of art created by Habsburg rulers for Hungary. The triumphal arches were erected by Pietro Ferabosco, one of the most prominent Vienna architects in the second half of the 16th century. Ferabosco also participated in the fortification works of some of the most important fortresses in Hungary, including Győr, Pozsony, Eger, Kanizsa, and Komárom.<sup>2</sup> He is generally believed to have built the decorative entrance gate of the Schweizer in the Vienna Burg (1552–1553), which is also strongly architectonic in its design. The vault of the gate is decorated with coats of arms surrounded by grotesque ornaments that were painted by Ferabosco himself, still a novice at painting at the time (*Plates I and II/1*).

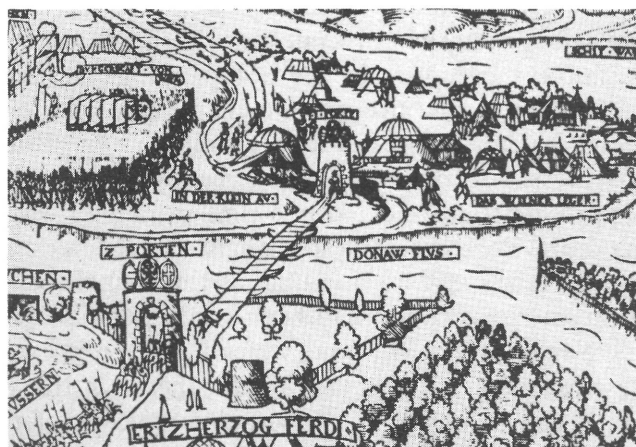


Fig. 1 Pietro Ferabosco: Triumphal Arch for the Coronation Ceremony of King Maximilian of Hungary, 1563. Woodcut depicting the Pozsony coronation ceremony of Maximilian, done by an artist of the initials DM. Detail. Bratislava, Mestká Galeria.

Ferabosco's triumphal arches in Pozsony were of an architectural form very similar to the Vienna arch and were much admired by contemporaries both at home and abroad. Although it was certainly not built of anything durable, it was still capable of creating the impression of a powerful marble gate; its archivolt was of strong voussoirs and was decorated with painted festoons; its façade was adorned by the Imperial Arms surrounded by the coats of arms of Miksa and his Queen. All the pictorial decorations were done in bright colours.<sup>3</sup>

Ferabosco's name occurs quite frequently in the documentation of the reconstruction works of the Pozsony castle, a project that took several decades to finish. He may also have had some role in the decoration of the castle's *chapel*, which was the most significant pictorial project ever commissioned by a Hungarian king during the era. Although it was commissioned in 1563 by Emperor Maximilian from Giulio Licinio, a painter from the Northern part of Italy, the completion of the project took a decade and was finally accomplished under the rule of Emperor Rudolph. As a young artist, Licinio had worked on the pictorial decoration of the Libreria and the Doge's palace in Venice with such masters as Tintoretto; and when, having prepared the plans himself, with the assistance of workmen he himself had chosen, he executed the large-scale pictorial decorations framed with magnificent stucco work and painted grotesque designs in the Pozsony Chapel, once again, and for the last time, a representative and representa-

tional work of art is created that is in no way inferior to the latest developments in Italian arts. Exactly what Licinio's works in Pozsony were exactly like, we do not know; these, just like the wall-paintings he had painted in cooperation with some of the most prominent Prague and Vienna Mannerist artists in the Vienna Neugebäude, Maximilian's and Rudolph's vast Mannerist Lustschloss, were destroyed. Only recently, however, a decorative grotesque design (*Plate II/2*) executed in a similar manner was discovered in another wing of the Pozsony castle that might have been done by one of Licinio's colleagues much at the same time as the chapel was being completed. This grotesque decoration had been made popular by Raffaello's school imitating Nero's palace in Rome, which had been known as *Domus Aurea*, and was discovered during the Renaissance. On the walls of the little room, which had belonged to the one-time balcony of the Pozsony castle, we find thin, elongated Manneristic female figures and imaginary creatures swaying among sea-shells, sea-snails, fish and fowl, all executed with such elegance and such artistic skill that they might as well adorn the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, where, in fact, the closest relatives of the Pozsony wall-paintings are to be found.<sup>4</sup>

The Pozsony appearance of this type of grotesque decoration, however, is quite isolated in the history of art in Hungary. Royal decrees sent to the Hungarian chamber mainly deal with the financing of the building of fortresses and palaces or with the reconstruction of city walls and collapsed churches. Except for a few highly exceptional occasions, the centre of court art was not so much Hungary or Pozsony as Vienna and Prague. It was in these cities that representative works of art were produced and exhibited; it was also there that the social elite of Hungarian aristocracy had a chance to come face to face with both art and artists. Very little is known of what kind of art this encounter gave life to; the second half of the 16th century is probably the least discovered era in the history of art in Hungary.

In relation to this, there are two questions which require special attention. One of them concerns the relationship between court art and the introduction of the genre of individual portraiture in Hungary; the other one is the relationship between Mannerist court art and Hungary.

As far as the genre of the portrait is concerned, the first question inevitably to arise is whether individual portraiture in the second half of the 16th century is to be termed court art. As a matter of fact, the answer is probably negative both in the art of Western and West-Central Europe. When in Western or West-Central Europe the new concepts and values of the Renaissance or the Reformation brought forth a renewed interest in the individual human being that was so fundamental for the development of the



art of portraiture, these changes were soon expressed in art by *changes in the pictorial conventions* as well. What this meant in practice was that portrait painting and engraving became available for a relatively broad spectrum of society and, besides the portraits of royalty, new types of portraits came into fashion, such as the humanist portrait, the portrait of priests and preachers, or the portrait of burgesses and merchants. Among the latter another type, the type of the double portraits, which meant two individual portraits of a well-to-do burgess and his wife painted at the same time to be hung next to each other, also appeared. In Hungary, however, as the history of ideas or the history of literature will easily demonstrate, this change took place only *on the level of ideas*, with the actual practice of artistic representation falling by far behind its times.

The genre of the Renaissance portrait is more than just one of the genres that appeared for the first time or reappeared and gained a new popularity, during the era. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of the most immediate pictorial representations of the changes that took place in man's general view of himself in the sixteenth century. Thus the appearance of the individual portrait in itself is a mark of this process, and its influence can be clearly detected in the development of the most traditional form of portraiture, the *figural tombstone*.

The new type of individual portraits depicting persons other than royalty appeared around the middle of the 16th century. Yet the number of portraits taken of individuals working and living in Hungary is significantly smaller than what would seem usual in territories West of Hungary. Moreover, on examining who the persons depicted in these portraits actually are and where the portraits themselves were made, we must come to the conclusion that the people sitting for these portraits were primarily individuals who, in some form or another, were in contact with the royal court. The portraits were made in Vienna or in Prague by artists employed by the court, and, although meant to be taken to Hungary, they were characterized by the style typical of Western court portraiture. There is only one exception to the rule, notably the portraiture of protestant preachers, who mostly came across the flourishing art of portraiture in Germany while studying and travelling there, and who had their portraits painted or engraved and published right there as did István Kis of Szeged in Basel,<sup>5</sup> or brought this tradition with themselves when coming home as we find in the full-figure, life-size tombstone portraits or *gisans* of Transylvanian Saxon priests.<sup>6</sup> Yet, as far as the actual forms of representation — the choice of artist, the social standing and the costumes of the depicted etc. — of the



Fig. 2 Donat Hübschmann: Portrait of Miklós Oláh, Archbishop of Esztergom, 1560, woodcut.



Fig. 3 After a drawing by Máté Skarica: Portrait of István Szegedi Kis, 1568–1585. Woodcut.

earliest portraits in Hungary are concerned, considerable similarities and differences can be observed that may indicate differences in the attitudes different social groups showed towards art itself.

Our first two examples — a portrait of bishop Miklós Oláh and one of Hungary's best known 16th century protestant theological writers, István Kis of Szeged — date from the same decade (1558 and 1568, respectively), although Szegedi's portrait was published only in 1585<sup>7</sup> (*Figs. 2 and 3*). Even though the portraits depict leaders of opposing parties, it is not only the apparent similarity of poses, e.g. the emphatic gestures of the hands holding books, that classify these two woodcuts as belonging to a new genre of portraiture that depicts scholars, but the way in which their friends and disciples celebrate them with epigrams abundant in humanistic clichés as well. Although most 16th-century portraits in Hungary were done in copperplate engravings and they were circulated as prints in great numbers, often enough only a single copy survives. The graphic arts, changeable as they are because of the relatively small dimensions they use, have more often than not been carriers of new stylistic approaches in the history of art. This tendency is especially strong in Hungarian portraiture and can be successfully demonstrated in such portraits as those of Archbishop Verancsics (1570), István Fejérkövi, Bishop of Veszprém (1575), and Zakariás Mossóczy, Bishop of Tinnin (1577, discovered only recently), all of which are copper plate engravings by the Sebenico artist Martino Rota (*Figs. 4, 5 and 6*). In each of the three engravings, the depicted is shown in a fairly relaxed manner, with his elbows resting on tables, and with books placed upon the mantelpiece to interpret the scene — a composition much favoured by Renaissance half-figure portraits. As a matter of fact, Rota's portrait of Mossóczy is the first surviving work in the history of late Renaissance culture in Hungary that portrays someone as a humanist living *among* his books. Martino Rota was a court artist, a paid employee of Emperor Rudolph, and the elegance of his portraits becomes even more obvious if we compare them with the tombstones of the same three high priests.<sup>8</sup> Before the introduction of the genre of the individual portrait, the most general and, in fact, almost exclusive form of portraiture to be found in Hungary was the figural tombstone. On the introduction of the individual portrait, however, the task of representing people as individuals was taken up by two very different genres; their relationship with each other, as well as the changes of the conventions of the figural tombstone, a genre so deeply rooted in tradition, may indicate the changes of general ideas about



*Fig. 4* Martino Rota: Portrait of István Fejérvölgyi, Bishop of Veszprém, 1575. Engraving, Vienna, Albertina.

*Fig. 5* Martino Rota: Portrait of Antal Verancsics, Archbishop of Esztergom, 1570. Engraving, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.

the role of the portrait and, indirectly, about man himself. Two of the above-mentioned high priests have surviving funerary monuments (*Plates III and IV*). The monument of Miklós Oláh is to be found in Nagyszombat (today's Trnava in Slovakia); Fejérvölgy's monument has been preserved in Nyitra (today's Nitra in Slovakia).<sup>9</sup> Both of them clearly represent the *traditional composition developed in the gothic tombstones of high priests during the last two centuries*, which was to be loosened to some degree only in the first decades of the 17th century, for as far as their funerary monuments were concerned, later generations continued to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors.

This strong attachment to traditional forms can be observed in a certain group of the *figural tombstones* of the élite of the Hungarian aristocracy. Judging from the evidence of Palatine Szaniszló Thurzó's funerary monument erected in 1625 in Lőcse (today's Levoča in Slovakia, cf. *Plate V*),<sup>10</sup> the medieval tradition of the gothic knightly tombstone depicting the deceased in full armour seems to have continued to be quite influential well into the first decades of the 17th century. This tombstone represents — rather deliberately — a tendency very strongly felt in the history of mentalities that tried to preserve certain aspects of the knightly culture by incorporating them into the art of Hungarian late Renaissance. In the case of Palatine Thurzó's tombstone this tendency was further motivated by the fact that the Szepes branch of the Thurzó family, as part of an attempt to establish themselves as direct descendants of the Szapolyais who had been the previous owners of their estates, followed the traditions of the gothic tombstones of the Szapolyais preserved in the Szepeshely sepulchral chapel. This knightly mentality and cultural tradition is to be seen at work in court artist Martino Rota's half-figure mail-clad portrait engraving of poet Bálint Balassi's father, János Balassa (1575, cf. *Fig. 7*). Thus it is not so much in Rota's portrait of Balassa that the newest trends in court art presented themselves (Rota worked at the Vienna court) as rather in another portrait engraving by him from the same year depicting Miklós Istvánffy, a thirtyfive-year old secretary of the Chancellery, in which Istvánffy is shown in a fairly relaxed pose, sitting in an armchair in front of a curtain, wearing a decorative brocade garment — all in all, as a representative of the *humanist* in office<sup>11</sup> (*Fig. 8*). Costumes had an especially important role in feudal society; they expressed rank and social standing. As an historical source, they mostly became accessible through the genre of portraiture. If we compare Rota's portrait of Istvánffy with Augsburg artist Dominicus Custos's portrait engraving of Hungarian Royal Herald János





Fig. 6 Martino Rota: Portrait of Zakariás Mossóczy, 1577. Engraving, Vienna, Albertina.

Ruda (Fig. 9), a man originally born a burghess of Kassa and later granted nobility by the king, we find that despite the similarity of poses there is a striking difference in the costumes worn by the depicted.<sup>12</sup> Although this difference has some interest for the history of costumes, it has additional and probably more important significance inasmuch as it expresses a peculiar duality in the ways of living during the period. Both Istvánffy and Ruda lived at and around the royal court; both their portraits were made by artists working for the court. Yet, Istvánffy's noble European costume reflects a different mentality from the court attire of Emperor Rudolph's Hungarian Herald, which was a black Spanish-style court garment accompanied by a white collar and an ornate necklace, and which recalls the idea of the courtier *par excellence*.<sup>13</sup> Unlike the members of Austrian or Czech aristocracy, the Hungarian nobility rarely if ever wore the usual costumes of courtiers when depicted in their representative portraits; in fact, they tried to distinguish themselves from other nationalities of the Empire even when depicted in their national costumes in their early Baroque portraits.

On the basis of such traits it is quite an impossible task to tell the *burghesses* — whose portraits were just appearing during the era — and city-dwelling noblemen of Hungary from those of the neighbouring territories in their early portraits. It is certain that portraiture was in all three of its forms — painting, engraving and portrait medals — much less available and therefore much less in demand in Hungary than in other parts of Europe. Again, of this social group, only people who were, in some form or another, in contact with the court or with court artists, had their portraits done. One of them was Tamás Jordán, surgeon-general to the imperial forces in Hungary, a man originally from Kolozsvár, who in 1570 commissioned his portrait-medal from leading court medallist Antonio Abondio, in which he is shown wearing the usual attire of courtiers, as is another depicted by Abondio related to Hungary, one of Fugger's officials in the Vöröskő (today's Červený Kamen in Slovakia) castle by the name of Sebastian Zäch (Fig. 10 and Plate VI/1).<sup>14</sup> These two medals by Abondio, although they apply the well-known conventions of artistic representation, seem to be representations of a friendly gesture rather than artistic representations meant for the public. This is exactly what differentiates these two medals from, on the one hand, another medal made by Abondio for Bishop Verancsics, and, on the other, from a significant group of medals from Hungary consisting of portraits of Upper Northern Hungarian mining town burghesses from the 16th century.





*Figs*

- 7 Martino Rota: Portrait of János Balassa, 1575. Engraving, Vienna, Albertina.
- 8 Martino Rota: Portrait of Miklós Istvánffy, 1575. Engraving, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.
- 9 Dominicus Custos: Portrait of János Ruda, end of the 16th century. Engraving, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.

At this time, and for long centuries thereafter, Hungary's coins were minted in Kőrmöcbánya (today's Kremnica in Slovakia) by skilled die-engravers employed by the Hungarian Royal Chamber. From 1536 as a royal privilege Kőrmöc mint-masters were allowed to make privately commissioned memorial medals from their own produce. Although die-engravers, as a rule, came from Vienna with a good training in their skills and although many of them frequently made portrait medals for Vienna commissioners, for the Hungarian mining town aristocracy and burgesses they continued to make only medals decorated with heraldic designs, usually the families' coats of arms, for several decades. The reason is obviously the fact that there was no demand for portrait medals among commissioners in Hungary. There is only one Selmec mining town burgess from the first half of the century, a certain Konrad Schall, an employer of about 50 miners, who commissioned his portrait medal from Vienna artist Joachim Dreschler. He also had a portrait engraving from the same year (1547) by Augustin Hirschvogel, an artist employed by Péter Perényi. Schall, however, had originally come to Hungary from Stuttgart, and, although he proudly claimed to be a "civis metallicus Schemnicensis" on both of his portraits, it is beyond doubt that his artistic culture and expectations originated from his Stuttgart environment.

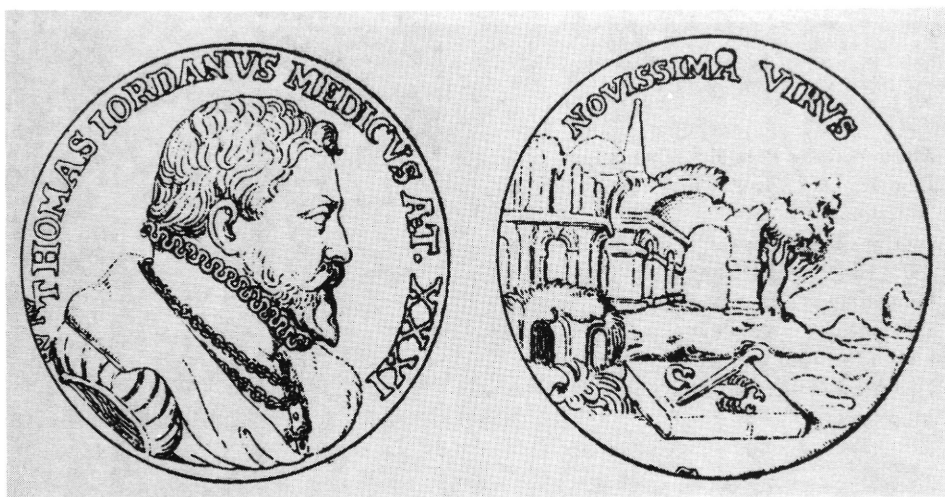


Fig. 10 Antonio Abondio: Medal of Tamás Jordán, 1570. (After T. Gerevich.)

It was not until the end of the 16th century that Hungarian die-engravers started to make portrait medals. The three most beautiful of these are Joachim Elsholtz's a portrait medal of Sebastian Henkel, treasurer of the Chamber in Körmöc (1590), and the two portrait medals he made for Selmec mining town burgess David Hohenberger, who had just been granted nobility at the time (1591 and 1593; *Plates VI/2 and VI/3*).<sup>15</sup> On the contrary, the memorial medals are decorated with the family coat of arms of the depicted, while on the obverse the depicted themselves look on at us from the oval of the composition with the self-assurance of money-men. They wear the usual costumes of the burgess, which, however, also incorporate certain elements of court fashion. Their medals were made with the intention of artistic representation, and, from the beginning of the 17th century, they were followed by portraits of city burgesses painted in oil such as the portrait of Kristóf Lackner (*Plate VII*), Mayor of Sopron, which was made in Prague in 1602. Although Körmöc die-engravers continued to make a few more portrait medals, the encounter of the two genres — portraiture and medallion art — failed to give birth to a thriving genre which could continue into the next century.

The encounter of the genre of portraiture and the idea of artistic representation only gave life to a flourishing new genre that was to be influential for centuries when and where the genre of representative full-figure life-size portrait painting met the demand of the nobility of a given country for artistic representation. This form of representation, developed and polished in the portrait galleries of rulers and other famous personalities, finally found its way to the nobility of the Habsburg empire during the second half of the 16th century, even though we have only Austrian and Czech examples. As far as surviving works are concerned, we hardly know of any authentic contemporary *oil portraits* from the 16th century that originate from Hungary, although occasional references to portrait *paintings* from the second half of the 16th century and particularly from the 1570s and 1580s, mostly painted abroad, do appear in family letters and humanist correspondence. The only two portraits still in existence are a portrait, in all probability painted in Bohemia, of János Krusith (1580), who himself was of Czech origin, and a half-figure portrait of Dániel Kubinyi (1595).<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested that two early 17th century portraits of Tamás Nádasdy and his wife Orsolya Kanizsai (*Plates VIII and IX*), which survived in the ancestral gallery of the family, might also go back to 16th century examples, for their type of portraiture, their composition, and the costumes the depicted are wearing show a strong resemblance to the



portraiture of the Imperial Court already flourishing in the 1550s and 1560s.<sup>17</sup> In his full-figure oil portrait Nádasdy is shown mail-clad, very much in the manner of that type of portrait painting that was considered by 16th century Hungarian aristocracy most representative of its demonstrative and heroic venture, and which was also *one* of the representative forms of court portraiture. In all probability, the appearance of the *whole figure portrait* was an entirely new phenomenon in the late Renaissance art of Hungary. This is especially obvious in the case of female portraits which, unlike mail-clad male portraits, were not restricted by such strict pictorial conventions and the splendour of the rich ceremonial costumes representing the best of court culture could stand out as in the portrait of Orsolya Kanizsai. The fact that the full-figure, non-mail-clad portraits were already present in 16th century Hungarian culture can be demonstrated, not only by the portrait painting of János Krusith, but also by a funerary monument of a rather irregular type, a tombstone belonging to another high-ranking court official, Deputy Palatine Ferenc Révay from the year 1553, preserved in Turócszentmárton (today's Martin in Slovakia; cf. *Plate X*). This monument broke away from the forms of representation dominating the type of knightly tombstone that depicts the deceased in full armour, and chose to depict him in full figure, wearing ceremonial attire, according to the new type of representation that was just appearing in court art at the time.

This artistic solution, however, found just as few followers, and it was not until the beginning of the 17th century that the Hungarian aristocracy started to discover the new type of portrait offered by mid-16th century court art in which the depicted were shown wearing noble ceremonial costumes. Politically strengthened, the Hungarian aristocracy wished to express their own and their families' independence from the ruler and chose to derive their privileges from the excellence and merit of their ancestors rather than from the grace of their rulers. This idea was represented by the introduction of the full-figure oil portraits of the family ancestral galleries. By the time this process started to unfold during the first decades of the 17th century, oil portraits of high-ranking noblemen had already broken away from the medieval tradition of showing the depicted as knights in their full armour and portrait paintings of ancestors as well as contemporaries showing the depicted wearing rich ceremonial Hungarian-style costumes were becoming the indispensable decoration of fortresses and castles. When exactly this practice began, we are unable to tell as yet. For example, the fact that we do not know of any representative full-figure portraits of Palatine György Thurzó and Lord Chief Justice Zsigmond Forgách, of whom excellent half-figure portraits in engraving (*Figs. 11 and*

12) had been made by Prague Rudolphine artist Egidius Sadeler in 1607,<sup>18</sup> whereas we do know of similar portraits of Thurzó's cousin Kristóf Thurzó from 1611 and Forgách's daughter, Éva, from 1638 (*Plates XI and XII*),<sup>19</sup> does not necessarily mean that there were no full-figure standing portraits painted of either Palatine Thurzó or Zsigmond Forgách. Surviving ancestral galleries, however, seem to indicate that the beginnings of this practice date back to the 1610s and 1620s. It was from then onwards that living members of the biggest families in Hungary, not infrequently children, started to be portrayed *after life* on a regular basis. When, in addition to living family members, ancestors were also painted, it became clear that the form adopted from court culture was, paradoxically enough, to represent *independence* from the royal court itself. It was partly its role as an expression of independence from the royal court, partly its glamorous style developed by court art and radiating with a splendour and elegance achieved by applying rich costumes, sophisticated poses and all the paraphernalia of power and wealth, that made the representative aristocratic full-figure portrait one of the most popular genres for the next two centuries.<sup>20</sup> Its representative power and its pictorial suggestiveness are clearly indicated by the fact that it was able to transcend and, by doing so, to break even the stiffest medieval traditions, the *formal conventions* of the figural knightly tombstone depicting the deceased in his full armour.

Comparing Kristóf Thurzó's portrait with his funerary monument might serve to give us a clear idea of how deeply rooted this formal convention was in the late Renaissance culture of early 17th century Hungary. Thurzó's full-figure portrait, which has been preserved in the ancestral gallery of the Csáky family, and which was an early piece in one of the many collections of portraits later to become ancestral galleries, dates from 1611 (*Plate XII*), while his knightly tombstone was done in 1614 (*Plate XIII/1*). As we can see, there is only a span of three years between the two.<sup>21</sup> Yet, examining only those formal conventions of artistic representation that are apparent in these two pieces we may find that the static medieval tradition represented by the gothic tombstone and the late Renaissance tendency of the court portrait to glorify a high-ranking personality as a living hero are at variance. This conflict between the forms, however, is but a reflection of an ambiguity prevailing in late Renaissance culture in early 17th century Hungary. Even if we consider that for reasons already mentioned several other trends, mostly trends of a historicizing nature that require a somewhat different approach, can be also observed in Thurzó's tombstone, there is but one feasible conclusion: that in the late Renaissance art and culture of

Hungary these two cultures — the one indirectly preserving the knightly traditions and the new type of court culture that was brought forth by the Renaissance — were not in the least at variance with each other; rather, even though in different functions, they formed a *unity* that can often be oftentimes observed within one family or even one person.

This unity, however, is not at all closed or homogenous, and its changes are to be examined by the history of art in order to demonstrate the changes in the ways and forms of representation. What is in the process of changing is the forms of representation applied by the knightly tombstone, the most important of them being the way they present the deceased as a *corps*. This change took place under the influence of the full-figure portrait of court portraiture, which was characteristically life-like in its composition and in the elegance of the gestures it frequently applied. From the end of the 16th century onwards the deceased, especially of families in contact with the court or with the new centres of art, were depicted as if they were *alive*. The earliest surviving tombstone of this type in Hungary was commissioned by the court for János Rueber (*Plate XIII/2*), Captain-General of Kassa, who died in 1584.<sup>22</sup> Yet, Rueber's tombstone had no influence whatsoever in what was called East-Hungary at the time.

It was not until a similar tombstone was made for Miklós Pálffy, one of the many excellent Hungarian soldiers of the Turkish wars, that this form became somewhat more popular with the Hungarian aristocracy. Here the commissioner was Pálffy's widow, Mária Fugger, who commissioned her husband's tombstone from the masters of her home town, Augsburg. We do know the maquette of this tombstone (*Plate XIV*), and its main figure, the *gisant* of Miklós Pálffy — both the model and the *gisant* executed by Paul Mayr (*Plate XV*) —, also survived, although not as part of the original monument; for reasons yet unknown, it was finally substituted with another tombstone by another Augsburg master named Caspar Meneller (*Plate XVI/2*).<sup>23</sup> Miklós Pálffy's *gisant* served as a model for many a tombstones of high-ranking Hungarian noblemen such as István Illésházy (1608), János Draskovich (1613; *Plate XVI/3*), György Thurzó (1616), and Kristóf Erdődy (1624). Each of them are depicted mail-clad and ready to battle: the hands hold swords, maces or batons, or they rest on helmets taken off; the poses are majestic and heroic, as is usual in the representative paintings of the court portraiture of the era. This is how contemporaries wanted to see the most renowned Hungarian generals of the 15 Years War, and this is how, on a different level, the Turkish-Hungarian wars of the age, the heroic



Fig. 13 Mátyás II as King of Hungary. Engraving and etching, from between the 1610's and 1620's, 1664.



deeds, and the glorification of outstanding ventures had exerted a significant influence over the choice of artistic form.<sup>24</sup>

This is also what gave life to an exceptional group of works in the mannerist art of Emperor Rudolph II's court in Prague that dealt with the Turkish wars of Hungary. As part of his self-image, it had been quite important for Emperor Rudolph as King of Hungary to present himself as the "hero of the Turkish wars" ever since they began. In fact, Rudolph insisted on keeping this title even after the Fifteen Years' War was finally over. It is no surprise that in one of the reliefs of the crown he himself had commissioned and which was later to become the Imperial Crown of Austria he is depicted as a ruler fresh out of battle, glorious over the Turk. Almost each of the artists working for the emperor created works of art commemorating the Turkish wars. These works by Bartholomeus Spranger, Joris Hoefnagel, Adrien de Vries, Paulus von Vianen, Egidius Sadeler, Dirk Quade van Ravesteyn, and most importantly, Hans von Aachen (*Plate XVI/1*) represent the fate of Hungary, a country that served as a battleground for the collision of two major world orders, the East and the West.<sup>25</sup>

Although those works of Rudolphine art which were related to the Turkish wars do represent Hungarian themes, and although they have been often dealt with in international studies on Mannerism, they do not belong to late Renaissance art in Hungary. There is, however, a group of works that does belong to that circle, namely a series of engravings consisting of approximately 80 prints dating from the 1610s and 1620s and depicting the kings of Hungary (*Fig. 13*) and some of the most important events in Hungarian history, including the Turkish wars. The engravings were made by artists belonging to the Prague mannerist circle during the last, already declining period of Rudolphine art. The series was commissioned by Lőrinc Ferenczffy, a court official of Hungary's Habsburg ruler Mátyás, II. Ferenczffy himself was Secretary to the King of Hungary, as had been his predecessor, a man famous for his artistic calligraphy, György Bocskay. First he had the royal portraits made, then he commissioned the scenes from Hungarian history (*Fig. 14*) from a well known engraver of Rudolphine landscapists and graphic artists, a disciple of Sadeler, Isaac Major. These engravings were meant to be illustrations to a historical work taken up by royal historian Elias Berger entitled "Historia Hungariæ". By the pictorial means of these illustrations Ferenczffy intended to join the mainstream of late Renaissance historiography that mainly examined how



Fig. 14 Isaac Major: The Recapture of Győr in 1598. Engraving and etching.

Hungary's ancient glory had vanished under the gruesome occupation of the Turk.<sup>26</sup>

We have seen how Ferenczffy, as an official working and living in Vienna and at the royal court in Prague, had found a way to utilize the possibilities offered by the mannerist art of the court in Prague. Although the historical work itself was never published, thus leaving Ferenczffy's overall plan incomplete, the series of prints is still one of the most important groups of works in that it sheds some light on the relationship between the Hungarian royal court and late Renaissance art in Hungary. Beyond its artistic value it has some historical significance as well, for when in 1664 — about 50 years after the prints were made — Ferenc Nádasdy, one of the greatest patrons of Baroque art in Hungary, published the portraits of the kings of Hungary and accompanied them with an entirely new text, it became one of the most influential works in the history of Hungarian Baroque culture.<sup>27</sup> Much of its success is due to the copper plate engravings of Prague Rudolphine artist Isaac Major, which thus exemplify the organic relationship between Hungarian late Renaissance tradition and Baroque art in Hungary.

### Notes

1. I first attempted to answer this question in a lecture I gave at a Renaissance conference in Pápa ("The Hungarian Royal Court and Late Renaissance Art"). The lecture, of which the present paper is a revised and expanded version, was published in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* [Hungarian Renaissance Court Culture]. Ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest, 1987), 228–248.
2. A collection of sources related to the coronation ceremonies of Habsburg kings of Hungary was published by György Márton, *Solennia inauguralia Principum* (Pest, 1790). The collection contains descriptions of more or less each of the coronations. Some of the coronations have been related by several contemporaries; Rudolph's coronation is one of these. As far as its artistic aspect is concerned, see humanist Stephanus Pigius's report in his *Hercules Prodicus seu principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio* (Antwerp, 1587), 183–189. — About Pietro Ferabosco see L. A. Maggiorotti & F. Banfi, "Pietro Ferabosco". *Hadtörténeti közlemények* 1933: 156–173; the print depicting Maximilian's coronation ceremony with the inscription "Ware Conterfactur der Stadt Presburg" was made by the Viennese Donat Hübschmann with the initials of Martin Hübschmann (cf. Walter Leopold Strauss, *The German Single Leaf Woodcut* [New York, 1975, pp. 448–49]). The woodcut is reproduced in Katarina Závado, *Verný a pravý obraz slovenských miest a hradov* (Bratislava, 1974), Cat. 20, falsely attributed to Hans Mayr. About the

- honoraries Ferabosco received for his Pozsony triumphal arches on 5 August and 10 October 1563 see *Művészettörténeti regeszták a királyi határozatokból és rendeletekből*. Közzéteszi Bánrévi György [Abstracts of art historical interest from royal resolutions and decrees. Published by György Bánrévi]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1956: abstracts Number 52, 109, and 110. Expenses were covered from the income of the Hungarian Chambers. The pictorial and the written sources have been associated with each other for the first time in the present paper.
3. In Hungary, the triumphal arches were mentioned by the Körmöcbánya envoys: Pál Križko, "Az 1563. évi koronázási ünnepély" [The coronation ceremony of the year 1563]. *Történelmi Tár* 1877: 33; about the foreign reception see Natale Conti, *Delle historie de'suoi tempi* (Venezia, 1589), V.1. 381 b.
  4. On Licinio see János Illésházy, "Adatok a pozsonyi várkapolna festésének történetéhez" [Data related to the history of the pictorial decorations of the Chapel of the Pozsony Castle]. *Archeológiai Értesítő* 1892: 330–392. Also "Giulio Licinio". In *I pittori bergamaschi* II (Bergamo, 1976), 515–589. On the grotesque decorations found in the Pozsony castle: Fedor Kresák-Tamara Žižková, "Manieristické grotesky na Bratislavskom hrade" [Mannerist grotesques in the Bratislava Castle]. *Vlastivedný Časopis* 1980: 25–29; *A művészet története Magyarországon* [The history of art in Hungary] (Budapest, 1983), 198–199.
  5. Among the early representatives of reformation in Hungary and Transylvania contemporary graphical portraits have survived of Johann Honterus, István Kiss of Szeged (1568–1585), Albert Molnár of Szenc (1604), and János Decsi of Baranya (1593). The first three of these have been most recently reproduced by István Bitskey, in *Hívták tüzében* [In the fire of religious polemics] (Budapest, 1978), 31, 60, 218. The portrait of János Decsi of Baranya — as Géza Szabó pointed it out to me — has just been found in a copy of Decsi's *Syntagma iustitionum iuris imperialis ac ungarici...* published in Heltai's press in Kolozsvár in 1593. This can be found in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA).
  6. On the Transylvanian tombstones of Saxon protestant priests see Julius Bielz, *Porträt-katalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Hamburg, 1936). This work lists 11 figural tombstones of priests from the period between 1541 and 1630, which is more than the number of similar figural tombstones belonging to Saxon secular dignitaries of the same period. There is no record of any figural tombstones of protestant priests in art history in Hungary.
  7. On the portrait of Miklós Oláh see W.L. Strauss 1975 (quoted in Note 2), 440 and György Rózsa, "Oláh György legrégibb arcképe" [The earliest portrait of Miklós Oláh]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1960: 433–438. The epigrams accompanying the engravings are also published here. The first copper plate engraving version of Oláh's portrait was made by Hans Sebald Lautensack in 1558. A woodcut version was made by Donat Hübschmann who put his own initials (DH) on the print and changed the date to 1560. We publish a reproduction of this latter one with an epigram written by Miklós Oláh himself. The portrait of István Kis of Szeged was drawn by his student, Máté Skarica, who also wrote the epigram in 1568. The woodcut was made by a Basel artist and was published as an appendix to Szegedi's *Theologiae Sinceræ Loci Communes...* printed in Basel in 1585.

8. On Martino Rota see Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Martino Rota magyar arcképei" [Martino Rota's Hungarian portraits]. *Folia Archaeologica* 1955: 159, 162–163. More recently see Géza Galavics, "Személyiség és reneszánsz portré. Egy ismeretlen magyarországi humanista portré: Mossóczy Zakariás arcképe" [Personality and Renaissance portrait. An unknown humanist portrait from Hungary: the portrait of Zakariás Mossóczy]. In Géza Galavics–János Herner–Bálint Keserű (eds.), *Collectanea Tiburtiana. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére* [Collectanea Tiburtiana. Studies in honor of Tibor Klaniczay] (Szeged: JATE, 1990), 401–19; M. Rota was receiving monthly wages in Rudolph's court as "Kaiserlicher Conterfetter und Bildhauer" from January 1577 till his death; see Herbert Haupt, "Neue Ergebnisse archivalischer Forschung zu Kunst und Handwerk am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II". *Umění* 1990: 34.
9. Miklós Oláh's funerary monument in the dome of Nagyszombat (Trnava) was made after the bishop's death in 1568; however, Bishop Fejérváry, who died in 1596, commissioned his own tombstone for the Nyitra cathedral in 1588, which is an indication of his deliberate choice of this fairly traditional form of representation.
10. Szaniszló Thurzó's tombstone was made by an artist of Szepesolaszi (Spišské Vlachy), by the name of Johann Weinhardt, who had originally come from Munich, Germany. He was also responsible for the carving of the balcony of the Ébner-house in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia), where we can see Upper Northern Hungary stone masonry art at its very best. About the authorship of Weinhardt see: ph [Pavol Horváth] "Náhrobný reliéf Stanislava Thurzu v Levoči". *Vlastivedný Časopis* 1969: 135; Viera Luxová, "Príspevok k životu a dielu Jána Weinhardta". *ArS* 1983: 61–72.
11. On the portraits of Balassa and Istvánffy by Rota see Cennerné, *op. cit.* (Rota), 160–162.
12. On Ruda's portrait see Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Der Augsburger Kupferstecher Dominicus Custos und Ungarn". *Folia Archaeologica* 1966–67: 246–247.
13. A portrait of a similar character of court historiographer János Zsámboky is also known. Another portrait of Zsámboky, however, has also survived (reproduced in *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, 3: 391) — it depicts Zsámboky with his dog Bombo in a fairly relaxed manner that suggests a completely different humanistic atmosphere of different values as far as its origins are concerned. Thus Zsámboky's portraits are to be evaluated rather in the context of the humanistic portraiture of European intellectuals.
14. On the work of Antonio Abondio see G. Habich, *Die Deutschen Schmaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (5 Bde, München, 1924–34). Tibor Gerevich, "Antonio Abondio császári és királyi udvari szobrász festő és éremkészítő" [Antonio Abondio imperial and royal court sculptor, painter, and medallist]. In *Klebersberg Emlékkönyv* (Budapest, 1925), 482–484.
15. István Szigeti, "Régi körmöcbányai személyi érmek" [Old personal medals from Körmöcbánya]. *Az Érem* [The medal] 1940: 6–8, 15–16; Lajos Huszár, — Procopius Béla, *Medallien und Plakettenkunst in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1932), 6, 81, 84.
16. On the portrait painting of 16th century Austrian and Czech aristocracy see the portraits of the exhibition "Adel im Wandel. Politik. Kultur. Konfession". In *Niederösterreichische Landausstellung* (Rosenburg, 1990). Also Sabine Fellner, *Das adelige Porträt. Zwischen Typus und Individualität*, 499–508. On 16th-century Hungarian

- portraiture see *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történeti Képcsarnokból* [Aristocratic ancestral galleries and family portraits in the Hungarian Historical Gallery]. Ed. Enikő Buzási (Exhibition Catalogue, Budapest: Hungarian National Gallery, 1988). Also Géza Galavics, "Személyiség és reneszánsz portré" [Personality and Renaissance portrait] (quoted in Note 8).
17. Klára Garas, *Magyarországi festészet a XVIII. században* [Painting in 18th-century Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 1953). 86; and Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "A magyar barokk provinciális portréstílus kapcsolatai" [The style and connections of provincial Hungarian Baroque portrait]. *Történelmi Szemle* 1986: 219–236.
  18. Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Egidius Sadeler magyar arcképei" [Egidius Sadeler's Hungarian portraits]. *Folia Archaeologica* 1954: 153–156.
  19. Both pictures can be seen at the exhibition *Főúri ősgalériák...* [Aristocratic ancestral galleries...] quoted in Note 16. Taken into catalogue by Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, Cat. C 21, 101.
  20. Although fragmentary, there still exist the ancestral galleries of the Esterházy (Förchtenstein), the Batthyány and the Nádasdy (Hungarian National Gallery), the Illésházy (Trenčín, Muzeum), the Pálffy and the Zichy (Červený Kamen, Muzeum), the Csáky (Csáky Deposit in the Hungarian National Gallery) and the Draskovich (Tracoscan, Castle Museum) families.
  21. Kristóf Thurzó's portrait can be seen at the exhibition *Főúri ősgalériák...* (quoted in Note 16), Cat. C. 101. On the tombstone see the paper of V. Luxová (quoted in Note 10).
  22. Rueber was a devout Lutheran; his funerary monument stood in the Cromer Chapel of the Kassa Dome, probably set in an architectonical frame which was demolished in 1733. The sculpture itself is to be found in the Hungarian National Gallery. See Béla Wick, *Kassa története és műemlékei* [The history and monuments of Kassa] (Kassa 1941), 78–79; *Ungarische Nationalgalerie – Alte Sammlung*. Ed. Miklós Mojzer (Budapest 1984), Nr. 128.
  23. A detailed history of Miklós Pálffy's funerary monument can be found in Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet* (Lasset uns umgürten gegen die Heiden. Türkenkrieg und bildende Kunst) [Let us gird our swords against the heathen. Turkish wars and their art] (Budapest, 1986), 58–59.
  24. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
  25. On the works of Rudolphine art related to the Turkish wars see Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot...* (quoted above). Also DaCosta Kaufmann Thomas, *L'École de Prague. La peinture à la cour de Rodolphe II* (Paris, 1985).
  26. A fairly recent monograph on Lőrinc Ferenczffy is Béla Holl, *Ferenczffy Lőrinc* (Budapest, 1980); about Isaac Major's historical engravings see Georg Rózsa, "Isaac Majors ungarische Schlachtenbilder". *Acta Historiae Artium* 1971: 269–280; also Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot...* (quoted in Note 23) and Géza Galavics, "Die rudolphinische Kunst und Ungarn". In *Prag um 1600. Beiträge zur Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II* (Freeren, 1988), 63–69.
  27. On the history of the series of engravings depicting kings of Hungary see György Rózsa's monograph, *Magyar történelemábrázolás a XVII. században* [Artistic representation of history in 17th century Hungary] (Budapest, 1973).

# THE MEDIEVAL HERITAGE IN HUNGARIAN RENAISSANCE POETRY

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To begin this short paper which, by its nature, is more of an exposition of problems than their exhaustive treatment, I would like to refer to two critical statements. The first is from an early study by Tibor Kardos<sup>1</sup> where he warns us that the Renaissance arrived in Hungary at a time when its world was already at the point of dissolution. In this way the outgoing medieval culture is still present beside the new Renaissance and nascent Baroque elements. Kardos's paper was written before the rediscovery of Mannerism which we can safely include too in the cavalcade of 16th century styles. Of course, *mutatis mutandis*, what he was saying had equal validity for the rest of Europe, for no other country caught up with Italy before the 16th century. We should, however, be aware of how difficult it is to isolate the High Renaissance and Mannerism in a literature where the first and greatest Renaissance poet, Bálint Balassi, was born as late as 1554.

My other quotation comes from the first pages of G. M. Cohen's useful survey, of *The Baroque Lyric*, where the author flatly states that "the majority of the examples, both Renaissance and Baroque, that we shall examine in this book will be sonnets. For... 'it is the medium chosen by the Baroque poets for much of their finest work. Its strict pattern demanded a compression, the absence of which mars many of their lyrics that were written in looser forms...'"<sup>2</sup> (I need not stress that Cohen does not distinguish between Mannerism and Baroque). Many of us have wondered about the lack of metrically closed poetic forms in old Hungarian literature, especially about the lack of the sonnet. Lately, Iván Horváth has treated the problem with much perspicacity in his important book on Balassi.<sup>3</sup> He speaks *in extenso* about the closed strophic forms in use, the rhetorical constructions which, however, do not result in metrically closed structures. He rightly links this phenomenon to Medieval poetic forms, but the typological parallel he draws between Balassi as the creator of a type of courtly poetry in Hungary (let us not forget that he wrote not only the first such poems in Hungarian, but also the first and only pastoral play, a

characteristically courtly genre) and that other creator of European vernacular poetry in general, the first troubadour, William IX of Aquitaine, justified as this parallel is, somewhat blurs the issue, in that even the Balassi stanza is essentially liturgical in origin and is in no way connected with courtly forms. It is here that we arrive at the crux of the matter: the real cause of the lack of the Hungarian Renaissance and Baroque sonnet; the predominance of loose and verbose structures, and the complete lack of any sort of chivalric courtly cultural and literary tradition in Hungary. Iván Horváth is more permissive in this regard as for his purposes it is enough to state that as far as the age of Balassi or his immediate predecessors are concerned there was no such tradition, while with regard to the many breaks and ruptures in Hungarian literary history, due to historic misfortunes "there might have been Hungarian troubadours, let us say in the age of Sigismund", or earlier, but whose memory, had they existed, had been completely lost by the age of Balassi.<sup>4</sup>

Here I tend to be much more radical than Horváth: I think everything we know about Medieval Hungarian literature and culture can only lead us to a firm conviction that (1) there never had been a chivalric courtly poetry in Hungary, and (2) this fact had far reaching consequences not only for Medieval Hungarian literature, but also for the Renaissance and, we could safely add, right up to the present day.

In a forthcoming paper<sup>5</sup> I have treated the Medieval aspects of the problem. To sum up briefly: historically, it seems, there was no basis for such a culture, as the institution of chivalry itself was slow in its formation and never became established the way it was in Western Europe, neither in customs and in the number of knights, nor in ideology. In this respect it was interesting to note that neither of the oldest surviving Hungarian dictionaries takes any notice of the key terms of chivalric ideology, the very term "court" is mentioned only in an architectural context and there is no trace of the courtly-villain opposition, at least in a moral sense. In a still unpublished book by the late Ágnes Kurcz<sup>6</sup> the author argues that the chivalric ideal (e.g. *fidelitas* or the *miles christianus*) was put forward as the propaganda of the royal court or chancery. As far as literature is concerned, there have been widespread speculations upon the subject, as always in philology when there are no texts to go on, but the issue seems far clearer when viewed in an international context. Regarded in this way it seems that from all the registers<sup>7</sup> of Medieval literature there is only one of which we find no trace in Hungary: this is courtly poetry, in epic as well as in lyric. There is ample evidence for the registers connected with the



clerics: goliardic and liturgical poetry abound. There is no doubt that there was such a thing as popular poetry in the Hungarian Middle Ages, only we do not quite know what it was like.

There is even some remote probability that pre-courtly forms of poetry (something like the *chanson de geste* and the romance on antique subjects) might have existed, if only in a rather uncourtly way. But there is simply nothing to testify the existence of courtly lyric and courtly romance — and the only way I can explain this total silence of all sources is to suppose that these genres simply did not exist in medieval Hungarian literature.

Nor did they later. Iván Horváth's book has sufficiently demonstrated the reason why we are to accept the well-known claims of Balassi himself as to being the creator of courtly love poetry. His claims are strengthened by the testimony of his younger friend and disciple, János Rímay, the leading poet of the next generation. But besides all that has been said, not only are the texts that have come down to us all popular or goliardic in character, but also none of the lost or unidentifiable poems cited by Balassi or by others for their melodies would alter this picture, at least as far as the titles show. The very generously preserved epic poetry so much in vogue in the 16th century demonstrates the same situation. In Western Europe the Renaissance and Mannerism brought a final flourishing of chivalric themes and a searching examination of chivalric ideals, which were by this time mythically detached from any actual living experience. Still, the laughter they evoked, cheerful in Ariosto and bitter in Cervantes, or the distance created by allegorizing in Spenser, did not deter these great writers from attributing some importance to these ideals by confronting them and putting their significance to the test. Not so in Hungary. The Hungarian epic poetry of the age has roughly two great genres. The first are the rather primitive songs of historic reportage about actual events in this tormented epoch which later gave way to the sophisticated Vergilian epic of which Hungarian literature in the 17th century produced a masterpiece in the *Obsidio Szigetiana* of Miklós Zrínyi. The second was the Humanist romance, mainly with Biblical or antique plots and mostly with a moralizing tendency.

But again, as in Medieval literature, what is lacking between popular and primitive history and learned Humanist narrative (which we should regard as the heir to the Medieval clerics) is precisely the chivalric type of stories. Roland and Charlemagne, Arthur and Amadís formed the favoured and widely popular reading topics of Western Europe. We even have data suggesting that one or two more educated Hungarian magnates might have had some such books (e.g. the count Boldizsár Batthyány, who even had

connections with hermetic circles, had, for example, a copy of *Amadís*). But the reading public ignored these stories, because as there was no Medieval chivalric tradition, they were not sensitive to them. The lords and magnates of the age imported only the modern, Renaissance courtly customs and ignored their Medieval roots. I would even be diffident in this respect about the important Hungarian version of *Euryalus and Lucretia*, freely translated in verse form by an unknown poet probably close to Balassi from the prose story of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, which seems to me much less chivalric in character than is normally considered. Naturally, all this implied the neglect of an important part of Western European culture.

What importance does this fact have with respect to the poetic forms and genres of late 16th century Hungarian poetry? The truth is that the absence of the courtly lyric (in the Provençal manner) robbed Hungarian literature of a formal experience and training of the utmost importance. All Medieval poetry, courtly or clerical, was characterized by a series of independent, self contained strophes, a loose succession of which formed the poem. Even the order of strophes could vary from manuscript to manuscript. But there was an important difference: in spite of the metric variety of some (mainly late) liturgical or goliardic poetry, it was first of all the *grand chant courtois* which engendered those new metric forms that taught European poets to compose not only stanzas but poems. By the over-refinement of troubadour *canço* stanzas they created such sophisticated forms that the creation of the sonnet happened as if of itself (by the Sicilian disciples of the troubadours). The *sestina* was invented for example by a provençal poet, Arnaut Daniel whom Dante called "il miglior fabbro del parlar materno". Even popular structures, dancing songs, like the *villancico* (*villanelle*) and the *rondeau*, had a comparable effect by their influence on French courtly poetry. This was the formal tradition Hungarian literature always lacked and this is felt in the 16th-17th centuries as well as even later. For, in contrast to troubadour lyrics, goliardic poems and hymns were amply present in Hungary and it seems that the metres learnt from them were rather simple. These kinds of poems share the propensity of all Medieval poetry for a series of self contained strophes but for the main part without the formal sophistication of the troubadours and their followers. It may be significant that one of the most famous goliardic poems, the *Confession* of the Archpoet has been found in Hungarian folklore. It has a most simple metre which had great significance in the Hungarian poetry of the future.

Many important characteristics of late Renaissance and Mannerist poetry can be explained by the fact that formally, and sometimes generically, it is the follower of goliardic and liturgic verse. Usually it prefers simple isomorphic and isorhyming stanzas. As Hungarian is an agglutinating language, the rhyme evokes parallelisms which are also repetitive in nature, so instead of progress or the play of inner tensions there is always the successive series of short, independent units, not hierarchically built, but basically parataxical in nature. Perhaps this repetitiveness is also responsible, besides ideological reasons, for the fact that the poetic means of expressing a world felt increasingly complex by the great European poets of the age, the paradoxes, antitheses and oxymora so important in late Renaissance and Mannerism, and really in Petrarchism itself, are hardly present in Hungarian poetry. Even the most important characteristically Mannerist Hungarian poet, János Rímay could strip a well-known Petrarchist image, the opposition of cold and warm, freezing and burning, of all antithetic significance by placing the contrasted elements far from each other, in different lines:

Sok rend nagy kárával,  
s némelly halálával  
tüzében nagy kínra fült,  
Tülem elrémtúltél,  
nagy távul kerőltél,  
szived ellenem meghült.  
(*"Szóltíván nevemen..."*)

Instead of antithesis he is using the *figura etymologica* ("napról napra veszten vész") which is logically just the opposite: for all its stylistic play it is not contrastive but repetitive.<sup>8</sup> This trend would probably explain the almost exaggerated importance of *apo koinu* in old Hungarian as the most frequent form of inversion.

It is not accidental that the great formal metrical invention of the Hungarian Renaissance, the Balassi strophe, so rich in philosophical and theological implications,<sup>9</sup> is still only stanzaic and by virtue of its rich inner rhyme pattern even more parallelistic. The more significant then, that its characteristic rhyme pattern and inner division which carries its theological meaning derive, as Iván Horváth has rightly shown, from the Victorine sequence, a liturgical and not a courtly form. Horváth may have been right when speaking about its popular and courtly connections in European

medieval poetry, however, Balassi himself most probably knew instead its liturgical and clerical uses.

Beside the Medieval clerical registers, the other great inspirational source of Hungarian poetry was the Latin verse of international Humanism. Here again there is a line of influence which goes poetically very much in the same direction. Humanist elegy and epigram, ode and panegyric had the same looseness of structure as Medieval poetry, only mostly in a nonstrophic form. Moreover, by its imitation of the ancients, it consciously sought to differ in many of its poetic precepts from the vernacular lyrics of the age. The predominance of international Humanist Latin influence might have been an important cause for the Hungarian neglect of the vernacular literature of modern Europe, which was a continuation, directly or indirectly, of precisely that chivalric courtly poetry Hungary had not known and which had to fight all over Europe with Humanist Latin for its right to exist. It is perhaps significant that all the known sources of Balassi's poetry are Neo-Latin: Humanist Petrarchist or protestant Humanist poets. The very fast and deep penetration of Latin Humanism into Hungarian letters, well before the appearance of vernacular Renaissance literature — the force of which can be seen even from the unparalleled practice of Hungarian poets giving Latin titles to their vernacular works — might perhaps best be explained by the clerical — as opposed to courtly — nature of the Hungarian Medieval literary heritage.

A Humanist Latin characteristic in Hungarian verse is the widespread use of acrostichs as a purely formal, inorganic way of regulating the number of stanzas and determining the structure and length of the poem. I know only one example of a meaningful, allegorical use of acrostichs in the epoqe, only one case where it contains new information: the poem of 1604 attributed with some probability to count István Illésházy, *Ferendum et sperandum*. Otherwise it is striking that even poems with rich Mannerist imagery mostly fail to organize this figurative system into a meaningful structure, or to build conceits from them which would structure the whole poem: there are few Hungarian poems with such powerful conceits (some poems of Balassi, e.g. the beautiful ones about the cross or the swans, perhaps one of Rimay and the anonymous poem, probably inspired by the Rimay circle, *Pöngését koboznak...*).

It is characteristic that another crucially important invention of Renaissance poetry, the composed volume of poetry, was only introduced by the two greatest poets of the age, Bálint Balassi and János Rimay, and neither got finally to the stage of being published. Their plans can actually only be

reconstructed by complicated and ingenious philological hypotheses. In contrast to the platonic poetic philosophy of Balassi's volume (sacred and profane love, symbolism of numbers, etc.) Rimay seems to have left out completely his own love poetry and composed a meditative volume of prose and verse of almost exclusive religious and moral purpose. Even so, it represented too daring and original a venture in contemporary Hungarian literary life to succeed in getting printed.

Late Renaissance and Mannerist poetry everywhere brought about a rediscovery of many Medieval elements, but this had specific effects in Hungary where the Medieval tradition itself was one-sided. In Western Europe the renewal of religious poetry meant a more personal, searching relation to God, full of crises and inner conflicts, often mystical, always face to face with death and the problem of salvation. Most of this is absent from Hungarian poetry: instead of mysticism we have the plain chant of the community. Most of the Hungarian poets of the age were insensitive to the tragic contradictions of life Western European Mannerism was so conscious of and which make this poetry seem so modern. A good example of all this is the long poem about the Last Things by Mátyás Nyéki Vörös, the *Tintinnabulum*. The Last Things: what a Mannerist preoccupation for personal meditation! And Nyéki Vörös's much praised rich, modern imagery could bring it close — only that the poem totally lacks the great discovery of the age, the involvement of the personality. The poet's attitude is as objective as it can possibly be, underlined in this by the hymnical structure. Instead of a personal analysis of man's, of *his* own relationship to the Last Things the poem is an endless enumeration of sermons, exempla and admonishments. This is why, for all its richness, his imagery cannot be called visionary, it does not have the sort of subjective presence which would give personal meaning to its preachings and maxims. It makes up in length for what it lacks in intensity. The paraphrase or translation of psalms, so popular in the Hungary of the age, offered, after all, two possibilities: a way of either showing a personal religiosity or more often, disguising its absence, in varying degree with the different poets. Nyéki Vörös also wrote a *certamen* about the Dialogue of Body and Soul: the very favourite poetic debate of the Middle Ages. Somewhat surprisingly, the sort of personal meditation which is really modern, comes through rather in prose, in the works of István Báthory or later, in those of Mátyás Hajnal.

To sum up: Hungarian poets were, on the whole, insensitive to some of the great themes of the age — the relativity of all values, the world as dream or stage, or even as something cruel and absurd. They tended to

portray corrupted nature through strong images, especially Rimay and his circle, but without sensing the importance of this theme in theology or in a philosophy of history. They embrace stoicism, but a rather tame version of it,<sup>10</sup> at least until the heroic Baroque solution of Zrínyi. A consequent opposition of reason and sensuality, a confrontation with the new scientific discoveries (e.g. Donne, "At the round earths imagied corners") are also absent. In contrast, probably at the instigation of Balassi and his followers, there is a type of poem which was to have a great future in Hungarian poetry and which is almost or totally unknown in Western Europe: the lament over the tragic destiny of the country, the conflict of a man forced by political and/or military reasons to leave his home or his country, the anxiety of a possible foundering of the whole of Hungary in the murderous wars it had to wage. This kind of poetry was to be the very original Eastern European voice in — to use the image of twentieth-century Hungarian *poeta doctus*, Mihály Babits —, the great European concert.

### Notes

1. Tibor Kardos, "Adatok a magyar irodalmi barokk keletkezéséhez" [Notes on the birth of Hungarian Literary Baroque]. *Magyarságtudomány* 1942: 63.
2. (London: Hutchinson UL, 1963), 12.
3. Iván Horváth, *Balassi költészete történeti poétikai megközelítésben* [The poetry of Balassi in the light of historical poetics] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982).
4. *Op. cit.* pp. 259–260.
5. Ferenc Zemplényi, "A középkori udvari kultúra funkcióváltozása a reneszánszban" [The functional change of Medieval courtly culture in the Renaissance]. In Print.
6. Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13–14. században* [Chivalric culture in Hungary in the 13–14 centuries]. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988). Her conclusions are equally negative.
7. I employ the term "register" as a socio-literary complex, which determines genre, public, ideology and in certain cases even the choice of language. I am following here, with some modifications and using the term in a more general way, the definitions put forward by Paul Zumthor (*Essai de poétique médiévale*. Paris, 1972) and Pierre Bec ("Quelque réflexions sur la poésie lyrique médiévale. Problèmes et essai de caractérisation". In *Mélanges. Rita Lejeune*. Gembloux, 1969, 1302–1329.) See also my "A korai trubadúr-költészet kérdései és Guillem de Peitieu 'új dala'" [Problems of early troubadour poetry and the chansoneta nueva of William IX]. *Filológiai Közlöny* 1978: 428–429.
8. See my paper, "Rimay és a kortárs európai költészet" [Rimay and contemporary European poetry]. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 1982: 612.

9. Horváth, *op. cit.*, Chapter I. *passim*. See also the article of Gy. E. Szőnyi in this volume.
10. See my paper on Rimay, 606–607, in reference to Tibor Klaniczay, “A magyar késő-  
reneszánsz problémái. Sztoicizmus és manierizmus” [Problems of Hungarian Late  
Renaissance. Stoicism and Mannerism], in his *Reneszánsz és Barokk* (Budapest, 1961),  
303–39.





**LACRYMÆ EUROPÆ:  
POEMS MOURNING COUNT MIKLÓS ZRÍNYI  
IN LONDON AND PARIS**

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Count Nicholas (Miklós) Zrínyi was not only an accomplished poet (author of the great epic poem "The Siege of Sziget") and an outstanding military commander, but for a short time he seemed to be the man of providence to save Europe from the aggressive designs of the Turkish Empire. In the words of an anonymous English author of 1664 Zrínyi was "that excellent personage upon whom are the eyes of Europe, as upon the great Champion of Christe(n)dome".<sup>1</sup> High hopes attached to his military genius culminated in a book devoted to him in London in the Spring of 1664 under the title: "*The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini, Protestant Generalissimo of the Auxiliaries in Hungary*", but apart from this work where he was compared to his great "parallels" Scanderbeg and "Tamberlain" (Timur Lenk), no less than 18 other publications (books, booklets and poetic broadsheets) related to his military exploits in the Turkish wars were published in the course of 1663–1665. Few foreign statesmen or soldiers got so much publicity in Restoration England. The cult of Nicholas Zrínyi was not limited to literature (itself much influenced by reports of foreign correspondents printed in the London newspapers of the time), but spilled over into iconography. A fictitious picture of Zrínyi, engraved by John Chantry, adorned *The Conduct and Character...* (compiled by a mysterious O.C.), and another book, also published in 1664, displayed the portrait of an exotic-looking Zrínyi on its frontispiece. This was the third edition of Henry Marsh's *A New Survey of the Turkish Empire, History and Government Compleated*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1664, printed by J. Best for Samuel Bolton), where Nicholas Zrínyi occupied the centre of a picture, being surrounded by tiny, medallion-like portraits of four other historical figures (the Austrian Emperor, the King of France, Scanderbeg and Tamerlain). This portrait does not bear much resemblance to the historical Zrínyi, but another one, engraved by William Faithorne the Elder (1616–1690), done from "the originall sent from Hungarie to the Kings most excellent

Majestie", representing the Hungarian commander on horseback, is not unlike him. It was this latter "portraiture" (recently reprinted in *Angol életrajz Zrínyi Miklósról*, Budapest, 1987) which was also advertised in the June 27, 1664 issue of the London journal *The Intelligencer* to be sold in William Faithorne's shop "next dore to the Signe of the Drake without Temple Barre".<sup>3</sup>

Having attached such great hopes to Nicholas Zrínyi who, in his English biography was compared to two other "scourges" of the Turk, Tamerlain and Scanderbeg, his untimely death at a hunt near Csáktornya shocked public opinion all over Europe. Zrínyi died on November 18, 1664 (November 8 according to the old calendar still valid in England) and within weeks a small anthology of funerary verse was published by Father Schilling Florentinus of Vienna. This anthology exists in two versions: the version in the Hungarian National Library in Budapest (OSzK) is entitled *Naenia Melpomenes Schillingianae*<sup>4</sup> whereas the other version now in the collections of the Herzog-August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel bears the German title *Poetische Klage über die betrübe Entleibung Weiland des Hoch- und Wohlgebohren und theuren Helden Herrn Niclasen Grafens von Serin...*<sup>5</sup> Neither copy gives the place of publication, but both were probably printed in Vienna. This was soon followed by a more impressive international anthology *Honor Posthumus*<sup>6</sup> edited by a Hungarian student at the University of Tübingen, György Dömötöri. This anthology comprises no less than 23 poems, most of which were written in Latin and German, although there are specimens of Greek, French and Hungarian pieces too (Dömötöri himself wrote in Hungarian).

The torrent of grief unleashed by Zrínyi's fatal hunting accident reached London some time later. It was manifested in the form of a broadsheet of Latin verses entitled *Lacrymæ Hungaricæ in luctuosum fatum Illustrissimi et Excellentissimi D.D. Nicolai Comitissæ a Zerény...*, printed by Nathaniel Brook probably in the first months of 1665. (Since *The Intelligencer* reported Zrínyi's death on December 8/18 [1664], it is very unlikely that within the next three weeks all the poems could have been commissioned for the broadsheet.)

Although the editor's name is not given, one can take it for granted that it was the Hungarian theologian-turned-classical linguist Pál P. Jászberényi, who had lived in England since 1659 and published with Brook *Fax nova linguæ Latinæ*, a very popular Latin grammar. Jászberényi is present on the broadsheet with four short Latin epitaphs and a prose eulogy, but apart

from his major contribution to the anthology he was the only author with sufficient contacts and reputation to push through this project.

It must have been Jászberényi who, having received Father Schilling's funerary poems from Vienna, decided to organize the London venture by winning over two of his compatriots, Ferenc Száki and Ferenc Szendrei as well as a Swedish mathematician friend, Joannes Megalinus, to the idea of a little Latin anthology. The language of the broadsheet was to be Latin not only for the absence of native English authors but also because of the "international" appeal Jászberényi and his friends were hoping to make. Jászberényi himself came from Transylvania where he was in the service of the Rákóczi family<sup>7</sup> and he kept in touch with educated and high-ranking members of other families, for example the Bethlens — when Miklós Bethlen visited England in 1663, it was Jászberényi who showed him around in London.<sup>8</sup> Sándor Bene, a young Hungarian researcher even assumes that it was Miklós Bethlen who would have sent Schilling's poems to Jászberényi or could have inspired the composition of the funerary anthology on Zrínyi.<sup>9</sup> In my view, this is only a hypothesis, indirectly contradicted by an error on the London broadsheet. *Lacrymæ Hungaricæ* claims that Count Nicholas Zrínyi died on November 24 (in fact he died on the 18th); had the editor received information from Bethlen himself — who, by the way, was present at the fateful hunting expedition where Zrínyi met his death — he could not have made this particular mistake.

*Lacrymæ Hungaricæ* consists of eleven Latin poems and a short prose eulogy. Apart from Jászberényi only Száki and P(ater) Schilling contributed more than one poem to the anthology, whereas Szendrei, Megalinus and a certain "Joach. a Pastor." wrote one each. As for Száki and Szendrei, they were both Hungarian Protestant theologians. Having studied at the Calvinist college of Sárospatak, both spent some time at various Dutch universities (Szendrei stayed at Utrecht, Franeker and Groningen) before arriving (at different times) to England. Száki seems to have lived mainly in London — although he visited Cambridge as well — between 1664 and May 1666, whereas Szendrei spent no less than five years in England from 1661 onwards, visiting both Oxford and Cambridge during this period.<sup>10</sup> As for Megalinus, all we know about him is that he was friend of Jászberényi's who earned his living probably with lessons of mathematics in London, and that he wrote other occasional poems as well — for example a poem greeting the publication of his Transylvanian friend's *Fax nova*.<sup>11</sup> The sixth author was identified by myself after the publication of *Angol életrajz*: he is Joachim Pastorius, a most productive Polish-German Humanist, Professor

of the famous Gymnasium of Gdańsk (Danzig) and the author of many occasional poems in Latin. Joachim Pastorius ab Hirtenberg was greatly interested in English political and constitutional developments, also wrote several panegyrics to Charles II.<sup>12</sup> He visited England in 1638 and may have repeated his visit in 1664, although we have no factual evidence to the latter.<sup>13</sup> So it remains a mystery how his "In luctuosam mortem fortissimi Viri, D.D. Nic. Comitis Zerenyi" fell into Jászberényi's hands — was it printed separately in Germany or Holland, or was it sent to him by the same person who sent the Schilling poems? We are unable to answer these questions at present.

Pastorius (who was elevated into the ranks of the nobility not by the King of Poland but by Emperor Leopold I. in 1660) had more than a cursory interest in Count Nicholas Zrínyi. Apart from the poem printed by Jászberényi he wrote at least another one which remained unpublished. MS Sloane 1381 in the British Library contains many of Pastorius's unpublished verses copied by his younger friend the German lawyer and medic, Jacobus Pragestus, and one of these reflects on the circumstances on Zrínyi's death. The title is "In obitum longe bellicosissimi belli Ducis Serenii, inter venandum (ie cubaru) ab Apro interempti" and the poem consists of twelve lines, i.e. six distichs. The poem's main conceit is expressed in its last lines: this great commander fell not from the sword of the Turk, but an enraged boar killed him and his spirit expresses his sorrow that he did not die in a more "dignified" way: "Fulmineo spamantis apri sum dente peremptus, / (Dum varias sector per iuga vasta feras.) / Nec queror infernas quamvis cito rapta sum umbras, / Non potui fato nobiliore mori."<sup>14</sup> It is possible that Jászberényi when editing *Lacrymae Hungaricae* did not know this second poem by Pastorius; on the other hand, one of Ferenc Száki's poems is quite similar in its "message" to the lines quoted above: neither Mars nor Hector or Achilles, only a beast could kill this great soldier: "Arma gerit fortis bellorum plurima miles, / His satis est Apro dente ferire suo."<sup>15</sup> If Jászberényi did know the second Pastorius poem, what may have decided about omitting it was the first person singular used by the poet from Gdańsk: it is Zrínyi's spirit who talks in the poem, and all the poems of Jászberényi's broadsheet are different in one important respect — they are all *about* Zrínyi, from the standpoint of the survivors.

Count Nicholas Zrínyi's death was mourned by French contemporaries as well: in fact French involvement in the Turkish war became stronger in early 1664 and culminated with the participation of the French auxiliaries in the victorious battle of St. Gotthard. The official journal, the Paris

*Gazette* reported Zrínyi's death somewhat late, only in the 27th December, 1664. number.<sup>16</sup> There was, however, a poet or rather a versifier who also reported this sad event exactly a week earlier: Jean Loret in his weekly "rhyming gazette", the *Muze Historique*. Loret described important events in France and abroad in his gazette in the form of "letters" written to Mademoiselle de Longueville, later the Duchesse of Nemours; the mode of description was rhyming couplets. In his 1664 "letters" Loret mentioned Zrínyi as "Comte de Sérin" or "Sérin, ce Hongrois généreux" many times, describing the Hungarian commander's Winter Campaign and other important events. Finally, in Letter V.(50) issued on December 20, 1664, he mourned Zrínyi eloquently in no less than 68 lines. Bemoaning the fact that he has not the talent of Virgil or Pindar to immortalize Zrínyi, he gave the greatest praise to Zrínyi that a Frenchman could give: apparently Zrínyi exhibited many traits of Frenchmen of noble rank. I would like to conclude with Loret's full text:<sup>17</sup>

Ces jours passez, dans une Eglise,  
 J'apris d'une belle Marquize,  
 J'apris, mais non pas sans chagrin,  
 Que le preux Comte de Sérin,  
 Au grand regret de sa Patrie  
 Que l'on appelle la Hongrie,  
 Par une assez tragique mort  
 A vû finir son noble sort,  
 Et ce fut, dit-on, à la Chasse  
 Que luy survint cette disgrâce.

Ce Guerrier, ce Comte fameux,  
 Voyant un Sanglier écumeux  
 Sortir d'une épaisse brossaille,  
 Alla pour luy livrer bataille;  
 Et, dans ce périlleux dessein,  
 Ayant mis le sabre á la main,  
 Le Sanglier, ébloüï du sabre  
 Se lance à côté, puis se cabre,  
 Et se rüant sur le Chasseur,  
 De l'Aigle, autrefois, Défenseur,  
 Ce furieux Sanglier, ou Laye,  
 Fit une si profonde playe,  
 Avec ses crocs longs et hideux,  
 A ce Seigneur trop hazardeux,  
 Que cédant au Sanglier superbe  
 Il tomba tout sanglant sur l'herbe,  
 Et vid incontinent après

Changer ses Lauriers en Cypré.  
Ce que n'ont pû tant d'Aversaires,  
Tant d'Agas et de Janissaires,  
Et tant de Bassas renommez,  
Contre ce Grand-Homme animez,  
Qui vouloient arracher sa vie,  
Dont tous les Turcs avoient envie,  
Las, hélas! fut l'événement  
D'un seul et funeste moment;  
Et le trépas de cet Illustre,  
Dont le renom a tant de lustre,  
Nonobstant le cruel désir  
Du Grand-Seigneur, du Grand-Vizir.  
Qui pétilloient d'avoir sa Teste,  
N'est que l'ouvrage d'une Beste.

Ainsi, feu Monsieur Adonis,  
Qui par les charmes infinis  
De sa beauté presque divine,  
Devint le mignon de Cyprine,  
Par les dents d'un Sanglier mutin  
Encourut un mesme destin.

Comme j'ay toujours fait grand conte  
De ce brave et généreux Comte,  
Son trop déplorable mal-heur  
M'a cauzé bien de la douleur:  
Si j'étois Virgile, ou Pindare,  
Ou quelque'autre Esprit aussi rare,  
Ses faits, dignes d'être prizez,  
Par moy seroient éternizez;  
Il fit, pour l'Empereur son Maître,  
Beaucoup d'ardeur toujours paraître:  
Dans l'Empire, pas-un Seigneur  
Ne le surpassoit en honneur,  
Ny mesme en grandeur de Lignage,  
Non plus qu'en grandeur de courage:  
Mais enfin, pour mieux m'exprimer,  
Ce qui m'obligeoit de l'aimer,  
C'est qu'il avoit pour nôtre France  
Estime, zèle et bienveillance,  
Ayant, dit-on, chez-luy traité  
Bien des François de qualité.

## Notes

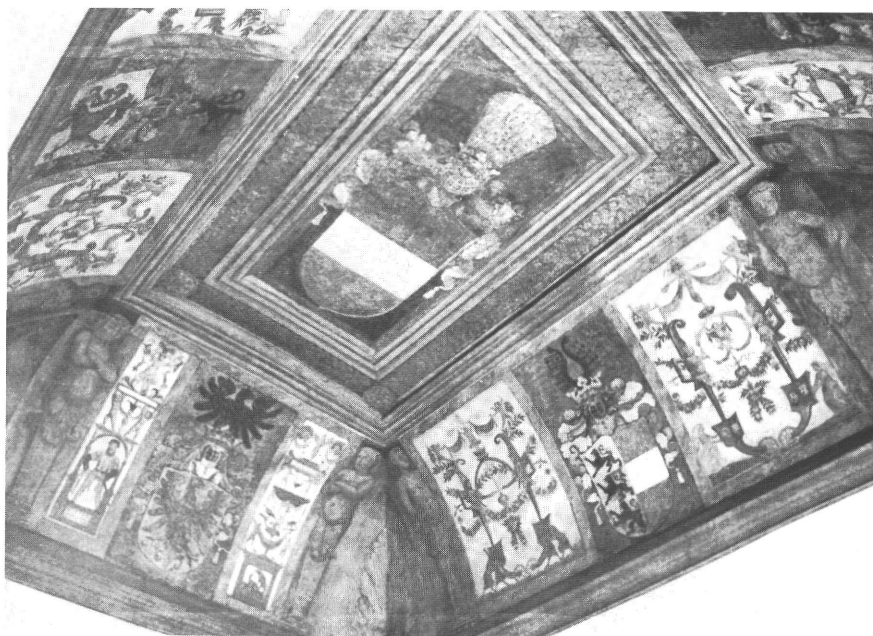
1. *The Conduct and Character of Count Nicholas Serini...* (London, 1664), p. 109.
2. There were several editions of Henry Marsh's *A new survey of the Turkish Empire and Government...* The first edition was printed in two variants in 1663 for Henry Marsh in a duodecimo format. The second edition was also printed in 1663 for Marsh, but it has a different epistle dedicatory. An extended edition under the title *A New Survey of the Turkish Empire, History and Government Completed* was printed in 1664 by J. B. for Samuel Bolton in octavo, and there was yet another edition by J. B. for John Williams also in octavo in the same year.
3. *The Intelligencer* 164: 411.
4. Its signature is "Röpl. 662" in the Hungarian National Library.
5. The Wolfenbüttel signature is WB. 159. 31. Hi (5)
6. Its full title is *Honor Posthumus in Illustrissimi Quondam Comitum Domini Domini Nicolai Serini* (Tubingae: Typis Gregorii Kernerii, 1664).
7. Two Rákóczi, George I and George II were elected Princes of Transylvania in the 17th century. Jászberényi was at one point instructor of Ferenc Rákóczi I.
8. *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* Ed. Éva V. Windisch (Budapest, 1980), 585.
9. *Angol életrajz Zrínyi Miklósról*. Ed. Iván Sándor Kovács (Budapest, 1987), 365.
10. Száki appealed for money to the Dutch Church in London, cf. J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum*, III., Part II. (Cambridge, 1897), 2511, His visit to Cambridge is recorded in the *Senior Bursar's Audit Book* of Trinity College (1664), whereas Szendrei appears in the *Mundum Book*, Vol. 31 of King's College, Cambridge in 1662 and in the *Bursar's Account Book* of University College, Oxford in March, 1663, as the recipient of small donations.
11. *Fax nova Linguae Latinae* [A new Torch of the English Tongue] was first published in 1664 and subsequently ran into several further editions.
12. Kazimierz Kubik lists five Latin poems written to Charles II in his monograph *Joachim Pastorius, gdański pedagog XVII. wieku* (Gdańsk, 1970).
13. The earlier visit is recorded in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Ed. Ch. L. Livet (Wrocław etc.) 24: 261.
14. British Library, London, Ms Sloane 1381, fol. 56–56/v, also in *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1992/2: 169.
15. *Lacrymæ Hungaricæ...* (London, n. y. [1665]).
16. Béla Köpeczi, *Magyarország a kereszténység ellensége* (Budapest, 1976), 35.
17. *La Muze Historique ou Recueil des Lettres en vers contenant les nouvelles du temps écrites...* par Jean Loret. Nouvelle édition, Tome IV. (1663–1665) (Paris, 1878), 284.







*Plate I*      Pietro Ferabosco: Entrance Gate of the Vienna Burg, 1552.



*Plate II/1*      Pietro Ferabosco: The Ceiling of the Entrance Gate of the Vienna Burg, 1553.  
Detail.



*Plate II/2*      The pictorial decoration of the balcony of the Pozsony (Bratislava) Castle from the 1560's. Detail.



Plate III

Tombstone of Miklós Oláh, 1568. Nagyszombat (Trnava), Dome.



*Plate IV*      Tombstone of István Fejérvöki, 1588. Nyitra (Nitra), Cathedral.



*Plate V*

Johann Weinhardt: Tombstone of Palatine Szaniszló Thurzó, 1625. Lőcse (Levoča), Parish Church.





*Plate VI/1* Antonio Abondio: Medal of Sebastian Zäch, 1572. (After T. Gerevich.)



*Plate VI/2* Joachim Elsholtz: Medal of Sebastian Henkel, 1590. (After Huszár-Procopius.)



*Plate VI/3* Joachim Elsholtz: Medal of David Hohenberger, 1593. (After Huszár-Procopius.)



Plate VII

Portrait of Kristóf Lackner, 1602. Sopron, City Museum.



*Plate VIII*      Portrait of Tamás Nádasdy, early 17th century. Oil painting, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.





*Plate IX*      Portrait of Orsolya Kanizsai, early 17th century. Oil painting, Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.



*Plate X*

Tombstone of Ferenc Révay, 1553. Turócszentmárton (Martin), Roman Catholic Church.



*Plate XI*      Portrait of Éva Forgách, wife of István Csáky, 1638. Oil painting. Csáky Deposit, Hungarian National Museum.

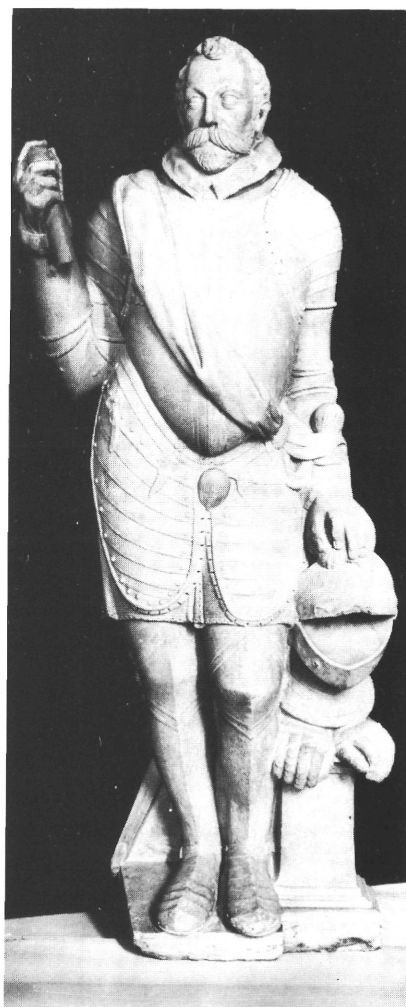


*Plate XII*

Portrait of Kristóf Thurzó, 1615. Oil painting, Csáky Deposit, Hungarian National Museum.



*Plate XIII/1* Johann Weinhardt (?): Tombstone of Kristóf Thurzó, 1614. Lőcse (Levoča), Parish Church.



*Plate XIII/2* Tombstone of János Rueber, 1584. Hungarian National Gallery.



*Plate XIV* Paul Mayr: Tombstone of Miklós Pálffy, 1601. Model. Formerly at Vöröskő (Červený Kamen) Castle.





*Plate XV*      Paul Mayr: Tombstone sculpture of Miklós Pálffy, 1601. Pozsony (Bratislava), Franciscan Church.



*Plate XVI/1* Hans von Aachen: Allegory of the Liberation of Győr  
' in 1598. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.



*Plate XVI/2* Caspar Meneller:  
Tombstone of Miklós Pálffy,  
1601. Pozsony (Bratislava),  
Dome.



*Plate XVI/3* Tombstone of János  
Drugeth, 1613. Pozsony (Bratislava),  
Dome.



# **HUNGARIAN STUDIES**

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