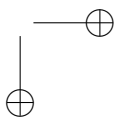
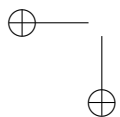


NICOLAUS OLAHUS

EPISTULAE

PARS II

1534–1553



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NICOLAUS OLAHUS

# EPISTULAE

PARS II

1534–1553

EDIDIT, INTRODUXIT ET COMMENTARIIS INSTRUXIT

EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI

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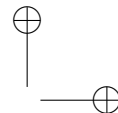
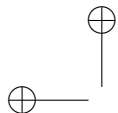
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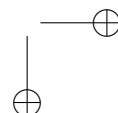
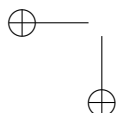
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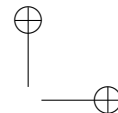
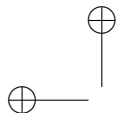


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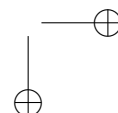
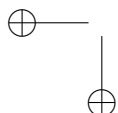




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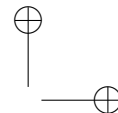
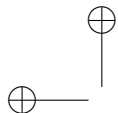
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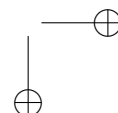
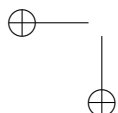


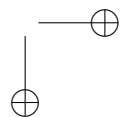
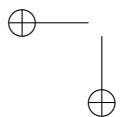
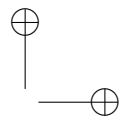
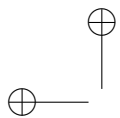


1553

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## PREFACE

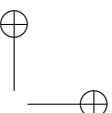
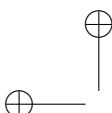
The second volume of the critical edition of the Miklós Oláh correspondence publishes the material that spans the period between 1534 and May 1553 (when Oláh was appointed archbishop of Esztergom).<sup>1</sup> While the timeframe of the first volume was determined based on considerations of length, for the second volume, issues of substance have also been taken into account. The period between 1534 and May 1553 was probably the most exciting part of Oláh's career: his humanist network of relationships in the Low Countries reached its pinnacle during the years between 1534 and 1539, this is when he wrote his two historical works (*Hungaria* and *Athila*), or at least the first version of these, as well as most of his poems (of particular interest are the epitaphs he wrote for the deaths of Erasmus of Rotterdam, his own brother Máté Oláh, and Tamás Szalaházy). His knowledge of the Greek language also reached its peak at this time: Oláh made great progress in his studies of ancient Greek with Jakob Jespersen, and according to his Dutch friends, he became well-versed in both languages (i.e. Latin and ancient Greek). The members of Erasmus of Rotterdam's circle sang Oláh's praise in terms of his creative writing skills and patronage: he helped his friends out with their creditors on multiple occasions, and he was happy to mentor young talent and accept them as his dinner companions. A gem of humanist correspondence is Adrien Amerot's letter of 18 February, 1534, in which he elucidates Lucian's *The Parasite* and its philosophical depths to Oláh. It is not known to what extent Oláh was able to follow Amerot's reasoning, but I believe that today's reader will need longer regesta to be able to digest this letter.

From the mid-1530s, it is an increasingly recurring topic in Oláh's correspondence that he is planning to return to Hungary. Although he regularly wrote to his humanist friends that he found bureaucratic work tiresome, and that he wished he could live for literature, he could not entertain much hope that he would experience much *otium* upon his return home. In any case, he concluded his *Epistolae familiares* in 1539, at the same time his stay in the Low Countries came to an end.

The first known letter that Oláh wrote after his return home is addressed to Tamás Nádasdy, in which he mourns both István Brodarics and the state of the Kingdom of Hungary: he gives a colorful description of the sorry sight that welcomed him upon his arrival home. He could not mourn for a long time, however, because he had to take care of the Queen's affairs regarding the mining towns, so he spent the following years (1540–1543) in Kremnica, Banská Štiavnica, Banská Bystrica, and Zvolen, completing the tasks he was entrusted with together with his fellow clerks. Relatively few of his letters survive from this time, and his authorship can in fact be questioned in the case of some of these letters: for the most part, they are German-language, non-autograph official letters signed by multiple people, which he and his colleagues addressed to

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<sup>1</sup>He wrote in his *Ephemerides* on 7 May, 1553: „Hoc die ex clementia Dei et regis, Sopronii publicatus sum archiepiscopus Strigoniensis.” KOVACHICH 1798, 94; FAZEKAS 2003, 141.



the councils of the towns of Upper Hungary at Queen Mary's request, to promote her interests.

Oláh already wanted to obtain a more substantial church office during his stay in Brussels (Ep. 98, Ep. 178, etc.), but he only succeeded in doing so in 1543. Being appointed to Bishop of Zagreb brought some peace in his life, if not necessarily stability. He namely stayed at the King's side as Chancellor during the imperial assemblies in Prague, Worms, Olomouc, Augsburg, and the Vienna court, and most of his letters were still of an official nature. However, from time to time we can also catch a glimpse of his private life: He shares his deepest fears with Tamás Nádasdy, he orders finer fabric from Wolfgang Kremer, an influential merchant of the time, and he reports to Orsolya Kanizsai that the melons that had been sent from the Sárvár estate were received favorably at court. Since most of the letters written after *Epistolae familiares* have not been published before, and so they were unknown to most, it was not clear if Oláh eventually broke with the humanist ideal, if he wrote humanist letters, or if he kept in touch with his friends in the Low Countries. The corpus published here shows that Oláh did indeed write humanist letters after his return home: in the case of some addressees, his techniques of citation and text creation enabled him to write humanist letters of the same high quality we saw during his years of emigration (e.g. Ep. 631.).

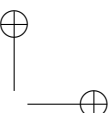
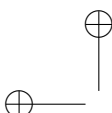
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New layers of Oláh's self-fashioning also emerge from the letters that are published here. The (self)censoring and editing techniques uncovered during the redaction of the first volume of *Epistolae familiares* can also be identified in the later materials: although as time went by, he increasingly frequently dictated and/or corrected his letters with the help of scribes, he checked the fair copy even in these cases, correcting them and adding postscripts to them in his own hand. As time went by, he was visibly increasingly interested in the origins of his family, as well as his more distant relatives. He drew family trees, and he asked his immediate and distant family about their family relations. The family relationship between the Oláh family and the Hunyadi and Dracula families is not only a recurring theme in his letters, he also writes about this topic in more detail in his historical work *Hungaria*. The uncovered sources, part of which is published here, with the rest expected to be published later, greatly nuance our previous knowledge of the genealogy of the Oláh family. The volume ends with the last letter Oláh wrote before he became archbishop. The letters he wrote as archbishop will be published in volume three.

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#### PRINCIPLES OF PUBLICATION

The policies of the first volume are essentially also valid here, below I only list where I deviated from them, along with the reasons why I did so. First of all, regarding methodology, while the letters of the first volume virtually all came from *Epistolae familiares*, only a quarter of the letters published here come from that collection, the rest of the letters are mostly missives that had to be obtained from European archives



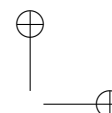
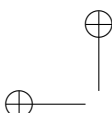
and manuscript collections. This not only meant changes in the way the sources were explored, it has obviously influenced the publication of the texts as well.

Since Oláh had three scribes copy the letters into *Epistolae familiares*, which he then corrected, I did not indicate the scribes' slips of pen in the apparatus of the first volume, to make the apparatus less cumbersome. However, the material that constitutes three-quarters of the present volume contains original missives, which were sometimes noted down by scribes, and the author mostly emended the texts before mailing them. As we do not know if the scribes prepared the letters via dictation, the issue of authorship also became an issue in the case of slips: since they probably did not have a complete missive to copy, for the material outside *Epistolae familiares* I also included in the apparatus the modifications made by the scribes (*scr*). However, the apparatus does not only contain the corrections made by the scribes but the modifications made by Oláh's correspondents as well, if they made autograph corrections to their letter (*aut*).

This volume already contains a number of letters that have survived in several different manuscript versions, occasionally preserving multiple versions. When publishing these letters, *ms. I.* serves as the main text of the critical edition, the rest of the textual witnesses (*ms. II.*, *ms. III.*, etc.) are only noted in the apparatus if they contain a different text variant.

Since missives now make up most of the volume, it became necessary to add a new entry (*Notes*) to indicate in the metadata whether the given letter is autograph, author's copy (in a collection of letter), original, or a copy. The state of the letter is also indicated, i.e. whether it was a draft or a fair copy, if it contains a signature and a seal, and if it was modified, who did so: the author, the scribe, or the addressee of the letter, i.e. Oláh himself. Autograph letters can be either missives that were noted down in the author's own hand and sent out, or as in the case of the collections of letters compiled by Oláh, Verancsics, and Révay, they can be letters the author had written previously and later copied into his own collection. If the letter is an original but not autograph, it means that the author (Oláh or his correspondent) had someone else write it down, but he signed it himself. The online version of the edition will include additional data, which will primarily indicate the reception and provenance of the letter, but this information would have overstretched the framework of the printed edition. Therefore, in the printed edition I only indicate the address found on the outer side, just like I did in the first volume (*On the outer side*), or if an autograph addition was found there (e.g. *cito, cito*). As for the reference numbers, the boxes in the collections are organized according to year, and there are no separate folios, so I only indicated the given box in the reference number.

When publishing the missives, I followed the method of publication used in the series: greeting (*salutatio*), then the letter itself, followed by the address on the outer side. Typically, we can only see a shortened address in the letters that come from the collections of letters (beside Oláh's, this volume also includes the collections of Antal Verancsics and Mihály Révay), which in most cases is in fact a combination of the



salutation and the address, and it does not contain any special additional information. In the case of copies and drafts, it was sometimes possible to guess that it is probably the inscription of the outer side that can be read at the end of the letter, this is introduced by a similar inscription to that of the outer side (*Probably on the outer side*).

Another novelty compared to the first volume is that I publish not only Latin but also some German-language letters. Bence Péterfi helped me in the transcription of these letters, and we followed the German-language text publication principles of the critical edition of the Ioannes Dantiscus correspondence regarding the transcription.<sup>2</sup> We only deviated from it in the case of abbreviations: in most cases where it was not clear how an abbreviation might be resolved, we left the abbreviated form and published our interpretation in the notes. In some cases, where the abbreviation was in the middle of a word, and so it was clear what the full form was, we resolved the abbreviation without any additional notation, e.g. instead of *g.sten*: *gnedigsten*, instead of *allerg.sten*: *allergnedigsten*, instead of *d.i*: *denarii*, instead of *r.n*: *reverenzen*, instead of *d.z* and *w.z*: *daz* and *waz*.

For some letters, a previous text publication or item of literature indicates a specific reference number or provides the location of the source but not the reference number. However, I could not autopsy these items because I was not able to locate the manuscripts (AÉB, MNL OL, OSZK). In these cases I provide the available reference number/location and indicate in the *Notes*: entry the fact that we do not know the manuscript.

Regarding the notes, in the preface of the first volume I indicated that some of the Hungarian titles are difficult, if not impossible, to translate or to find an English equivalent for them. Beside the publication quoted there,<sup>3</sup> in this volume I tried to follow the influential publications of János Bak<sup>4</sup> and Tamás Pálosfalvi,<sup>5</sup> and Pálosfalvi also helped me translate some of the titles that could not be located in the editions (e.g. *Unterkammergraf*). At his and Bence Péterfi's advice, I revised and corrected an unfortunate solution that was used in the first volume: I use the Hungarian version of the word *ispán* (*comes*, i.e. 'royal officer in charge of a (noble) county') and *vice-ispán* (*vicecomes*) from now on, since neither *bailiff*, which was used in the first volume, nor *sheriff*, used in other English-language publications, fully communicates its meaning.<sup>6</sup> The online version of the first volume will use the corrected form of *ispán* and *vice-ispán* in the appropriate locations. Also, instead of the title Master of the Treasury, I use the Latin form *magister tavernicorum* from now on because there is no English version for this title, and the Hungarian version (*tárnokmester*) would not help the English reader, either. "The *magister tavernicorum* or the master of the *tárnok* (men in charge of supplies) was originally the household officer responsible for the

<sup>2</sup>SKOLIMOWSKA-TURSKA 2010: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=aboutCorpus#8b>

<sup>3</sup>PÁLFFY 2009b.

<sup>4</sup>BAK 2019.

<sup>5</sup>PÁLOSFALVI 2018.

<sup>6</sup>PÁLOSFALVI 2018, 12; and BAK 2019, 226 and *passim*.

victualling and other related needs of the court. (...) He is cited as “our” chamberlain to distinguish him from the same kind of officer of the queen.”<sup>7</sup>

Another change concerning the notes is that from now on each element of every note type contains the number (No.) of the letter, i.e. the number is not only indicated in front of the first note, but it is given for each note to make the reader’s job easier.

When selecting the items to be published, I made the following decisions. Following the original plans, I do not publish the poems that were sent with the letters, instead I quote the already existing critical and source editions,<sup>8</sup> indicating the incipit of the poems in square brackets (see Ep. 573.). I also do not publish the longer, separate attachments, e.g. *Tragedia Basiliensis* in the first volume and *Enormia facta...* at the end of Ep. 826. Instead, I publish their incipit in [...] and indicate where it was previously published. However, in the case of mandates and letters of dedication, the situation is different: I will publish these in an appendix in the third, final volume. It is sometimes difficult to draw the line between genres, and in one case a letter of dedication was also included in the edition because it had demonstrably been a missive originally and was later moved to the front of the dedicated volume (see the exchange of letters between Nanninck and Oláh at the end of 1535, Ep. 554). Two mandates have also been included in the edition because they fit in the series of missives exchanged between King Ferdinand I and Oláh (Ep. 835 and Ep. 837).

Since the printed volume will be followed by an online edition as well,<sup>9</sup> I would like to encourage my readers to contact me at szilagyi.emoke.rita@abtk.hu if they find any mistakes in the volume, or if they manage to identify a person or location that could not be identified for the printed edition, so that the online version contain the corrected and/or extended version.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

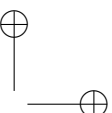
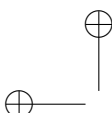
In the first volume I expressed my gratitude in a long acknowledgement to all who have helped my work either with an item of literature or by drawing my attention to a manuscript. This volume also could not have been completed without the selfless support of my closer and more distant colleagues, or support from my workplace, the Institute of Literary Studies, and the head of the Institute, Gábor Kecskeméti.

Above all, I would like to thank my editors for continuing to support me and trying to help me publish the best text possible, for curating the publication of the second volume. Dávid Faragó and I checked my transcription against the manuscript, István Fazekas reviewed the notes, Péter Kasza proofread the whole volume and helped me in the editorial emendation, while Enikő Békés also checked the publication from the perspective of a series editor. Gábor Bolonyai once again assisted with the transcription and correction of the Greek excerpts, while Bence Péterfi helped with

<sup>7</sup>BAK 2019, 199. Note 19.

<sup>8</sup>HEGEDŰS 1906; FÖGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934; NEAGU 2003.

<sup>9</sup>The online version will be published on the website <https://digiphil.hu>.



transcribing and interpreting the German letters. Their support has gone beyond simply helping me, becoming a creative cooperation, for which I cannot thank them enough.

In exploring the sources and obtaining copies of them, as well as interpreting and contextualizing the texts, the following persons have been of great help: Pál Ács, Anton Avar, Zsuzsanna Balogh, András Bándi, Attila Bárány, István Bárány, József Bessenyei, Csilla Biró, Zsuzsanna Cziráki, Júlia Derzsi, Péter Dominkovits, James M. Estes, Anita Fajt and the members of the IAA, István Fehér, Monika Fekiačová, Éva Gyulai, Martin Haring, András Hegedűs, Lenka Hirschnerová, Ildikó Horn, János Kalmár, Gáspár Katkó, Péter Keserű, Tamás Kiss, Jozef Kordoš, Bálint Lakatos, Silvia Marinová, Sanja Miljan, Zsuzsanna Mód, Dávid Molnár, Gábor Nagy, Imrich Nagy, Levente Nagy, Gábor Nemes, István H. Németh, Tibor Neumann, András Oross, Klára Pajorin, Géza Pálffy, Tamás Pálosfalvi, Zdenia Pelachyová, Gábor Petneházi, Marek Púčik, Alena Ščasnovičová, Janka Schillerová, Thomas Şindilariu, András Péter Szabó, Katalin Szalai, Ágnes Széles, Gábrriel Szoliva OFM, László Szörényi, Gergely Tóth, Norbert C. Tóth, Gilbert Tournoy, Eszter Tőzsérné Ócsai, András Vadas, Szabolcs Varga, Michaela Vašková, Nándor Virovecz, Julijana Visočnik, Edina Zvara.

I thank Csaba Szabó, György Rácz, György Laczlavik, and Michal Duchoň, for allowing the publication of the photos of the manuscripts owned by the National Archives of Hungary (MNL OL) and of the manuscripts owned by the Archiv mesta Bratislavy (AMB), including future publication rights.

Since this volume differs from the first one in that it was prepared with the text edition software developed by the DigiPhil project housed in the Institute of Literary Studies, I want to say a special thank-you to Zsófia Fellegi and Gábor Palkó, as well as Béla Hegedűs and Zsuzsa Szilágyi N., who provided technical support for the edition. With their help, the material in this volume has indeed been born digital, in other words, the online and the print versions were prepared at the same time.

My research and the publication of the present volume has been made possible by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences through the MTA Premium Postdoctoral Research Program, for which I would also like to thank all my anonymous supporters.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my family, foremost to my parents, as well as Balázs Hangya for all the patience and words of support.



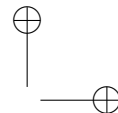
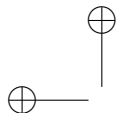
## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>add.</b> addit	<b>p.</b> pagina
<b>corr.</b> correxit	<b>r</b> recto
<b>corr. ex</b> correxit ex	<b>sec.</b> secundum
<b>del.</b> delevit	<b>sup. l.</b> supra liniam
<b>del. ex</b> delevit ex	<b>t.</b> tom., tomus
<b>fasc.</b> fasciculus	<b>v</b> verso
<b>fol.</b> folio	<b>vol.</b> volumen
<b>in marg.</b> in margine	<b>&lt;litterae&gt;</b> litterae emissae, lacuna
<b>konv.</b> konvolutum	<b>[litterae]</b> litterae a me additae, e.
<b>ms.</b> manuscriptum	<b>g.</b> in the heading of the letter:
<b>om.</b> omittit, omisit	<b>[Bratislava]</b>

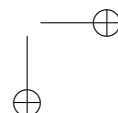
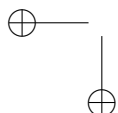
In this edition *O* indicates corrections in Oláh's hand (e.g. *O add.*, *O corr. ex*, etc.). In the same way, if the correction was made by a correspondent of Oláh, it is noted *aut*, when the scribe did so (e.g. in King Ferdinand I's drafts), by *scr*. If there is no *O*, *aut*, or *scr* in front of the abbreviation, the change was made by the editor.

## ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

- AÉB** Les archives de l'État en Belgique (Brussels)  
**AMB MMB** Archív mesta Bratislavy, Magistrát mesta Bratislavy (Bratislava)  
**BL Cotton** British Library, Cottonian Library (London)  
**ELTE EK** Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtár és Levéltár (Budapest)  
**EFK** Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár (Esztergom)  
**GyEL GyKHHt** Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár Győri Káptalan Hiteleshelyi Levéltára (Győr)  
**HDA** Hrvatski državni arhiv (Zagreb)  
**MNL GyMSMSL SVTI** Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára, Sopron Város Tanácsának Iratai (Sopron)  
**MNL OL** Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár (Budapest)  
**NAZ** Nadbiskupijski arhiv Zagreb (Zagreb)  
**OSZK** Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Budapest)  
**ÖStA FHKA** Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (Vienna)  
**ÖStA HHStA** Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna)  
**ŠABB MMBB** Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici, Magistrát mesta Banská Bystrica (Banská Bystrica)



ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ Štátny archív v Banská Štiavnica, pracovisko Archív Banská Štiavnica, Magistrát mesta Banská Štiavnica (Banská Štiavnica)  
ŠABB PK MMK Štátny archív v Kremnica, pracovisko Archív Kremnica, Magistrát mesta Kremnica (Kremnica)  
ŠAB Štátny archív v Bratislave (Bratislava)  
ŠAT MMT Štátny archív v Trnave, Magistrát mesta Trnava (Trnava)  
SNA SAR Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava, Spoločný archív rodu Révay (Bratislava)





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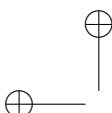
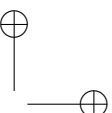
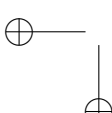
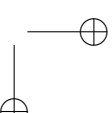
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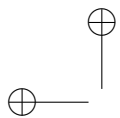
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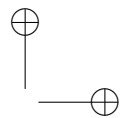
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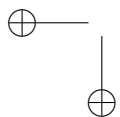


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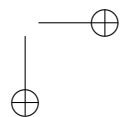


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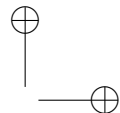
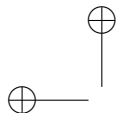
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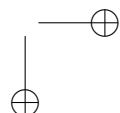
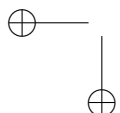
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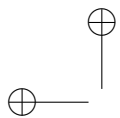




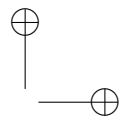


TEXT AND COMMENTARIES



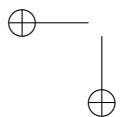


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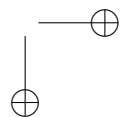


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436<sup>441</sup>

Conrad Wackers to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 2 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 189–190.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 438–439.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1968, 146–147.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. Good people also support the causes of good people's friends. 2. Wackers thus recommends Francis Dilft to Oláh's attention, who excels even among his students in terms of his erudition and eloquence.

Conradus Goclenius domino Nicolao Olao secretario et consiliario reginae Mariae.

[1.] Non solum boni ad bonorum convivia ultro accedunt, ut est in proverbio, verum etiam, cum similitudo sit amicitiae conciliatrix, boni bonorum amicitias non solum conviviis, sed omnibus rebus humanis potiores ultro ambiunt. Haec enim est vis virtutis, ut ubicumque apparet, ardorem quendam mutuae benevolentiae in generosis animis excitet, cum autem saepe numero quantum tenuitas orationis nostrae patitur, tuas eximias virtutes et raras ingenii dotes, incredibilem modestiam et erga omnes eruditione eminentes animum benevolentissimum depraedicarem.

[2.] Huiusmodi facem animo domini Dilfi<sup>1</sup> subieci, ut nisi se quocumque modo in ius necessitudinis tuae insinuet, vitam sibi omnino iniucundam sit putaturus. Proinde apud me egit omni genere contentionis obtestationisque, ut illi apud te amicitiae iter patefacerem. Ego vero homini nobili, re lauta ac splendida, et quod mihi illum arctissima necessitudine copulavit, inter tot meos discipulos eruditissimo et exacti iudicii et facundiae praecellentis, id quod ex oratione eius ad caesarem augustum, quam ad te pro testimonio adiunxi, facile intelliges, hoc officium denegare non potui, omnino denegaturus nisi Dulfum nostrum omnibus modis tuae amicitiae idoneum iudicarem.

Quem si digneris propius inspicere, certo scio illum sic tuae excellentiae in amicitia responsurum, ut dicturus sis non minus praeclare tecum esse actum propter talis viri in amicorum tuorum accessionem, quam ille sese putabit esse felicem, si a benevolentia tua non excludatur. Quod ad me attinet, tantum abest, ne verear illud Horatianum: ne incutiant aliena mihi peccata pudorem, ut ex Dilfi nostri integritate et amoenissimis moribus me quoque aliquid gratiae adepturum ausim sperare, qui illum mea commendatione tuae dignitati quasi in manus tradiderim. Bene vale.

Lovanii 4. Nonas Ianuarias anno 1534.

25

436,25 Ianuarias ] *corr. ex* Ianuarii

436,2 boni ... accedunt ] Erasm. *Adag.* 935. IX,35. Boni ad bonorum convivia ultro accedunt. MYNORS 1989, 249. 436,3 amicitiae conciliatrix ] Cf. Cic. *Lael.* 37. 436,22 ne ... pudorem ] Hor. *Epist.* II,77.

436<sup>1</sup> Probably Francis Dilft or Frans van der Dulf (†1550). For more on his life, see ALLEN 1926, 256–257; and BIERLAIRE 1985. According to Wacker's later letter, the recommended person was a Franciscan monk, see Ep. 475.

Miklós Oláh to Sebestyén Pemfflinger  
Brussels, 11 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 298–299.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 441; SZENDREI 1890, 181–182; BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1904, 318. [excerpt]

*Notes:* Copy.

1. *The Queen is starting to recover from a long illness, thanks to an old wench. Wolfgang von Puchheim traveled to Austria at the end of November, and Oláh sent several letters to the Pemfflingers with him, but he has not received a response to any of them. 2. Furthermore, he is quite worried because he does not know what Pemfflinger has accomplished in the matter of Oláh's abbey. He asks him to let him know both about the revenues as well as who will provide pastoral care there. 3. He is hopeful regarding the Hungarian affairs; Gritti will be leaving Turkey this month.*

Ad Sebastianum Pemflynger.

[1.] Cupio te cum domina tua coniuge<sup>1</sup> et feliciter valere! Regina post diuturnam aegrotationem iam Deo volente melius valet.

Multi confluunt medicii ad eius curam, una tamen vetula mulier non parum inter  
5 catervam medicorum illi profuit. Speramus ipsam in dies melius habituram. Nos  
omnes unacum aliis omnibus amicis vestris bene valemus. Wolffgangus a Pwhem<sup>2</sup>  
consanguineus vester<sup>3</sup> pro curandis suis rebus profectus ad Austriam est in fine No-  
vembris praeteriti; litteras ad vos plures<sup>4</sup> huic dedi, ad quas nullum habui responsum.

[2.] Non parvum angor et sollicitor, quod nesciam, quo modo res meas abbatiae  
10 istic ordinaveritis, et quem procuraveritis meo nomine, ad proventus illius curandos,  
quo pacto etiam illa viceplebanus de Myskolcz,<sup>5</sup> quem in provisorem meum istic  
locatis, meas res istic gerat, ab eo enim nullas unquam litteras accepi. Quare rogo  
te plurimum, ut tam de abbatiae meae<sup>6</sup> rebus ac proventibus, quam quo pacto istic  
servitia divina constituta a te sint, fac me certiosem. Et committas viceplebano de  
15 Myskolcz, ut et ipse de rebus plebaniae ad me scribat.

[3.] De rebus regis et nostris communibus Hungaricis spem bonam habeo. Gritti<sup>7</sup>  
exibit hoc mense ex Turcia, rem ipsam componet, sed quid timeam, paucis perscribere  
non possum. Nova hic nulla sunt. Quando aliqua erunt, non pigebit me ea tibi  
significare. Vale.

20 Bruxellae 11. Ianuarii anno 1534.

437,7 consanguineus] *corr.* ex consanguinius

437<sup>1</sup> Elisabeth, daughter of Hans von Puchheim and Barbara Strein von Schwarzenau. Pemfflinger married her before 1526, see KUBINYI 2009, 753. 437<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang von Puchheim was Commissioner of the Mining District and *ispán* of Zvolen county, see SZÁNTÓ 1977, 47. 437<sup>3</sup> Wolfgang von Puchheim was Pemfflinger's brother-in-law. 437<sup>4</sup> We do not know these letters. 437<sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely. See Ep. 372. Note 5. 437<sup>6</sup> The Abbey of (Miskolc)apolca. 437<sup>7</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

## 438

Miklós Oláh to Deputy Parish Priest of Miskolc  
Brussels, 11 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 299–300.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 441–442; SZENDREI 1890, 182; BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1904, 318–319.  
[excerpt]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*In his recent letter he asked to be informed about the affairs of the parish. Since he has not received a reply, he does not know what to think. He should thus let him know what is happening with pastoral care and the other affairs of the parish. He will reward him for his service as soon as he gets home from here.*

Ad viceplebanum Myskolcz.<sup>1</sup>

Superioribus temporibus scripseram ad te, ut me certum redderes de rebus plebaniae, quomodo scilicet eas curares, et quid iam a biennio percepi. Nullum responsum hactenus habui, quod nescio, in quam partem sim interpretaturus. Rogo te de his fac me certiore et cures, ut primum servitia divina et alia onera plebaniae me absente non negligantur deinde ut ego quoque damnum non patiar. Tuum laborem et curam, quam in mea absentia in rebus primum divinis, postremo meis privatim praestiteris, omni gratitudine cum Deo dante hinc reverti potero, cumulate rependam. Vale.

Bruxellae 11. Ianuarii anno 1534.

## 439

Miklós Oláh to Damján Neszmélyi  
Brussels, 11 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 300.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 441–442; SZENDREI 1890, 182–183; BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1904, 319.  
[excerpt]

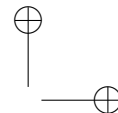
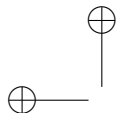
*In Hungarian:* HUSZTI 1998, 626.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He does not know if Neszmélyi has forgotten about him, or if he only has a lot of things to do, and that is why he is not writing to him. In any case, it would be good if he did not only write to him when he needed something. He also asks him to let him know what is going on with his abbey because although Pemfflinger is also going to write to him about it, there are some things Neszmélyi can inform him better about.*

438,3 percepi ] *O corr. ex* perceperis 438,6 damnum ] *corr. ex* danum 438,6 Tuum ] *corr. ex* Tum 438,8 gratitudine ] *O corr. ex* gratulatione

438<sup>1</sup> We do not know the name of the Deputy Parish Priest of Miskolc. According to Dobrossy, the Deputy Parish Priest did not respond to any of Oláh's letters because he could not write or was a Lutheran, see DOBROSSY 2000, 173.



Ad Daminanum de Nezmel<sup>1</sup> vicepraefectum arcis Dyosgyewr.<sup>2</sup>

Ita saepe fit, ut dum amici absunt, eorum non recordemur, quod video in me esse verificatum. Nam nescio, an ex oblivione, vel ex multis tuis occupationibus mei es omnino oblitus, nihilque ad me scribis. Optarem, ut non tunc saltem scriberes, cum  
5 aliquid tu hic habes rerum, quod sit mea opera expediendum, sed etiam alio tempore. Ut ex tuis litteris veluti veteris mei amici intelligerem rerum mearum statum, plebanatum istum de Myskolcz ex petitione Sebastiani Pemflinger<sup>3</sup> amici mei reliqueram bono illi viro, qui nunc in eo est, ut esset vicarius meus et servitiis divinis primum, deinde  
10 meis istic rebus provideret. Abbatiam etiam de Thapolcza reliqui<sup>4</sup> sub protectione eiusdem Sebastiani, ut ad proventuum illius administrationem nomine meo aliquem honestum virum ordinaret. Nescio, quid in utrisque rebus meis actum sit et agatur, etsi credam etiam ipsum me de his certiore redditurum, tamen rogo etiam te, qui illorum locorum meliorem tenes notitiam, ut me de his fac certiore. Et quantum post ipsum Pemflinger potes, cura, ne in absentia damnum patiar. Erit mihi id gratum. Vale.  
15 Bruxellae 11. Ianuarii anno 1534.

440

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 15 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 537–538.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 442–444.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*1. After three months, they have finally received news of the Spanish affairs. Cornelis de Schepper has written that he will be returning home soon; Oláh would be glad if Schepper headed to Weze so the two of them can confer and make a decision together. 2. If his information is correct, those in Lübeck are organizing a meeting for 15 February in Hamburg, where Erhard Müller will represent what Oláh, the Queen, and Jean II Carondelet have entrusted to him. Müller has a copy of the memorialis, Oláh is now attaching a copy of it for Weze as well. The Danish are also likely to attend, but if they do not, they will come here to confirm what had been discussed.*

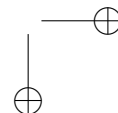
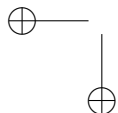
Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori Caroli caesaris.

[1.] Decima huius mensis litteras tuas accepi datas<sup>1</sup> XXX. Decembris Pragae. De rebus novis habeo tibi gratias. Noli et deinceps praetermittere, quin sciam a te nova, maxime de rebus Hungaricis, ex quibus pendeo. Ex Hispanis XII. huius accepimus  
5 litteras, dum antea a tribus circiter mensibus nullas acceperamus, nescio, an ob negotiorum multitudinem aut expeditionum negligentiam. Scripsit ad me Cornelius<sup>2</sup>

439,1 vicepraefectum arcis] *O corr.* ex vicecapitaneum 439,5 sit] *O corr.* ex si 439,8 nunc] *O corr.* ex nostris 439,8 eo] *O del.* ex eo esset 439,11 utrisque] *O corr.* ex utriusque 439,14 damnum] *O corr.* ex danum 440,4 XII] *O corr.* ex et

439<sup>1</sup> Damján Neszmélyi was Vice-prefect of Diósgyőr between 1532 and 1534, see BESSENYEI 1998, 84. 439<sup>2</sup> Diósgyőr. 439<sup>3</sup> Sebestyén Pemflinger. 439<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 437. 440<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 440<sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.

54



se brevi illinc expediri et brevi reversurum, utra tamen via Burgundiaca, scilicet an hac Brabantia, incertum esse.<sup>3</sup> Ego mallet eum reverti Burgundiaca propter celeriore ad vos ipsius adventum, quamvis id quoque mihi gratum esset, si huc veniret. Si huc non venerit, scribam ad eum latius de rebus meis omnibus, ut tecum eas communicet. 10 Amborum postea officium erit eas tractare et concludere ex animi omnium nostrum sententia, quas arbitror vos facile effecturos, si diligentiam et curam, in qua nihil dubito vestram illis apposueritis.

[2.] Ad litteras tuas novissimas propterea non respondi citius, ut certius aliquid in rebus tuis ad te scribere possem. Scito igitur Lubecenses constituisse conventum 15 agere cum commissariis caesaris, huius patriae locus est Hamburga, dies, ni fallor, XV. Februarii. Inter alios commissarios profecturus est eo Erhardus noster Mueler,<sup>4</sup> alii nondum certo designati. Advenient eo et oratores Dani, qui huc debebant venire. Agetur istic prius negotium, postea fortasse et Dani et Lubecenses legati huc venient. Egi ego cum regina et Panormitano,<sup>5</sup> ut daretur informatio ipsi Mueler et aliis, qui 20 ipsius erunt collegae in rebus tuis, ut agerent inter alios tractatus etiam de his tuis rebus cum Danis, si qui forte eo sunt venturi. Et iam ante octo dies dederam ipsi Mueler, dum hinc rediret Mechliniam, memorialis illius copiam, quod Scepperus hic nuper confecerat, ut in tempore rei tuae fundamentum in animum revocaret. Redibit huc ad XXV. huius mensis et habita hic instructione mea iturus est Hamburgam, cui 25 dabitur, ut dixi, per reginam et Panormitanum et alios consiliarios commissio in tuis rebus. Si Dani Hamburgam non venirent (venient tamen omnino, ut intelligo), venient huc pro confirmatione prioris tractatus.

Hic quoque res tuas pro mea virili non negligam, et ero et fidelis et diligens sollicitator, faciamque officium boni amici. Copiam memorialis illius dati per me ipsi 30 Mueler praesentibus inclusi. Misi etiam exemplum scripti eiusdem allati ad nos per postham proximum ex Hispania, ut videas caesarem nostrum, si res ita se habebit, ut scribitur, non moriturum famae. De discordia Danorum in rege eligendo scribam propediem. Res meas tibi commendo Cornelioque nostro. Quibus si ille hic non diverterit, brevi, ut praemisi, plura scribam. De adventu Grythi,<sup>6</sup> de rebus meis et 35 novis aliis Hungaricis a te exspecto. Vale.

Bruxellae 15. Ianuarii anno Domini 1534.

440 <sup>3</sup> See Ep. 434. 440 <sup>4</sup> Erhard Müller. 440 <sup>5</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 440 <sup>6</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

Miklós Oláh to Conrad Wackers  
Brussels, 15 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71, Fasc. 23., p. 190.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 444.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-FIRU 1968, 147–148.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He cannot adore Wackers enough because he is not only cultivating their friendship but also invigorating it with new members. He thanks him for blessing him with Francis Dilft's friendship, with whom he has only had two short conversations, but he has already witnessed his erudition and eloquence. Wackers should continue and keep adorning Oláh with such friends.*

Nicolai Olai ad Goclenium responsio.

Non possum non summopere adamare hunc tuum, mi Gocleni, animum in amicos candidissimum, qui studeas omni tempore tuis, quos habes, amicis in rebus omnibus non modo morem gerere, sed etiam novis eos augere et decorare familiaribus, idque  
5 optimo iure te facere scio. Nam quid in vita mortalium pulchrius homini esse potest amicorum copia? Quid magis delectabile, quam eorum, qui omni genere virtutum sunt praestantes, continua uti familiaritate. Eius certe ego ab initio fui vel naturae vel conditionis, ut nulla me res magis delectaverit, quam bonorum virorum notitia, familiaritas iucundaque consuetudo.

10 Hoc vero uno nunc Dilftio,<sup>1</sup> de quo ad me honorifice proximis litteris<sup>2</sup> scripsisti, in aliorum meorum numerum addito quid non delectationis mihi auctum est? Cognovi in eo quatenus id duabus brevibus collocutionibus, nam et ipsius et meae occupationes plures nobis hactenus denegarunt, fieri licuit humanitatem, eruditionem et singulare ingenium eumque et eruditissimum et exacti iudicii esse hominem ac excellenti  
15 facundia praeditum. Gratias igitur tibi ago immortales, mi Gocleni, qui me hoc amico beaveris. Curabo, quantum in me erit, ut neque ipsum meae notitiae, neque me ipsius familiaritatis poeniteat. Ita fac et deinceps, si me amas, ut me eiusmodi amicis et ornes et cumules. Nihil mihi hac re facies gratius.

20 Heri redditae sunt mihi litterae Cornelii<sup>3</sup> nostri, cum quibus accepi et has ad te datas, eas per hunc fidum tabellionem ad te misi. Nihil aliud ab eo habeo, quam quod recte valeat et cito revertatur. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae 15. Ianuarii 1534.

441,3 amicis ] *scr add.* 441,4 eos ] *O corr. ex etiam* 441,16 beaveris ] *O corr. ex beasti*

441 <sup>1</sup> Francis Dilft. 441 <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 436. 441 <sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.



442<sup>448 450</sup>

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Dôle, 17 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 489.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 445.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 290–291.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He tried to go to Austria through Flanders to meet his wife, but the Emperor sent him through Burgundy. From Dôle he will go to Germany, then on to Vienna; if the Queen wants him to arrange something for her, she can send it with a messenger. 2. The larger issue that Schepper and Oláh had been chatting about and that both of them desire will not amount to anything this year. The Emperor has given him a position in the Queen's privy council; Oláh should send the decree about this to Schepper's wife through Haller, whom he should look after in his absence.

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Quantumvis annis sum, ut per Flandriam redirem in Austriam, impetrare tamen id a caesare non potui, verente ne non tam facile a carissima coniuge<sup>1</sup> divellerer. Iussit itaque, per Burgundiam iter ut facerem, quod et feci venique incolumis Dolam oppidum primum huius provinciae. Inde recta in Germaniam iturus et futurus, ut spero, Viennae ante Kalendas Februarias. Id quod et ad reginalem maiestatem et ad te scriptum esse volui. Quae res suas et ea, quae me scire et pro se facere volet, eo poterit per primum cursorem transmittere. Ego nihil neque diligentiae, neque industriae sum obmissurus in rebus omnibus ad bonum finem perducendis.

[2.] De rebus illis maximis, de quibus confabulati sumus, et ad quas et tu et ego tam magno animo eramus, nihil fiet hoc anno, immo contrarium erit, quod sperabamus, scis, quid velim. Plumbei sunt quorum interest. Caesar concessit mihi locum in consilio privato aut secreto apud reginalem maiestatem. Diploma concessionis transmittito ad thesaurarium Wolfgangum Haller, ut illud insinuet reginae et eis, quibus incumbit, et ut is ipsum postea mittat ad uxorem. Rogo et tu sis adiutor, admoneque hominem admonitionis non egentem, et ut insinuet et ut ad coniugem meam remittat. Quae iterum sit vobis commendata et quo publica negotia me huc rapiunt. Plura scribere non possum ob ingens frigus et angustiam temporis. Tantum dic reginali maiestati me locum illum consilii ambivisse, non minus, ut rebus maiestatis suae aliquando inservirem, quam ob aliud aliquid. Commenda me plurimum dominae comiti de Salm,<sup>2</sup> dominae de Baillieul,<sup>3</sup> dominae Lucretiae<sup>4</sup> et dominae de Honastre.<sup>5</sup> Et scribe, an has acceperis, nec ne et quando, et quid actum sit in negotio hoc meo. Et bene vale, Amice ex amino Amate!

Ex Dola Sequanorum ad flumen Alduasdubim 17. Ianuarii 1534.

442,14 ad] corr. ex a

442<sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 442<sup>2</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. 442<sup>3</sup> Madame Bailleul.

442<sup>4</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 442<sup>5</sup> Madame de Souvastre.

434<sup>443</sup><sub>451</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 22 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 488.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 446–447.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 292–293.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. From Schepper's last letter it is not clear which route he is taking on the way home, but they have understood it from his words written to Wolfgang Haller. They have drawn up the letter of accreditation for Schepper to take to Lodovico Gritti, he is sending it with this letter. If there is any mistake in it, he can only thank himself because he had promised to come back, but then he did not write a peep. Royal Secretary Johannes Maius of Sélestat can make the correction, but he should not be surprised that his title is changing: Schepper keeps changing like Proteus. 2. He is asking him to look after Oláh's issue, and together with the King and Johan Weze make sure that Oláh gets back what is his. It is fully clear from the petition what he has to do, but he will also receive the Queen's letter to the King and Bernhard von Cles concerning Oláh's case.

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Sceperum responsio.

[1.] Ex tuis litteris XXVII. Decembris ex Montisono<sup>1</sup> datis<sup>2</sup> mihi vero redditis XII. huius mensis perplexus eram. Nihil enim certi scripseras<sup>3</sup> de reversionis tuae via, an te huc exspectarem, aut litteras tuas ad te profectum ad regem per Burgundiam mitterem. Exspectato igitur te huc frustra in hunc diem desini esse perplexus maxime, cum ad Haller<sup>4</sup> scripseras verbis apertioribus, quam ad me, ut diceret reginae, ut si quid vellet, id ad curiam regiam ad te mitteret. Si igitur sanus eo applicueris, gratissimum est mihi. Reginam admonui, ut in omnem eventum litteras, ut vocant credentiae, in personam tui ad Gryti<sup>5</sup> daret, ut si quid in maiestatis suae rebus et nostris, qui a maiestate sua pendemus, agendum esse tibi videretur, illis munitus firmitus agere posses. Litteras ipsas accipies cum praesentibus. In titulo putabis fortasse erratum esse; id non nobis, sed tibi imputato, qui pollicitus sit te huc reversurum, ut non rediisti nobisque informationem non dederis. Attamen si mutanda est ex tua sententia, dictione gubernatori rasa poteris curare, ut apponatur post rasuram subtilem protectori. Maius<sup>6</sup> secretarius regis id praestare poterit, manum enim habet similem, haec tuae erit prudentiae et dexteritatis. Id quoque non mireris, quod titulus muneris tui in litteris reginae mutatus est, nam Protheus<sup>7</sup> esse videris.

[2.] In rebus meis per deos et, si qui cariores tibi sint, te oro, habe tandem curam diligentem, cum serenissimo rege et cum domino Lundensi<sup>8</sup> una efficias, ut mea rehabeam, scis, quin in rebus reginae et meis Constantinopoli concluderis. Ex

443,5 Exspectato ] *O corr.* ex Exspectatis 443,13 non ] *corr.* ex nobis 443,14 dictione ] *O corr.* ex dictioe 443,14 rasa ] *O add.* 443,19 serenissimo ... domino ] *O corr.* ex serenissimo nostro 443,20 Ex ] *scr add.*

443<sup>1</sup> Monzón. 443<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 434. 443<sup>3</sup> On 22 January, Oláh had not yet received Schepper's letter of 17 January. 443<sup>4</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 443<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 443<sup>6</sup> Johannes Maius of Sélestat. 443<sup>7</sup> In Greek mythology, Proteus was a god of the sea, who always changed his shape. 443<sup>8</sup> Johan Weze.

signatura,<sup>9</sup> quam cum praesentibus ad te misi, omnia mea aperte intelliges. Quae si tibi usque ad taedium longa replicatio videbitur, id tribue meae sollicitudini, quam in rebus meis, ut haec tua et domini Lundensis nostri opera perficiantur, habui et habeo, habebis etiam litteras reginae ad regem et dominum Tridentinum<sup>10</sup> datas in rerum mearum commendationem, si apud eos agendum erit negotium, si vero apud Grythi post reginae negotia meum quoque adiungere poteris. Haec omnia tu melius exsequi scies, quam ego te aut rogare aut de his plura scribere sciam. Hoc tamen unum velim, existimes me nihil unquam a te ex animo magis rogasse, quam ut meam hanc causam ex animi nostri sententia conficias. Qui non habebis ingratum amicum et fratrem, sed et ista quae nunc et quae in futurum unquam habiturus sum, tecum ut cum amico fido communicaturum. Vale et cura rogo, ne spes mea, quam in te habeo, me fallat. Litteras tuorum ad te misi, qui bene valent. Comitissa,<sup>11</sup> Lucretia<sup>12</sup> et Baillieul<sup>13</sup> te resalutant. Bruxellae XXII. Ianuarii 1534.

444

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 22 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 539.

*Published:* IΡΟΛΥΙ 1875, 447.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He wrote about Weze's affairs last time at length. Müller is going to the assembly in Hamburg together with his associates. Oláh is expecting Cornelis de Schepper, but probably in vain, as he will likely travel to Weze through Burgundy. There will be time to deal with Oláh's affairs if Lodovico Gritti arrives. He has written in detail to Schepper about what he has to do, he should open this letter and read it, and then he should help Oláh recover his possessions.*

Nicolai Olai ad archiepiscopum Lundensem oratorem caesaris.

In rebus tuis, in quibus sint terminis, proximis meis litteris<sup>1</sup> abunde perscripsi. Nunc restat, ut Erhardus Mueler<sup>2</sup> cum suis sociis abeat ad XV. Februarii Hamburgam. Qui ad octavum hinc diem solvent, habebuntque etiam in rebus tuis, ut scripsi antea, commissionem. Expectavi Cornelium<sup>3</sup> nostrum huc in hunc usque diem, nondum tamen venit. Arbitror eum per Burgundiam profectum esse ad vos. Quare ne et reginae rebus et meis deessem, volui litteras has recta ad curiam in eventum rei mittere. Nunc si Gritti<sup>4</sup> advenerit, tempus erit rerum mearum curandarum. Quare rogo te, ut illas habeas commendatas, et una cum Cornelio illas ex animi mei confice sententia. Quid in illis agendum sit et ubi tractandum, pluribus ipsi Cornelio nostro descripsi, in eum finem, ut ea omnia tecum communicet. Rogo igitur atque iterum te rogo,

443,26 tu melius] *O corr. ex in rebus*

443<sup>9</sup> 'signature', 'signed application', see LAKATOS 2018, 17. 443<sup>10</sup> Bernhard von Cles. 443<sup>11</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. 443<sup>12</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 443<sup>13</sup> Madame Bailleul. 444<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 435. 444<sup>2</sup> Erhard Müller. 444<sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 444<sup>4</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

ut eas tua autoritate et favore apud quoscumque necessarium erit, promoveas, et  
efficias, ut bonum in his finem habeam. Si vero casu aliquo ipse Cornelius apud vos  
non constitueretur, interea dum Griti adveniret, ac negotium regis inciperet tractari,  
15 ne occasio praetereat, aperi litteras meas ad Cornelium scriptas. In his omnia, quae ad  
rem meam pertinent, reperies. Et rogo, ut etiam Cornelio absente, si ipse interea casu  
non adveniret, rem meam uti in tua singulari erga me benevolentia, nihil dubito et ut  
saepius mihi litteris tuis tuam omnem operam pollicitus es, velis suo ad id convenienti  
tempore tractare et expedire. Vale.  
20 Bruxellae 22. Ianuarii 1534.

445<sub>471</sub>

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 23 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23, p. 355–356.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 448; ALLEN 1941, 348–349.

*In Dutch:* BEJCYZ 2020, 254–255.

*In English:* ESTES–MILLER 2020, 225–226.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 669–670.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 131–132.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 113.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He has been ailing since Christmas, he has even written his will, and his book *On preparing for death* is just being published. God willing, he will visit Oláh in April. 2. Nikolaus Ferber of Herborn's book was published in Antwerp, in which the author badmouths Erasmus. The volume has made Erasmus so upset that he is debating whether he can return home like this; Oláh will understand the rest from the attachment.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi, secretario et consiliario serenissimae reginae Mariae etc. salutem.

[1.] Toties me repetit cruciatus ille membrorum, ut nesciam, quid sperandum sit de hoc plusquam vitreo corpusculo. A natali Christi gravissime laboravi, ac misere mihi  
5 metuo, simul atque se resolverit hoc gelu. Itaque condidi testamentum,<sup>1</sup> et excuditur liber meus *De preparatione ad mortem*.<sup>2</sup> Cetera sunt in manu Domini, qui si dederit vel mediocrem valetudinem, statui vos sub finem Aprilis revisere.

[2.] Antverpiae excusus est libellus scurrae<sup>3</sup> cuiusdam indocti, insulsi, effrontis ac vecordis, qui mira convicia evomit in me. Nec alio consilio videtur edidisse conciones

444,15 aperi] *O corr. ex aperui* 445,6 Domini] *corr. ex Domino*

445<sup>1</sup> Erasmus writes about his testament in his Ep. 2754, see ALLEN 1941, 142–143. 445<sup>2</sup> *Liber cum primis pius, de preparatione ad mortem*, Basileae, In officina Frobeniana per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1534. Written in response to a request from Thomas Boleyn, see Thomas Boleyn to Erasmus of Rotterdam, 19 June [1533], in: ALLEN 1941, 249: "... rogitans, ut libellum aliquem de preparatione ad moriendum, quam primum possis effectum curaveris." 445<sup>3</sup> The Franciscan Nikolaus Ferber of Herborn (†1535) attacked Erasmus "as a harbinger of the Protestant Reformation" in his volume. For more on Ferber and this conflict, see Erasmus' letter to Jean II Carondelet in ALLEN 1941, 349; IPOLYI 1875, 449–451; and HOFFMANN–BIETENHOLZ 1986.

suas, nisi ut illa veneno misceret. Nulla est in toto libro scintilla piae mentis. Quod 10  
si istic talibus monstris licet quicquid libet, nescio, an expediat mihi istuc remigrare,  
quod tamen multis de causis percipio. Rem plenius cognosces e schedis, quas huic  
adiunxi epistolae.<sup>4</sup> Eas, si videtur, communicabis amicis et per quos putabis tales  
rabulas posse compesci. Utinam caesar non tribueret tantum isti hominum generi,<sup>5</sup>  
si tamen homines sunt appellandi! Ex quo discessit hinc Levinus<sup>6</sup> nihil a vobis alla- 15  
tum est, fortasse mercatu Franckfordiensi venient epistolae. Interim clarissimo duci  
Arscoti<sup>7</sup> me commendabis. Dano<sup>8</sup> salutem plurimam, cui nondum rescripsi, quia non  
vacavit. Vale.

Friburgi 23. die Ianuarii anno 1534.

446

Miklós Oláh to a Friend  
Brussels, 30 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 60.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 448–449.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*It is not possible for him to describe in a letter what worries he has had since they parted ways. Oláh has described some of his affairs to Johannes, whom Oláh has sent home after he finished his tasks, and Johannes will report to him about Oláh's situation.*

Nicolai Olai ad amicum epistola.

Quantis curis, Amice mi, ab eo tempore, quo a te fui profectus, non modo diebus  
singulis, sed momentis quibuslibet fuerim iactatus, nunc tibi ταῖς γραφαῖς<sup>1</sup> minime  
explicare possum. Nam si ea omnia animi incommoda tibi declarare vellem, non  
aliquot dies huic rei essent suffecturae, propterea hanc rerum mearum querelam in 5  
aliud differam tempus, ne tamen τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμοῦ<sup>2</sup> etiam nunc omnino esses  
ignarus, Ioanni<sup>3</sup> tuo, quem expeditis tuis rebus ad te remisi, aliqua ex meis rebus  
explicavi. Qui tibi referre poterit rerum mearum non minimam partem. Vale et me,  
ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae 30. Ianuarii 1534.

10

446,3 ταῖς γραφαῖς] *corr. ex* ταῖς γραφαῖς 446,6 ἐμοῦ] *corr. ex* ἐμοῦ 446,8 minimam] *O corr. ex*  
minimum 446,8 partem] *O corr. ex* statum

445<sup>4</sup> "Specimen pages of Herborn's book", see ALLEN 1941, 348. Erasmus also sent his letter addressed to Jean II Carondelet (Ep. 2899.) to Oláh, which is why Erasmus' letter was located and published in Oláh's collection of letters. 445<sup>5</sup> According to Allen, the Franciscans. 445<sup>6</sup> Probably Lieven Algoet. 445<sup>7</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ. 445<sup>8</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 446<sup>1</sup> 'in the letter'. 446<sup>2</sup> '(to know) about my affairs'. 446<sup>3</sup> Probably Johannes Morbellius.

447

Miklós Oláh to a Friend  
Brussels, 30 January 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 60.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 449.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He will understand his affairs from his previous letter and from what Joannes Morbellius will tell him in person. He should know what great care Oláh has taken of his affairs; he should keep him in his favor.*

Nicolai Olai ad eundem.

Negotiorum tuorum, quae meis humeris imposueras, statum primum ex proximis litteris meis ad te datis, deinde ex Ioanne Morbellio<sup>1</sup> utriusque nostrum amicissimo intelligere potuisti. Quantum mea opera, cura et studium suffecit, non fui in his curandis, ut tuos id ad te perscripsisse arbitror, negligens. Ob quam rem animum meum in te et tuas res benevolum grato te animo accipere, et non plus fidei aliorum verbis tribuere, quam meae constantiae necesse est. Quod si tu feceris animum profecto tuum, quem semper in tuorum amicorum rebus candidum declarasti, in nostra illa vetusta benevolentia conservabis inviolatum. Nec admittes quippiam, in quo accusari  
10 merito possis. Vale et me ama.

Bruxellae 30. Ianuarii 1534.

<sup>442</sup>448

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 1 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 489–490.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 451.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 293–294.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*1. Haller has handed over Schepper's latest letter. Oláh is glad to hear that Schepper has arrived in one piece. He was saddened by what he had written about witless people, but if he can do anything for the homeland, he should let him know. 2. He has talked to the Queen about Schepper's office, but he cannot go into detail now because the courier is hurrying him. He should let Johan Weze know that he has dealt with his problem. In Schepper's case neither he nor Wolfgang Haller will forget about anything. The Queen's health keeps fluctuating, they hope she will be better by May.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Sceperum responsio.

[1.] Litterae tuae, quae datae<sup>1</sup> erant Dolae XVII. Ianuarii, redditae mihi sunt hodie a Haller.<sup>2</sup> Te incolumem esse laetor plurimum. Si quae mittenda erunt in reginae rebus et meis, ultra ea, quae proxime missa sunt (nam praeveneram tuum reditum, suspicans

447<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 448<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 442. 448<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Haller.

id, quod factum est te per Burgundiam iter fecisse), mittentur. Consternatus sum, ita 5  
vivam, mi Frater, visis tuis scriptis, de illis plumbeis. In ea re unica spes erat salutis  
publicae, et eam quoque aliorum fato video agi. Si quid est adhuc ea de re, quod me  
cogites cupere a te intelligere, rogo, significa. Reginae gratum est te a consiliis esse  
factum. Ego vero ea ita re laetor, ut meis propriis ornamentis. Utinam non his saltem  
honoribus, sed etiam munificentia alia, ut virtus et labores tui meruerunt, ornareris. 10

[2.] Cum regina plura adhuc de tuo hoc officio loquar. Nunc veredarium hunc  
cito abeuntem sine meis litteris abire ad te nolui. Domino Lundensi<sup>3</sup> dic me suum  
negotium, ut potuerim, confecisse. Quomodo autem brevi scribam. Mea negotia unice  
tibi et ei commendo. Si me spirare volueritis, ea conficite, et, ut res istic agatur, signi-  
ficite. De tuis rebus nihil a me, nec a Haller praetermittetur. Regina cum maximo meo 15  
dolore nunc peius, nunc meliuscule se habet. Ad Maium speramus eam convalituram.  
De medico Lothoringo<sup>4</sup> res non procedit, si videtur meo nomine hunc reginae statum  
referre poteris regi, in cuius gratiam mea servitia commenda. Vale.

Bruxellae prima Februarii 1534.

449

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 8 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 539–540.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 452–453.

*Notes:* Copy.

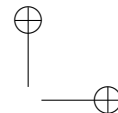
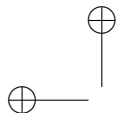
1. He believes Lodovico Gritti is already close to the Hungarian border, and he hopes that things are going to go well. He and Cornelis de Schepper should make sure that Oláh's benefices that Bálint Török had taken from him four years ago are returned to him. 2. Members of the legation to be sent to Hamburg include George of Austria, Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen, and Erhard Müller. The first two have already left with their sealed letters of accreditation; he will do everything for Weze, and van Zevenbergen has promised to do the same. 3. Once the Danish have elected a king, it will be easier to arrange things. It seems that the elder son will be the dead king's successor, who is a more suitable candidate also due to his age; he will talk to his envoy in connection with Weze's affair.

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori Caroli caesaris.

[1.] Litteras tuas XV. Ianuarii Pragae datas<sup>1</sup> nudiusquartus accepi, ex quibus  
inter alia intellexi, quid sit in rebus meis responsum. Iam credo Griteum<sup>2</sup> propediem  
adventurum et rebus Hungaricis finem futurum, utinam bonum et optatum! Fac cum  
Cornelio<sup>3</sup> nostro eam curam, in quamcumque partem sors devolvatur, mearum rerum 5

448,6 vivam] *O corr. ex etiam* 448,6 plumbeis] *corr. ex blumbeis* 448,9 ea] *O add.* 448,9 re] *O add.*  
448,17 procedit] *O corr. ex proceditur*

448<sup>3</sup> Johan Weze. 448<sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely. 449<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 449<sup>2</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 449<sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.



habeas, ut earum finem vestra opera, cura et labore consequar. Contentus esse posset  
Valentinus<sup>4</sup> et sui me meis a quattuor fere annis spoliatum fuisse.<sup>5</sup>

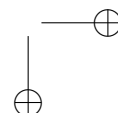
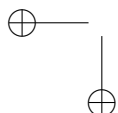
[2.] Res tua in hoc se habet statu: diu hic deliberatum fuit, qui mitterentur ad Ham-  
burgum ad XV. huius mensis diem, primo erant designati aliqui ex secretariis et aliis,  
10 nescio quibus. Postremo delectus est dominus Brixiensis,<sup>6</sup> Maximilianus noster Trans-  
silvanus<sup>7</sup> et Erhardus Mueler,<sup>8</sup> cui, ut antea scripseram, dederam τὸ μνημόσυνον<sup>9</sup>  
tuarum rerum. Alii duo praedicti heri hinc profecti sunt, qui in commissione eorum  
scripta et sigillata mandatum de re quoque tua habent inter alios articulos tractandi.  
15 Quos sigillatim ego quoque conveni tuum illis commendans negotium. Brixiensis se  
totum, quicquid possit, tibi et tuis rebus dedit. A Maximiliano pro ea, quae inter  
nos ob patriam communem intercedit familiaritas, ut ipse dicit et ego quoque ita  
credo non vulgaris contendi, ut et ipse omnem suam operam possibilem in rebus tuis  
polliceretur. Ita data eis commissione non minimam spem habeo, ut aliquid boni in  
rebus tuis reducant. Quid reportarint, rescribam postea.

[3.] Si rex electus aliquis esset in Dania, facilius esset apud illum actio. Nunc cum  
interregnum sit et cum oratoribus illorum agi debeat, qui beneficia ipsa possideant,  
difficilior res videtur, utcumque tamen sit, puto eos omnem diligentiam adhibituros.  
Quemadmodum antea me scripsisse memini, disceptatur adhuc de electione regis,  
pars minorem, pars maiorem filium defuncti regis Friderici cupit, sed uti intelligo,  
25 res inclinabitur ad maiorem, utpote quem dicant magis convenientem ob aetatem  
ad imperium. Agetur istic etiam cum huius oratore, si opportunum fuerit in rebus  
tuis, sicuti ego cum Maximiliano sum locutus. De rebus Anglicis intelliges a Cornelio  
nostro. De rebus Hungaricis fac me certiore. Meas autem res tibi et Cornelio unice  
iterum commendo.

30 Bruxellae VIII. Februarii 1534.

449,11 τὸ μνημόσυνον ] *corr. ex μνημόσμιον*

449<sup>4</sup> Bálint Török. 449<sup>5</sup> On Török's devastations see Ep. 146. Cap. 1. and BESSENYEI 1994, XIV.  
449<sup>6</sup> George of Austria (1504–1557) was an illegitimate son of Emperor Maximilian I. He was Bishop  
of Brixen between 1526 and 1539, and Archbishop of Valencia between 1538 and 1544, see HAMANN 1990,  
156–157. See Oláh's poems to his administrator and on his return: HEGEDŰS 1906, 372–373; FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ  
1934, 3; and NEAGU 2003, 292–293. 449<sup>7</sup> Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen (ca. 1485–1538) was a courtier of  
Emperor Charles V, famous for his account of Magellan's circumnavigation of the world. He was born in  
Brussels and quite soon added this Latinized name. There used to be a misconception in the literature that  
he was of Transylvanian origin, but Gilbert Tournoy dispelled it, see TOURNOY 2019, 163–164. 449<sup>8</sup> Erhard  
Müller. 449<sup>9</sup> 'the writing immortalizing (your deeds)'.





Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 8 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 491–493.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 453–455.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 295–297.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. About Schepper's affairs: the Queen is happy he has been appointed; some have quoted the imperial edict that the number of councilors cannot be increased further. Oláh describes what words he used to praise Schepper to the Queen. 2. Schepper has to negotiate with Gritti in the Queen's affair, in accordance with his letter of accreditation. If he needs information, the Queen's councilors will help; if the letter of accreditation needs to be corrected and they cannot do so carefully, Oláh will send a new one. 3. His friends in Hungary have written to him that it was the king who had ceded Oláh's benefices and estates to Bálint Török, due to his immeasurable avarice. If Oláh had been there, or at least someone who could have spoken up for him, it surely would not have happened this way. At the assembly he should make sure during his meeting with Lodovico Gritti to recover his possessions from him. He can also ask Miklós Gerendi how Bálint Török came to own Oláh's possessions, since he knows Török's tricks well. 4. He has written to Weze about the Danish affairs, he will tell him the rest. He should write about that big issue in more detail, without naming names, and he should use Johan Weze's key [as a cipher], Oláh will understand it. Philipp Melanchthon is said to be in England, and Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse has traveled to King Francis I.

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Scepero suo salutem.

[1.] Si sanus es, gaudeo. Quemadmodum proxime scripseram, regina laetatur, te factum esse consiliarium a privatis.<sup>1</sup> Ego mallem factus esses a financiis: plus enim ibi finanzare posses. Res tua in hoc est statu. Haller<sup>2</sup> admonuerat reginam, ut ad eum scripseras de hoc caesaris in te collato beneficio, admonuerat et thesaurarium<sup>3</sup> 5 et alios, quorum interest. Illi prius faciles in ea re postea videbantur subdifficilliores allegantes, nescio quam caesaris constitutionem, ne consiliariorum numerus in posterum augetur. Reginam ego heri allocutus sum, intellige, quid dixerim. "Cornelius Sceperus, bonus servitor Vestrae Maiestatis rogavit me, ut in rebus suis procurator apud Maiestatem Vestram essem. Quod et quia amicus fraterque meus est, et quia 10 Maiestati Vestrae servire potest, et iam bene servivit, facio libenter. Dignetur ergo eius promotionis et honoris curam habere." Alia etiam nonnulla subintuli, quae taceo, ne fortasse me dicas, si tamen id dicere possis, adulatorem. Dixit se scire te ei servivisse et servire posse et velle negotium tuum cordi habere, dixi dominos aliquomodo praetendere caesaris ordinationem, de non augendo numero consiliariorum, respondit 15 id non obstaturum. Nam prius sex numero tales fuerint consilarii. Quo nunc essent pauciores, curare igitur se tuam promotionem. Nunc in eo statu est negotium, itaque finivimus, ut cum Panormitanus<sup>4</sup> reginam accesserit, scis enim eum tardius tum ob senectutem suam, tum ob reginae valetudinem accedere, sive ego tunc ibi sim, sive

450,14 dixi ] *O corr. ex dixit*

450 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 448. Cap. 1. 450 <sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 450 <sup>3</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 450 <sup>4</sup> Jean II Carondelet.

20 Haller, admoneamus reginam, ut Panormitano coram explicet suam voluntatem de te  
admittendo. Curabimus igitur quamprimum id et vel Haller vel ego te certiozem de  
rebus, quid factum fuerit, faciemus.

[2.] In reginae negotio cum Gryti<sup>5</sup> tractando nihil esse videtur, de quo non fuerit  
antea provisum, habes litteras credentiae, quarum vigore ea agas, quae in rem maie-  
25 statis suae fore videbuntur. Si informationem habere volueris, consilarii reginae istic  
existentes te informabunt. Si litterae ipsae credentiae ad Gryti in titulo (nescivimus  
enim, quali utatur) casu reformari debebitur, scribe huc, si emendari istic caute non  
poterunt; ego mox per postham alias ad te mittam. Et si quibus etiam aliis opus  
habueris, significa, ego ad te mittam similiter in rebus etiam meis curandis, si res  
30 ad Gryti devenerit vigore, earundem litterarum credentiae apud ipsum agere poteris  
secundum ea, quae in reginae rebus et meis illi fuit Constantinopoli iniunctum. In  
quibus rebus meis rogo te per Deum et nostram mutuam amicitiam, ut adhibeas  
curam, de quibus aliis prioribus ad taedium fortasse usque ad te scripsi.

[3.] Scribunt ad me amici mei ex Hungaria regem permisisse ad breve tempus  
35 et mea et aliorum bona in manibus Valentini Theureck,<sup>6</sup> postquam illius immensae  
cupiditati a rege non poterat responderi. Si ibi fuisset, vel si habuissem diligentem  
quempiam sollicitatorem, dum cum Valentino tractatum est, non puto, rex mea apud  
illum reliquisset contra suas mihi datas litteras, et alioqui quoque si esset, qui tractaret  
cum Valentino, credo eum non durum in me futurum. Cura, rogo, in hoc conventu  
40 Gryteo, ut mea e faucibus illius extrahantur tua opera, cura et diligentia; nihil mihi  
gratius facere poteris, mi Domine et Frater. Quo pacto rex in manibus Valentini  
Theureck ad tempus mea bona relinquerit, poteris interrogare a domino Gerendi,<sup>7</sup>  
episcopo Transsylvaniensi ab ineunte nostra aetate<sup>8</sup> ut ego illi fui ita et ipse mihi  
coniunctissimo; apertius ipse practicas Valentini intelligit.

[4.] De rebus Danicis scripsi<sup>9</sup> ad dominum Lundensem,<sup>10</sup> a quo eas accipies. De  
rebus illis magnis, de quibus fueramus hic iucundissime locuti, rogo, scribe diffusius.  
Ne quid verearis! Nominibus parcito et utere etiam, si libet, notis apud dominum  
Lundensem habitis, aut aliis verborum traductionibus,<sup>11</sup> arbitror me ea intellecturum.  
Nugas has consiliariorum Angliae regis legito, vide, quid moliantur. Fama est hic,  
50 nescio, an vera, Melanchtonem esse in Anglia, et Lanthgravium Hessiae<sup>12</sup> profectum  
ad Gallum.<sup>13</sup> Vale et me servitiaeque mea humillime commenda in gratiam regiae  
maiestatis, facito hoc idem et apud dominum Tridentinum.<sup>14</sup> Comitissa de Salm,<sup>15</sup>  
Balliewl,<sup>16</sup> Lucretia,<sup>17</sup> Swaterna<sup>18</sup> te resalutant, vale iterumque vale.

Bruxellae VIII. Februarii 1534.

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450,27 debebitur] *corr. ex delebitur*

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450<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 450<sup>6</sup> Bálint Török. 450<sup>7</sup> Miklós Gerendi. 450<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ep. 313. Cap. 2.: "Nicolaus Gerendi, meus singularis ab ineunte aetate nostra amicus..." 450<sup>9</sup> See Ep. 440. 450<sup>10</sup> Johan Weze. 450<sup>11</sup> Probably, a type of cypher. 450<sup>12</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. 450<sup>13</sup> King Francis I. 450<sup>14</sup> Bernard von Cles. 450<sup>15</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. 450<sup>16</sup> Madame Bailleul. 450<sup>17</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 450<sup>18</sup> Madame de Souvastre.

443<sup>451</sup><sub>453 455</sub>

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 8 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 490.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 455.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 297–298.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He has received Oláh's letter as well as the memoriale. Lodovico Gritti has not arrived yet, and they have only heard that he will take Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha back to Anatolia and will only return after that. He asks Oláh to get Wolfgang Haller to take Schepper's letter of appointment to councilor to his wife.*

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Accepi litteras Dominationis Vestrae de data<sup>1</sup> XXII. Ianuarii, quae mihi fuerunt gratissimae. Accepi et memoriale, quod diligenter exsequar. Grythi<sup>2</sup> nondum venit, deque eo nihil auditur, nisi quod deduxit Imbrahimum bassam<sup>3</sup> in Anatoliam rediturus postea huc. Iam expeditus cursorem hunc citissime ad caesarem. Ego forte 5 ibo obviam Grythi, ubicumque sit, sed haec sint Dominationis Vestrae secreta, nisi reginali maiestati dicenda. Brevitas temporis facit me nunc in scribendo brevem. Cum thesaurario Haller<sup>4</sup> Dominatio Vestra transigat, ut mandatum consiliariatus mei cito ad uxorem<sup>5</sup> mittat. Et scribat responsum ad litteras prius scriptas, scribam brevi plura.

Ex Praga VIII. Februarii 1534.

10

427<sup>452</sup><sub>468</sub>

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 8 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 209–210.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 455–456.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 25–26.

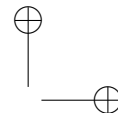
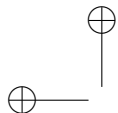
*Notes:* Copy.

*1. Oláh has made him very happy with the three books he sent him. It is very difficult to find someone to deliver the letter, especially for lonely fellows like him, although if it was up to him, Oláh would often receive a letter from him. 2. He wishes they were closer to each other, so that they could discuss everything and learn from each other. His admiration of Erasmus of Rotterdam is unyielding; this winter seems to last ten years, when is the thaw coming that will return Erasmus to them? He thanks him for the books again and tells him that Joannes Molanus is sending his best.*

Levinus Ammonius Carthusianus Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae.

[1.] Libelli tres, quos mihi dono dedisti,<sup>1</sup> Clarissime Heros, eo mihi fuere gratiores, quod litteris amantissimis et omni officio plenis adiunxeras, pro quibus tametsi in

451 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 443. 451 <sup>2</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 451 <sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 451 <sup>4</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 451 <sup>5</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 452 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 427.



sinu gavisus sum, quod haberem penes me semper, quod memoriam tui renovaret.  
5 Tamen hactenus consulto gratias agere supersedi, certus fore, ut ὁ οἰκονόμος τοῦ  
κοινοβίου ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> (utor enim libenter epistolae tuae verbis) ob secundae pensionis  
grave onus sublevandum mitigandumque istuc reverteretur, cum tuae dignationis,  
tum aliorum largis pollicitationibus attractus. Non enim nihil est spei, si vel tecum vel  
10 tua commendatione possit ad serenissimam reginam accessum habere, nam alioqui  
non ita in proclivi fuit alium istuc tabellarium invenire, mihi praesertim solitario, et  
τῶν φυτῶν δίκην<sup>3</sup> uno semper loco haerenti. Is enim si adesset, nequaquam reor meas  
usque adeo rarerer acciperes epistolas, τεκμήριον γάρ,<sup>4</sup> quando agebas Gandavi, scis  
ipso, quanto crebriores acceperis.

[2.] Atque utinam vel ego tibi vicinior essem, vel tu mihi propius adesses, ut  
15 pari studio vel sacra prophanave tractaremus et doceremus, sive disceremus aliquid  
inter nos, quod ad rem pertineret. Videor enim videre non pessime conventurum esse  
utriusque ingenium ad alterum. Cuius rei satis evidens argumentum fuerit opinor,  
quod erga admirationem Erasmi nostri non ita dispari ducimur affectu, si quidem  
verum est (ut esse maxime puto), quod scribis te ne tantillum quidem mihi cedere in  
20 illius amore. O si talem omnibus erga illum affectum ἐμποιεῖν<sup>5</sup> mihi in manu esset,  
quam lubens id facerem! Sed, mi Olahe, an non haec hiems plus decennium duravit?  
Quando redibit aura serenior, ut illum nobis exhibeat? Omnis mihi mora molesta  
est, nihilque non metuo, quod homini possit accidere. Quoties votis optavi caelum  
clementius? Et videtur audisse vota Christus, ita nunc arridet aura. Utinam cum  
25 hirundinibus et ciconiis huc advolaret ille simul. Sed quid ego? Egone apud te virum  
gravem affectus meos effundam? Hactenus ineptisse satis sit. Attamen si pariter amas  
illum, non potes ignorare, quid hic animus patiaturo illo absente.

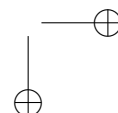
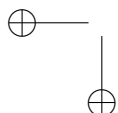
Habeo tibi gratiam, quantam possum maximam, pro tribus illis libellis mihi dono  
datis,<sup>6</sup> et exspecto reliquos, quos tua mihi munificentia promittere dignata est. *Me-*  
30 *ditationes* Clenardi et *Homiliam* Χρυσσοστόμου περὶ τοῦ ὀλίγου οἴνω χρῆ<sup>7</sup> et si quid  
praeterea huc mittere voles. Christus Iesus sanum te et incolumem conservet, quam  
diutissime.

E Valleregali iuxta Gandavum sexto Idus Februarii 1534.

Meus affinis dominus Ioannes Molanus<sup>8</sup> salutem tibi iussit adscribi, abs quo nu-  
35 perrime litteras accepi.

452,14 adesses] *corr.* ex abesses 452,20 ἐμποιεῖν] *corr.* ex ἐμποίειν 452,25 Egone] *corr.* ex Egon

452<sup>2</sup> 'economist/bursar of our monastery', see Ep. 427. 452<sup>3</sup> 'like plants do'. 452<sup>4</sup> 'as proof of this'.  
452<sup>5</sup> 'to make an impression'. 452<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 427. and Ep. 407. 452<sup>7</sup> '[John] Chrysostom's [sermon] "Use  
little wine"'. He discusses this command in several of his sermons, for example in *Adversus ebriosos et de  
resurrectione domini nostri Jesu Christi*. 452<sup>8</sup> We do not know him more closely.



451 453

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 14 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 491.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 456–457.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 298–299.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He is once again setting out for the Turks, looking for Lodovico Gritti, whom he will have to take to see the King. He will also take care of other affairs entrusted to him. He will use the Queen's letter of accreditation at the right time, and he will not forget about Oláh's case, either; he has reminders of everything on him.*

Cornelius Sceperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Non opus est me pluribus verbis uti in isto meo repentino recessu. Ego enim abeo hodie rursus ad Turcas quaesiturus Aloisium Gryti<sup>1</sup> et eum ad serenissimum regem adducturus. Alia praeterea facturus, quae mihi sunt iniuncta. Id, quod rogo, dignetur Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra reginali maiestati significare. Cuius litteris 5 credentialibus<sup>2</sup> super Grytum utar suo tempore, neque immemor ero negotiorum tuorum, quae mihi non minus sunt cordi, quam mea propria. Habeo enim et porto mecum memoriale de omnibus. In summa hoc tibi persuade me et reginalis maiestatis et Dominationis Vestrae rem ita acturum atque meam propriam. Commendo interim 10 Dominationi Vestrae res meas, quae istic sunt, et familiam. Et bene vale.

Ex Praga Bohemorum XIII. Februarii anno MDXXXIII.

454

Miklós Oláh to Paulus comes  
Brussels, 14 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 557.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 457.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Many have been surprised that Paulus has been promoted: his friends are happy, but there are some who are afraid. Those who are jealous of him are taking Paulus' success hard, although he has accomplished all this through work and his virtues, so he should not pay attention to their spite.*

Nicolai Olai ad Paulum comitem.

Mirabilis casus quotidie versatur ob oculos, qui nonnunquam nos non in minimam admirationem adducit. Fuere multi, quibus tui promotio non minimo erat terrori; rursus quamplurimi, quibus fuit gratissima. Qui tibi sunt amicissimi, tuasque omnes res cordi curaque habent, hi nihil est, quod magis gaudeant, quam te honorificum 5 adeptum esse statum. Qui vero tuis invident virtutibus, nihil magis aegrius ferunt, quam te videre hoc statu honorifico auctum decoratumque esse. Quare, mi Frater,

453 <sup>1</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 453 <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 450. Cap. 2.

omnia, quae habes, consecutus es magnis tuis et laboribus et virtutibus. Cuius rei causa nihil te aliorum invidiae moveant, non adficiaris illorum malevolentia, quae  
10 tibi usque adeo nocebit, dum eam magnifeceris, ultra id nihil tibi oberit. Vale.  
Bruxellae 14. Februarii 1534.

451 455

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 17 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 493–494.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 457–458.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 299–300.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He has his doubts about Lodovico Gritti's delays, and Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha's departure will not benefit Oláh's affairs; he is only hoping that an emendicatio will not take place. He hopes that Schepper's trip will be fortuitous. 2. As far as Schepper's affairs go: he could not wait until Jean II Carondelet sees the Queen, he talked to her instead, and he has already seen Carondelet with Schepper's letter of accreditation: he also supports him. As far as his benefices are concerned, he believes they will be settled soon. He should look after Oláh's affairs the same way Oláh is looking after those of Schepper. He is forwarding the letters between Schepper and his wife.

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Sceppero suo salutem.

[1.] Litteras tuas datas VIII. huius mensis<sup>1</sup> heri accepi. Parco, ut petis, brevitati, sed ita, si ad alias longiores non dederis. De tarditate adventus Gryti<sup>2</sup> plurima suspicor. Inter os et offam multa cadere solent. Ibrahim<sup>3</sup> profectio ad Anatoliam, si res nostras  
5 considero, mihi non multum placet. Quid res meae erunt illo absente? Si res ad emendicationem venit, quid ea est turpius rebus Ioannis salvis; favet nobis Christus, favent homines, favent oppressi, favet astrum, et potestne ullus esse locus honestus emendicationi? Pudet me huius facti etc. Celas me, quod celare non deberes. Audio ab aliis, quod a te non intelligo, quod scribis reginae, dixi aliis non. Relegis iter tuum,  
10 quod utinam faustum sit. Deus applaudet nobis, nos illius dona accipere nolumus. Miraris forte haec a me scripta, non mireris: ruina patriae et amor in rem Christianam coegit me scribere.

[2.] De tuis rebus accipe: non potui exspectare, ut Panormitanus<sup>4</sup> ad reginam veniret. Haller<sup>5</sup> abfuit sex diebus, nunc rediit. Locutus sum reginae, quae, ut scripsi  
15 alias, tui honoris est cupidissima. Accessi Panormitanum cum mandato consiliariatus tui, egi cum eo negotium tuum diligenter, favet tibi. Nam, ut potui, non defui apud eum his tuis rebus. Antea non viderat hoc mandatum, ut mihi dixit, quod reddidi Haller ea ratione, ut faciat signare cum financiariis. Scis rem esse omnem in arbitrio

455,4 Inter ... solent] Gell. Noct. Att. XIII,18, cf. Erasm. Adag. 402. IV,2. Inter os et offam. MYNORS 1982, 385.

455<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 451. 455<sup>2</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 455<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 455<sup>4</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 455<sup>5</sup> Wolfgang Haller.

financiariorum. Quae ad stipendium pertineat, credo nos propediem expedituros negotium. Tu fac munus tuum peragas, et qualicumque via poterit ex animi nostri 20 sententia. Meas res habe commendatas, et ita, ut ego in te confido, et tu pollicitus es reginae et mihi iamdudum te obtulisti. Litteras uxoris<sup>6</sup> tuae cum praesentibus ad te mitto, quas autem nunc ad eam dedisti, cras eo mittam. Vale et scribe de omnibus rebus sine timore.

Bruxellae 17. Februarii 1534.

25

456

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 17 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 540–541.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 458–459.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He has already informed him about Weze's affairs in detail, now the commissioners sent to Hamburg are taking care of what they had been entrusted to do, certainly with success. Even though he has not seen the Emperor's letter of recommendation in Weze's case, it is with Jean II Carondelet, and he has already taken care of what needed to be done. 2. A messenger from Denmark has arrived and brought letters of accreditation and a confirmation of the previously discussed clauses. The assembly will take place in Hamburg, where Weze's issue will also be discussed. He is really anxious about Lodovico Gritti; England has completely split from the Roman church.

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori Caroli caesaris.

[1.] Ex meis prioribus litteris<sup>1</sup> satis abunde intellexisse te arbitror, quid in tuis rebus egerim. Nam hae commissae sunt commisariis, qui profecti sunt Hamburgum, cum quibus et ego singillatim sum locutus. Non dubito, quin bonum reducant responsum. Heri litteras tuas accepi VII. huius datas,<sup>2</sup> reddidi et reginae suas, quas perlegens 5 mihi reddidit. Litteras caesaris scriptas in commendationem rerum tuarum ego non vidi, Panormitanum<sup>3</sup> hodie post multa in rebus tuis cum eo facta verba honorifica interrogavi de his ipsis litteris, dixit se illas habuisse, sed iam antea confectis tuis rebus. Nunc nihil videtur, in quo plus agamus, nam omnibus perfectis, quae ad rem pertinuerunt. Spero oratores reducturos laetum nuntium, quae, qualia futura sint, 10 postea rescribam.

[2.] Nona vel decima huius venerat ex Dania huc fetialis<sup>4</sup> quidem, qui attulit litteras credentiae et cum his confirmationem articulorum prius tractatorum. Ego volens intelligere, an aliquid cum eo in tuis tractari posset, accepi et a regina et Panormitano non omnino eum alium esse, quam cursorem, et nihil habere authoritatis, quam quod 15 dixerit se attulisse confirmationem. In Hamburga erit sollemnis conventus, quo et Dani sunt vocati. Istic, ut dixi, tractandum erit tuum negotium.

455<sup>6</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 456<sup>1</sup> Ep. 449. 456<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 456<sup>3</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 456<sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely.

De Gritii<sup>5</sup> non parum et ego timeo. Non frustra semper scripsi infidum esse commercium impiorum. Nihil hic novi est. Anglia tota descivit ab ecclesia Romana. 20 Rex<sup>6</sup> et sui consiliarii mirum in modum contra pontificem<sup>7</sup> debachantur, passim volant libelli impressi, in quibus confertur Christus et pontifex, illius virtutes et doctrinae, huius vitia et, ut ipsi dicunt, imposturae. Deus vertat omnia in meliora, video tragoediam novam ubique moveri. Vale.

Bruxellae 17. Februarii 1534.

457<sup>467</sup>

Adrien Amerot to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 18 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 193–196.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 467–471.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 4–8.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. His answer to Lieven Algoet is late as his edition of Lucian was not with him and he could not quote from it. He now translates and discusses the required passage from Lucian [*de parasito*. c. 4.] in which the speaker, Parasitus – whom the author takes to speak for Lucian – defines art as “a system of applied knowledge, useful for some end in life”. If the definition applies to “parasitic”, then it is an art. To assess it, we have to juxtapose the features of art with “parasitic”. If art, “parasitic” is a system of knowledge. Hence, a parasite must be able to assess human nature and find himself someone he can handle. Assessing human nature is much more difficult than assessing the soundness of coins, as human nature is seldom revealed directly as Euripides says. Parasitic is a greater art than divination in respect of knowing obscure and hidden things. A parasite's expertise of how to talk appropriately, with whom to familiarize himself is a sign of intelligence and knowledge. 2. The translation of the text is followed by a line-by-line commentary. The first part of the commentary discusses the definition along Aristotelian lines (a definition consists of a genus and a difference), states that the genus of the definition here is the phrase “system of applied knowledge”, and the rest is its difference, distinguishes a formal and a final element in the definition (the formal element being the genus, the final element its end), and concludes that the genus here is a certain character or disposition (*habitus*). Next, along a few philological remarks, the remaining sections of the translation are discussed and paraphrased: a) parasitic art should be measured against the features of other arts and its soundness assessed as the soundness of pots, b) a parasite, to cajole its victim, is capable to assess human nature as an assayer assesses the soundness of coins, and indeed parasitic art is more efficient than divination as human nature is not apparent, c) the authority of Euripides is called on to prove this point, d) the difficulties of parasitic art prove that it is an art.

456<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 456<sup>6</sup> King Henry VIII. 456<sup>7</sup> Pope Clement VII.



Hadrianus Amerotius<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao secretario etc. reginae Mariae.

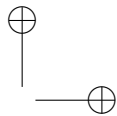
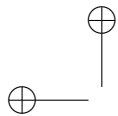
[1.] Quod serius, quam volui, et quam tua erga me benevolentia merebatur, ad Levini<sup>2</sup> nostri litteras responderim, eo factum est, quod cum mihi litterae illius redderentur, non erat apud me Lucianus ex editione Florentina,<sup>3</sup> qua inconsulta, responsionem praecipitare nolebam. Deinde illam nactus, ne tuus quidem periculose 5 cuivis has ad te dare volui, praesertim cum M. Claudium contubernalem meum, qui has tibi reddidit, intra paucos dies istuc profecturum intelligerem, cui quamvis serius certe tutius meas litteras committere malebam.

Accipe igitur, Vir Clarissime, quae mihi ad eum locum Luciani explicandum dicenda occurrerunt. Verti autem primum locum ipsum deinde aliquando fusius et 10 magis παραφραστικῶς<sup>4</sup> ipsum exposui, dialectici artificii rationem aperiendo, quo singulae inter se clausulae connectuntur et cohaerent, et eo studiosius id feci, quod ibi Lucianus accurate dialectici partes exsequitur. Sed Lucianum ipsum loquentem audi vel Parasitum<sup>5</sup> potius ipsum: Ars est (ut ego me sapientem quendam audisse memini) collectio apprehensionum exercitatarum ad aliquem finem eorum, quae ad vitam 15 pertinent, utilem. **Tychiades:** Recte sane, ut ille dixit, sic tu quoque recordatus es. **Parasitus:** Si horum igitur omnium parasitica particeps est, quid nam aliud quam ars et ipsa fuerit? **Tychi.**: Ars nimirum, si quidem ita se res habeat. **Para.:** Age, singulis artis speciebus parasiticam applicemus, videamusque num cum illis, ipsius ratio concinnat, quemadmodum ollae vitiosae pulsu solent explorari, num absonae tinniant. Opor- 20 tet igitur hanc, sicut et omnem artem collectionem esse apprehensionem. Primum quidem, ut (qui parasitari velit) periculum faciat, discernatque, quisnam fuerit ad se alendum idoneus, ad huncque modum facto parasitandi exordio, haud quaquam eum mutata sententia instituti sui poenitebit. An argentarium artem quandam habere dice- 25 mus, qua nummos adulterinos a probis diiudicare sciat, hunc autem homines probos ab improbis sine arte discernere fatebimur? Idque cum quemadmodum nummi sic et homines ipsi protinus manifesti fiant. Haec eadem tamen et sapiens Euripides carpit conquerendo dicens: nullum signum innatum esse virorum corpori, quo sceleratum quempiam internoscere liceat, quo quidem argumento, eo suapte natura est ars ipsa parasitica maior, si quidem tam incerta tamque ab hominum conspectibus abdita 30 acutius videat, noritque quavis arte vaticinandi. Illud autem scire tum sermones loqui appositos, tum negotia agere, quibus et in familiaritatem sese insinuet, seque quam benignissimum nutritori suo praebeat, an non et intelligentiae et apprehensionis vehementis et fortis tibi esse videtur?

457,19 concinnat] *corr. ex concinat*

457,28 nullum ... corpori] Cf. Eur. *Med.* 520., see Frx 1843, 125.

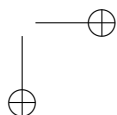
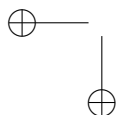
457<sup>1</sup> Adrien Amerot of Soissons (†1560) studied Greek in Paris, then entered the College of the Lily at Leuven. His works *Compendium Graecae grammaticae* and *Libellus de dialectis Graecis* were published in 1520 and 1534, respectively. He corresponded with Erasmus and Nicolas Perrenot de Granevelle, later entering his service in 1522. In 1545, he became Rutger Ressen's successor as professor of Greek in the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense. See GUNDERSON 1985, 48; and VAN ROOY 2020. 457<sup>2</sup> Lieven Algoet. 457<sup>3</sup> Probably Lucian's *editio princeps*, which was printed by Lorenzo Francesco de Alopa in Florence in 1496, see GARCIA EHRENFELD 2018, 26. 457<sup>4</sup> '(rather) circumspectly'. 457<sup>5</sup> *De parasito sive artem esse parasiticam*.



- 35 [2.] Hactenus Luciani Parasitus, mox sequuntur in praemissa verba scholia. Ut  
iaciat Parasitus fundamentum suae disputationis, more dialecticorum artis defini-  
tionem praemittit. Cum autem omnis diffinitio ex genere et differentia constare  
debeat, aut ex his, quae illorum vicem suppleant, in praemissa definitione, collec-  
tio apprehensionum exercitatarum, loco generis accipi debent, reliqua differentiae  
40 vicem obtinere. Datur autem haec diffinitio a partibus formae et fine. Sunt enim  
exercitatae apprehensiones, partes formales ipsius artis et utilitas eorum, quae ad  
vitam agendam pertinent, earundem finis. Nam nemo artem ullam perdidicit, nisi  
primum ab artis magistro, prima artis rudimenta comprehenderit, in eisque se ex-  
ercuerit, quotquot autem in quaque arte percipienda praecepta erunt, totidem etiam  
45 erunt apprehensiones, quarum collectio diligenter exercitata facultatem operandi  
secundum artem praestabit, quam quidem Aristoteles ἔξιϋ,<sup>6</sup> hoc est habitum appel-  
lavit, qui merito, cum sit genus artis, primum in eius definitione locum obtinere  
debeat. Luciani vero Parasitus, vel is potius, quem is sequitur, a partibus formalibus  
σύστημα ἐγκαταλήψεων ἐγγεγυμνασμένων<sup>7</sup> nominare maluit, ipsius videlicet artis  
50 originem generationemque spectans, siquidem philosophorum omnium consensu  
ex multis actibus exercitatis, quae hic ἐγκαταλήψεις ἐγγεγυμνασμένα<sup>8</sup> vocantur,  
generari solet habitus; κατάληψις<sup>9</sup> autem sive ἐγκατάληψις sive ἐκκατάληψις,<sup>10</sup> nam  
exemplaria variant, actum apprehendendi sive comprehendendi significat, a verbo  
καταλαμβάνω,<sup>11</sup> quod apprehendere sive comprehendere Latine sonat, et σύστημα<sup>12</sup>  
55 verbale quoque nomen est, quod collectionem, sive multitudinem collectam importat  
a verbo συνίσταμαι,<sup>13</sup> quod inter cetera significata etiam colligere significat. Hanc  
autem definitionem tamque bene convenienterque ab aliquo viro sapiente traditam.  
Parasitus refert, suoque negotio accomodat, argutaturque per locum a finitione suam  
parasitandi facultatem, dici debere artem, quandoquidem sicuti ceteris artibus, ita  
60 parasiticae quoque facultati, eam definitionem convenire asserat. At cuicumque de-  
finitio convenit et definitum, et contra cui definitum et definitio. Illud autem, quod  
legitur in impressione Lovaniensi Ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ αἱ πονηραὶ χύτραι, quod inter  
cetera significata etiam colligere significat. Hanc autem definitionem tamque bene  
convenienterque ab aliquo viro sapiente traditam. Parasitus refert, suoque negotio  
65 accomodat, argutaturque per locum a finitione suam parasitandi facultatem, dici  
debere artem, quandoquidem sicuti ceteris artibus, ita parasiticae quoque facultati,  
eam definitionem convenire asserat. At cuicumque definitio convenit et definitum, et  
contra cui definitum et definitio. Illud autem, quod legitur in impressione Lovaniensi  
Ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ αἱ πονηραὶ χύτραι,<sup>14</sup> non parum variatur in aliis exemplaribus.  
70 Nam duae illae voculae ἀλλὰ μὴ,<sup>15</sup> in editione Florentina desunt, quam ego in ipsa

457,49 σύστημα ... ἐγγεγυμνασμένων] [*Paras.* 4.2 σ. ἐ. συγγεγυ-].

457<sup>6</sup> 'habit'. 457<sup>7</sup> 'a coordinated system of knowledge used for a purpose that is useful in human life'.  
The Lucian editions tend to accept this version (συγγεγυμνασμένων) but ἐγγεγυμνασμένων can also be  
found in the manuscripts. συγγεγυμνασμένοι means 'systematized, coordinated', while ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι  
means 'acquired well, deeply ingrained'. 457<sup>8</sup> 'thoroughly mastered knowledge'. 457<sup>9</sup> 'knowledge'.  
457<sup>10</sup> 'knowledge'. 457<sup>11</sup> 'I perceive'. 457<sup>12</sup> 'system, composition'. 457<sup>13</sup> 'to compose'. 457<sup>14</sup> 'But not  
like bad pots.' 457<sup>15</sup> 'but not'.



versione secutus sum, eaque mihi convenientior lectio, veriorque visa est. Vult autem dicere Parasitus, perinde investigandum esse, an definitio illa facultati parasiticae congruat consonetque, singulas definitionis partes ad eam accomodando, atque solent ollae vetustate situque marcidae, aut alioqui corruptae, pulsu digitorum pertentari, num quem tinnitum absonum edant. Postea ibi δεῖ τοίνυν εἶναι<sup>16</sup> ostendit primam 75 definitionis partem parasiticae convenire, traditque illud primum esse praeceptum, ut quisquis parasitus esse velit, ante omnia unum aliquem sibi deligat ac solerter deprehendat discernatque, an is idoneus fuerit, a quo commode possit ali, talique iacto parasitandi fundamento, nequaquam sententiam mutaverit, quasi parum in arte profecerit. Quod autem artis sit hoc ipsum dignoscere posse, probat a simili 80 (ibi ἢ τὸν μὲν<sup>17</sup>) quemadmodum facultas discernendi probos nummos ab adulterinis, ars est, quam argentariam appellamus, ita peritia deprehendendi mores hominum sinceros a corruptis ars etiam censi debet, quam parasiticam appellandam esse ait, siquidem ea sit parasitica facultas. Deinde ibi καὶ ταῦτα<sup>18</sup> etc. dicit et nummos et homines in hoc esse similes, quod utrorumque et probitas et vitium deprehendatur, 85 illorum a numulario per artem argentariam, horum a parasito, per artem haud dubie parasiticam. Postea ibi αὐτὰ μέντοι<sup>19</sup> etc. sibi ipsi auctoritatem Euripidis obiicit, conquerentis nullum signum innatum esse virorum corpori, quo probum ab improbo discernere possemus, qua confutari posse videtur ante adducta similitudo. Deinde illam ipsam auctoritatem contra adversarium retorquet oratorio more, ac in suum 90 commodum convertit, argumentans a maiori, videlicet facultatem diiudicandi mores hominum probos ab improbis, nempe parasiticam, tanto magis artem censi debere, quam argentariam, quod haec signo exteriori numismatis utitur, ad faciendum officii sui periculum, illa sine ullo signo sensibus patenti sagacius probitatem hominum ac vitia deprehendat, quam ulla peritia vaticinandi. Postremo confirmat hoc idem, 95 exaggerando negotii sui difficultatem, in sermonibus arte componendis ceterisque multis rebus agendis ad conciliandam hominum, a quibus ali oportet, benevolentiam, quod quo difficilior est assequi, eo maioris etiam artis esse existimandum est.

Haec habui, Vir Ornatissime, quae ad litteras Levini nostri rogatu tuo in praesentia responderem, si quid erit vel in his, vel in aliis, in quo meam operam desideres, hoc tibi 100 plane persuade me tam esse tuum, quam quod maxime. Levinum autem nostrum plurimum meo nomine salvere iubeas, ad quem scripsissem, nisi mihi temporis angustia otium ademisset. Vale.

Lovanii ex aedibus nostris ipso die sacrandis cineribus insigni anno 1534.

457,84 ibi] *O add.* 457,84 etc.] *O del. ex* etc Ibi 457,103 otium] *O add.*

457,88 nullum ... corpori] Cf. Eur. *Med.* 520., see Frx 1843, 125.

457<sup>16</sup> 'thus, it has to be'. 457<sup>17</sup> 'or the'. 457<sup>18</sup> 'that, too'. 457<sup>19</sup> 'but those'.

## 458

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 23 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 557.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 459; ALLEN 1941, 361–362.

*In Dutch:* BEJCYZ 2020, 266.

*In English:* ESTES–MILLER 2020, 242.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 670.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 132.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 113–114.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Oláh hopes that Erasmus is well. He is surprised that he has not received a letter from him for a long time, and he asks him to inform him about his situation.*

Nicolai Olai ad Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum.

Si bene tibi est valesque, ex animo laetor. Admiror plurimum me a diuturno satis iam tempore nihil a te litterarum accepisse. Oro te, mi Erasme, ut de statu ac incolumitate tua facias me certiozem, quem scito eum amicum et nunc tibi esse et  
5 deinceps, dum vixero, futurum, quem tu sincerum, ut arbitror, cognovisti. Laeta ac felicia omnia tibi perinde ac mihi cupio. Vale.

Bruxellae 23. Februarii 1534.

## 459

Erasmus Schets to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 26 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 200.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 459.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Their mutual friend Erasmus of Rotterdam has written this letter to him, which he is now forwarding to Oláh through Wolfgang Haller.*

Erasmus Schetus Nicolao Olao secretario et consiliario Mariae salutem.

Erasmus Roterodamus ille vere tuus meusque summe me requisivit suis epistolis: has, quas una hac ad te mitto, summa fide tibi transmittendas, id securius non potui, quam per manus thesaurarii Haller,<sup>1</sup> quem huic operi, et tui et mei gratia non  
5 defuturum puto. Si quid est, Clarissime Vir, quod in tui gratiam gloriamque potero, puta me esse tibi, et si de facie non noscam, esse devinctissimum clarissima nominis tui fama id merente.

Ex Antverpia XXVI. Februarii 1534.

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459<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Haller.

460<sub>483</sub>

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Ljubljana, 28 February 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 494–495.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 460.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 300–301.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. Upon arriving to Ljubljana, he learned that Péter Krusics has raided the Turks and ran off many, and according to Schepper, they cannot keep calm at the frontiers. Nobody knows anything about Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha, and there are no significant Turkish armed forces left in Europe. He does not know anything about Lodovico Gritti's arrival, although Vespasian of Zara has arrived, they have not met yet. 2. He is stuck in Ljubljana because the rivers have flooded: the flood has destroyed bridges, and it is not possible to cross the straights. He sends his regards to Wolfgang Haller as well as some letters to his wife, Oláh should make sure she gets them.

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Ego iam perveni Lubianam, ubi intellexi Petrum Crusitz<sup>1</sup> fecisse excursionem in Turcas et profligasse aliquot illorum centurias. Non satis scio, quo consilio aut ratione, nisi quod praesidiarii isti de limitophore quietem pati non possunt. De Imbrahimo bassa<sup>2</sup> nihil scitur. Quidam dicunt profligatum illum a Tagmatz Sciach<sup>3</sup> Sophy,<sup>4</sup> alii nescio quo confugisse. Constat, quicquid roboris Turcarum hic fuit, Europa excessisse. De Gryti<sup>5</sup> adventu nihil dum certi scio, tametsi advenerit Vespasianus Iaderensis;<sup>6</sup> credo certiora vos istic scire, nam in Vespasianum non incidi.

[2.] Haesi hic Lubianae ob summa incrementa aquarum. Adeo enim Savus et Labacus et ceteri fluvii dissolutione nivium intumuere, ut pontibus fractis undique montis angustias iter prohibeant. Haec serenissimae reginali maiestati refer me nihil obmissurum, quod ad ipsius maiestatem aut Dominationem Vestram aliquo pacto spectare potest. Wolffgango Haller me commendabis, ceterisque dominis et amicis. Litterasque ad carissimam uxorem<sup>7</sup> meam per fidum tabellarium transmittat, cui me ex animo commendo.

15

Ex Lubiana ultimo Februarii 1534.

460<sup>1</sup> Péter Krusics or Petar Kružić (1495–1537) was Captain of Klis, Senj, and a famous defender of Klis until his heroic death in 1537. For more on his life, see JURKOVIĆ 2007. 460<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 460<sup>3</sup> Tahmasp I (1514–1576), the second Shah of Safavid Iran, ruled from 1524 until his death in 1576. 460<sup>4</sup> Sophy was the name of the ruler of the Safavid dynasty of Iran (ca. 1501–1736), see FLOOR 2016. 460<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 460<sup>6</sup> Vespasian of Zara. 460<sup>7</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Brussels, 3 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 541–543.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 460–462.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He is very happy to have received his letter, which is proof of the friendship between them, which cannot be broken by distance or time. He is sorry that his visit with the King has only caused him pain; he knows well that those who serve faithfully receive less. 2. He has not only heard the sounds of the ensuing flight, he has also seen its signs, but he is surprised that they can still believe those who represent their affairs. 2. They are expecting Lodovico Gritti, and he believes the King's situation will stabilize. They are hoping for a union and freedom. He has written several letters to him about what to arrange in Transylvania, without success. 3. He thanks him for what he has accomplished with Bálint Török for him. Miklós Gerendi does not understand what the problem is with Török: it is not that he is ruthless with Oláh, but he has taken his possessions and pretends that they are not serving the same lord. 4. He thanks for what Gerendi has written about Oláh's brother, Máté. If he is against them, he is making a mistake, but he is still his brother, so he is asking Gerendi to protect Máté so no harm befalls him. The son of his uncle János Huszár is with him now: he is a sweet boy, whom, if he is not mistaken, Gerendi also knows through his mother. He should look after his family while he is away.

Nicolai Olai ad Nicolaum Gerendi episcopum Transsylvaniensem thesaurarium regium.

[1.] Quanta fuerim animi laetitia, quantoque gaudio affectus, cum litteras tuas ultima Decembris scriptas<sup>1</sup> hic XX. Februarii acceperim, vix explicare possum. Nam  
5 ex eis cognovi veterem illam tuam in me benevolentiam tanto et temporis et locorum intervallo non refrixisse, quam nec in posterum refrictum iri spero. Nam et ego enitar, ut non modo non praebeam occasionem illius sopiendae, sed potius contendam, ut tua in me ab ineunte nostra aetate<sup>2</sup> favor ac benivolentia, aetate iam matura conservetur. Doleo te ex tuo ad regem adventu dolorem potius, quam laetitiam accepisse, utinam  
10 ita merita praestarentur, ut cuilibet honos et munificentia pro meritis daretur, melius profecto rebus regii esset consultum; sed scio et vidi, ut res istic agatur: qui servierunt fideliter et serviunt, minus habent, et tantum non moriuntur.

Indicia praecedentia futurae salutis regni, iampridem ego quoque non modo adivi, sed et cognovi et scio, tamen non omnibus spiritibus credendum est. Miror nos  
15 tam facile credere solere his, qui nostras res oppugnarunt, et qui non tam nostra, quam suam rem curant, qua de re latius scribere non possum. Nihil esset, ita vivam, mihi iucundius, quam si de eis coram mutuo loqui audentius possemus.

[2.] Gritum<sup>3</sup> exspectamus. Quid fiet, si iam venit, aut venturus est; arbitramur res regis eo adveniente stabiliri, utinam vere arbitremur. Regni unionem speramus  
20 et libertatem, utinam id futurum sit, vereor tamen, ne et unionem et libertatem, et si quid est aliud, paulatim amittamus. Equidem plures ad te litteras meas dedi in Transsylvania constitutum, sed eas non fuisse restitutas doleo. Hortaris me, ut te ita

461<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 461<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ep. 450. 461<sup>3</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

in me affectum esse credam, ut tu me in te affici credis. Nihil est, quod in me desideres. Manda, iube, fac de me, quod vis.

[3.] De tua in rebus meis apud Valentinum Theuurek<sup>4</sup> opera habeo tibi gratias 25 cumulas. Scribis eum nunquam in rebus meis durum se ostendisse. Non durus est, sed bona tenet, panem famelico exemit e faucibus, num hoc duricies est? An putat me hostem regis τῆς καὶ τὸν προδότικον πατρίδος εἶναι,<sup>5</sup> quod hoc me pacto tractet; quibus meis pro mea facultate servivi et servio fideliter. Nonne et ego ex illorum sum 30 numero, qui ab initio fidem regis et reginae secuti, multa in illorum servitiis passi sunt detrimenta, damna, labores et expensas? Si rex iudicare non potest, Deus id iudicet, si spem suam a rege, ut scribis, consequi non potuit, debetne propterea τὸν τράχηλον 35 μοῦ ἐκκόπτειν?<sup>6</sup> Qui, ut ipse in suis rebus, suaque conditione, ita et ego in meis post principes, graves expensas, labores et calamitates habui, si quid apud eum in his ipsis meis rebus in vestro conventu effeceris, fac me certiozem. De uno pastore et ovili ego 35 iamdudum spem non minimam habui. Et scio ego, quid fiat, sed contra perpendo, quae sit societas infidelium, in qua utinam spes regis et nostrorum omnium non fallatur. Quicquid sit, exspecto a te de eis, ut scribis, certiora.

[4.] Quod statum meorum affinium et fratrum in Transsilvania mihi significaris, habeo gratias immortales: fratrem Matheum<sup>7</sup> quin frater sit, negare non possum. Si 40 quid contra nos facit, male facit. Si meae litterae,<sup>8</sup> quas ad eum per Sidonium<sup>9</sup> dederam, redditae illi fuere, intellexit, quomodo mihi eius facta displiceant. Frater tamen est nihilominus et unicus, cuius ut salutem veluti meam cupio, ita detrimentum non libenter audio. Ipse modo multum aut prodesse aut obesse rebus regiis potest, unus 45 est ex aliis. Modo rectificentur alia, ipse facile respiscet, velis igitur eum defendere, ne quid detrimenti patiatur. Avunculi mei Ioannis Hwsar<sup>10</sup> filium iuniorum apud me habeo, bonum adolescentem fidum, et quem faciam erudiri, qui ex matre, ut arbitror, tibi quoque propter familiam Bogatinam non est alienus.

Rogo igitur, ut interea, dum hinc reverti potero, velis illius et bonorum praecipuam curam habere, ne damnum aliquod patiatur. Reverterer autem, si non tam 50 durus Valentinus Theuurek in me esset. Reginae servitia tua, sicut etiam antea mea sponte non monitus, ita et nunc commendavi et deinceps quoque, dum erit occasio, commendaturus sum. Quae libenter, si quae res esset, in qua bonis servitoribus regiis gratificari posset, suam declararet clementiam. Vale et me tuum esse puta.

Bruxellae tertia Martii 1534.

55

461,32 τράχηλον ] *corr. ex δράχηλον* 461,46 Avunculi ] *corr. ex Amiculi*

461<sup>4</sup> Bálint Török. 461<sup>5</sup> 'also (be) a traitor = that I also betray my country'. 461<sup>6</sup> 'to cut off my neck'. 461<sup>7</sup> Máté Oláh was loyal to King John I, which generated a conflict between the brothers. 461<sup>8</sup> We do not know this letter. 461<sup>9</sup> Martinus Sydonius was a Secretary of King Ferdinand I and Administrator of the Archbishop's income in Esztergom between 1531 and 1535, see C. Τότη 2019, 35. 461<sup>10</sup> According to his letter, János Huszár was Borbála Huszár's brother. The son was probably Bartholomeus or Bertalan Huszár. We know an epitaphium written by Hubert Leodius c. 1543: *Epitaphium nobilissimi doctissimique adolescentis Bartholomaei Huzari nepotis et avunculi reverendissimi domini domini Nicolai Olahi*, see ELTE EK H 46 26v–28r.

462<sub>480</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Brussels, [4 March] 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 401–402.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 462–464.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations. Dating based on Ep. 480.

1. He is worried that Thurzó is angry with him, and that is why he is not writing to him when he is still sending letters to others. Bálint Török still has his possessions, there has been no progress there. The feud between the Pope and King Henry VIII is intensifying. 2. He does not want to say too much about the Queen's health, they hope that she will regain her strength once the weather gets better. If Thurzó is angry, he should drop it because he has no reason for it, and he should help them again with his old kindness. 3. Lodovico Gritti's progress is slower than it should be, but he is not even certain any more if they can expect anything good from him. If he can, he should help him recover his estates from Bálint Török: Oláh is namely not an enemy of the King but his faithful servant and does not deserve this.

Nicolaus Olaus ad Turzonem locumtenentem regium.

[1.] Subvereor, ne mihi succenseas, quod cum ad reginam et ad alios litteras tuas dederis, ad me nullas. Causam, cur id fiat, cogitare non possum, nam nullam unquam me praestitisse certo scio occasionem, quam ob rem hanc tui animi favoris et benevolentiae a me alienae praebere demonstrationem. At fortasse nihil ego quoque scripsi, quo tuas ad me dares. Scripsi profecto, dum aliquid hic contigit scriptu dignum. Nec meum officium scribendi intermisi, sed a multo tempore nihil fuit, de quo scribere potuissem. Et praeterea postquam vidi nullum istic rerum mearum progressum fieri, Valentinumque Thewrek<sup>1</sup> mea perinde ac hostis exigua bona vi tenere, in qua re aliquoties ad te scripsi, in rebus his meis privatis toties tibi obstrepere nolui.

In aliis vero publicis nihil erat, in quo scribendum esset, praeter verborum scriptorumque inter pontificem<sup>2</sup> et regem Angliae<sup>3</sup> concertationem. Qui excommunicationem propter repudiatam reginam<sup>4</sup> contra se latam inique ferens, nunc indies ex Anglia famosos contra pontificem emittit libellos,<sup>5</sup> qui aperte illius inoboedientiam et contemptum pontificis declarant; quae sicuti nihil mea intereat, ita malui ab aliis, quam me intelligi.

[2.] De reginae nostrae valetudine frequenti non putavi esse scribendum. Erat enim et est nunc quoque spes illius sanitatis pristinae recuperandae, cuius quidem sanitatis, si Dei voluntate contingeret, quam infirmitatis malui esse significator. Nihilominus etiam me ad te nil scribente nunquam mei officii immemor fui, sed ut ab adolescentia semper, ita et nunc dum occasio se praestitit, hic tibi inservivi; quibus in rebus si non nunc, aliquando tamen intelliges; cuius mei in te officii plurimi sunt testes, tui nominis observantissimi. Quamobrem si aliquam in me indignationem,

462,10 nolui] *O add.* 462,15 malui] *O corr.* ex malim 462,19 malui] *O corr.* ex malim 462,20 nil] *O add.*

462<sup>1</sup> Bálint Török. 462<sup>2</sup> Pope Clement VII. 462<sup>3</sup> King Henry VIII. 462<sup>4</sup> Catherine of Aragon. 462<sup>5</sup> *libellus famosus* (plur. *libelli famosi*) means 'defamatory publication', 'libel' or 'pasquinades'. See Ep. 463. Cap. 2. and Ep. 471. Cap. 1.



quam tamen non merui, ex meo silentio conceperis, rogo, eam depone et me tua  
pristina benevolentia, animo et favore proseguere. Nam ita tibi persuadeas me sive 25  
tacentem vel scribentem tibi esse in omnibus honestis rebus deditum. Quod regina  
rarius scribat, quam solita fuit, infirmitati magis tribuendum est, quam alteri rei; quae  
fecit iam a multo tempore, ut non modo non scriberet et rebus aliquibus aut privatis  
aut publicis se immisceret, sed etiam ne domo egrederetur, verum speramus eam  
vernīs amoenisque his temporibus advenientibus, convalituram; tunc ad te scribet. 30

[3.] Gritei<sup>6</sup> exitus tardior est, quam deberet; qui si etiam venerit, quid ab eo sperari  
possit boni in partem regis, nescio. Prius erat mihi spes aliqua, ut regnum miserum  
illud aliquando pristinam suam libertatem recuperaturum esset. Nunc aut parva est,  
aut nulla, nisi Deus ultra humanam rationem miraculo rem Hungariae in pristinam  
redderet aut dignitatem, aut libertatem. Utcumque sit, credo te et alios dominos in 35  
rem maiestatis regiae consulturos, ne vestro tempore regnum illud perire possit, tam  
nobile, praeclarum et nuper inclytissimum. In meis rebus, si quid autoritate tua  
facere poteris, rogo, fac et effice, ut Valentinus Thewrek mea bona remittat. Non sum  
regis hostis, non patriae, non illius, sed potius ut mea fert conditio, horum omnium  
fidelis et bonus servitor, neque mereor, ut hac me iniuria afficiat. Qua in re si aliquid 40  
feceris, ad ea, quibus me prosecutus es beneficia, non minimum adiciēs cumuli. Vale.

Bruxellae 1534.

429<sup>463</sup>

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 4 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 543–544.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 464–465.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He was very happy about his letter from November, which he has only received recently. He thanks him for what he has accomplished in connection with Bálint Török. He does not understand what Török's problem is with him, why he considers Oláh his enemy, since they serve the same lord. 2. Even Szalaházy has realized that King Henry VIII disobeys both the pope and the Roman church, so much so that he is having satirical pamphlets printed in England against the Pope. All the priests have contributed to the costs of the Emperor's war against the Turks, in line with their annual income and with the Pope's permission; maybe now there will be some progress.

Nicolai Olai ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem cancellarium Hungariae.

[1.] Magna me laetitia tuae litterae affecerunt, quas ultima Novembris datas<sup>1</sup> XXV. Februarii praeteriti accepi. In tuo erga me favore et benevolentia nunquam dubitavi, nam de eis, quibus ego quoque sincero animo inservire cupio, nullo unquam tempore

462,25 sive] O corr. ex etiamsi 462,26 tibi] O del. ex tibi tamen 462,33 illud] O add. 462,40 neque] corr. ex nonque

462<sup>6</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 463<sup>1</sup> Ep. 429.

5 haesitare soleo, ex meo enim illorum in me animum metior. Gratias itaque tibi habeo immortales de opera et cura, quod in rebus meis apud Valentinum Theuurek<sup>2</sup> praestiteris. Miror, cur in me tantum sit concitatus. Arbitratur me fortasse esse hostem patriae. Quid ab eo commerui? Quid feci? Nonne et ego pro mea conditione regi servivi et regio suo? Nonne et damna maxima et multas rerum et expensarum mearum  
10 iacturas in parte regis, quam ipse fovet, perpessus sum ab initio, et nunc quoque patior, num vana servitia ac labores, quatenus mea fuit utilitas, subivi? Quid me pessumdare molitur? Cur cibum e faucibus eripit? Deus illi ignoscat. Mea res cum aliorum rebus non usque adeo est coniuncta, ut eam seiungere non posset, si cogitaret aut sciret me in eorum debere esse numero, qui ab initio regi et reginae constanter et  
15 fideliter servierunt et nunquam vacillaverint. Quod me mea fides in principes meos suscepta facere coegit, et hanc ob rem me defendere potius, quam inique turbare deberet. Si haec eum non movent, movere possent mea et patri suo antea, dum occasio se praestitit, et postea ei praestita officia. Verum haec illi surdo decanto, si quid in necessitate mea ex meis mecum communicaret, tollerabilius esset. Quem in hac parte  
20 videtur imitari et Hyeronimus<sup>3</sup> tuus, qui nihil penitus de me cogitare dicitur, sed spero in rebus omnibus meliora.

[2.] Angliae regem<sup>4</sup> ab inoboedientia pontificis<sup>5</sup> defecisse, puto te intellexisse. Adeo non oboedit ecclesiae Romanae, ut nihil sit tam turpe, quod non in papam evomat libellis famosis,<sup>6</sup> qui in Anglia passim imprimuntur. In hac caesaris dicione  
25 omnes spirituales reddituum suorum annuorum medietatem ex pontificis indultu nunc solvunt caesari, nomine expeditionis Turcicae, quae lentissime his omnibus annis processit. Credo, in posterum quoque ita procedet, maxime cum profectus sit Cornelius<sup>7</sup> iam secundo Constantinopolim, utinam Grithi<sup>8</sup> aut iam attulerit aut afferat aliquid boni. Multa sunt, quae me contrarium credere cogant, quae litteris non possent  
30 committi. Vale.

Bruxellae quarta Martii 1534.

464

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 4 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 544.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 465.

*Notes:* Copy.

*It has been decided that Christina of Denmark will move to Milan on the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, and Jacobus a Flandria will accompany her. He is expecting Weze's letter on Lodovico Gritti.*

463,18 surdo decanto ] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 387. I,IV,87. Surdo canis. Surdo fabulam narras. MYNORS 1982, 376.

463<sup>2</sup> Bálint Török. 463<sup>3</sup> Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő or Jeromos Kruzich of Klis. 463<sup>4</sup> King Henry VIII. 463<sup>5</sup> Pope Clement VII. 463<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 462. Cap. 1. 463<sup>7</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 463<sup>8</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem archiepiscopum Lundensem oratorem caesaris.

Brevior nunc sum, quia non est aliquid, de quo scribam. Omnem seriem rerum tuarum iam pridem ex meis litteris<sup>1</sup> accepisti. Constitutum hic est, ut princeps Christierna<sup>2</sup> decimo huius mensis die hinc se moveat Mediolanum. Dominus a Prato<sup>3</sup> eam conducet, habebit honorificam familiam et bonum apparatus. Mitto cum praesentibus litteras Stanshardi.<sup>4</sup> Arbitror Cornelium<sup>5</sup> in curia non esse, propterea ad eum non scribo. Exspecto litteras tuas de Grito<sup>6</sup> aliisque rebus. Vale feliciter.

Bruxellae 4. Martii 1534.

465

Miklós Oláh to Sebestyén Pemfflinger  
Brussels, 4 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 547–548.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 465–466; SZENDREI 1890, 183–184.

*In Hungarian:* DOBROSSY 2000, 168.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. Oláh has received Sebestyén Pemfflinger's letter from December, from which he is happy to learn that Pemfflinger's family has gained another daughter. Although Pemfflinger writes that he had sent him and the Queen several letters, they have not received any, only one from April. 2. He has learnt from his last letter that Ferenc Bebek has taken over Oláh's abbey in Miskolctapolca, and Pemfflinger is trying to take it back with Hans Katzianer. He is asking him not to do any damage. 3. The Queen is doing better now, but she keeps relapsing into the same illness. Oláh always recommends Pemfflinger to the Queen's attention. If he wants them to receive his letters, he should send them through his brother, István Pemfflinger.

Nicolai Olai ad Sebastianum Pemphlinger comitem Borsodiensem.

[1.] Accepi his diebus litteras tuas, quae undecima Decembris erant ex Dyosgewr scriptae.<sup>1</sup> Gaudeo et te et coniugem<sup>2</sup> tuam cum liberis bene valere. Nihil mihi fuit gratius, quam hoc audivisse, laetor etiam tuos liberos nunc rursus una filia nata auctos. Conservet illos Deus ad multos annos feliciter! Scribis in tuis litteris te multoties huc scripsisse, sed hinc neque reginae litteras, neque meas habuisse. Profecto a multis temporibus nullae litterae a te huc venerunt, praeterquam unae<sup>3</sup> in mense Aprili, cuius iam annus erit. Miratus sum et ego, cur non scriberes, sed iam intelligo hinc contigisse, quod litterae tuae huc et meae quoque ad te non mittantur. Regina quoque ad te saepius scripsit, et pariter ego in rebus meis multoties, ac litteras ad manus consiliariorum reginae misimus, sed, ut video, non fuerunt ad te missae.

[2.] Ex litteris tuis, quae datae erant in mense Aprili anni praeteriti, intellexeram te abbatiam meam<sup>4</sup> ad manus tuas recepisse, et in hunc diem revera nihil aliud

464<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 449. and Ep. 455. 464<sup>2</sup> Christina of Denmark married Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan on 23 September, 1533. 464<sup>3</sup> Jacobus a Flandria. 464<sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 10. 464<sup>5</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 464<sup>6</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 465<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 465<sup>2</sup> Elisabeth von Puchheim. 465<sup>3</sup> We do not know this letter, but we know Oláh's answer to it, see Ep. 372. 465<sup>4</sup> Abbey of (Miskolc)tapolca.

existimavi. Nunc intelligo ex litteris tuis his ultimis, quod maledictus ille Bebeck<sup>5</sup>  
15 eam possidet,<sup>6</sup> et nunc tu eam es cum equitibus levis armaturae Caczianer<sup>7</sup> ab illo  
reoccupaturus. Rogo te, mi Frater, ut habeas illius curam, quam poteris maiorem, ne  
desoletur magis, quam est desolata. Et quemadmodum pluribus meis litteris antea  
scripsi,<sup>8</sup> constituas in ipsa abbatia nomine meo unum provisorem probum, quem in  
ea defende, et qui sit tam ecclesiae, quam mihi utilis. Credo, quod non diu hanc  
20 calamitatem Hungariae habebimus, sed Deus miserebitur nostri, brevique pax fiet.  
Alioqui si ea non fieret, sicuti tu scribis per praedones et nebulones tota Hungaria  
pessum iret.

Viceparochus meus de Myskolcz<sup>9</sup> nihil ad me unquam scipsit, vellem, ut aliquando  
scriberet, ut rem meam intelligerem.

25 [3.] Regina iam melius valet, sed saepius solet in eundem morbum reincidere. Cui  
saepius de te, quandocumque est occasio, loquor, tuaque servitia commendo; quae, ut  
antea, ita etiam nunc est tibi clemens domina. Virgines omnes te tuamque carissimam  
uxorem resalutant. Si vis litteras frequentiores huc mittere, quae ad manus nostras  
perveniant, cura medio Stephani Pemfflinger<sup>10</sup> fratris tuis illas mitti; nam consiliarii  
30 reginae multa habent negotia, inter quae contingit, ut litterarum tuarum et aliorum  
obliviscantur. Vale et scribe frequenter. Propediem ego plura scribam. Saluta dominam  
carissimam coniugem tuam meo nomine et servitia mea illi commenda.

Bruxellae 4. Martii 1534.

466

Miklós Oláh to János Czeglédi  
Brussels, 4 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 548.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 467.

*Notes:* Copy.

*It has been a long time since he last received a letter from Czeglédi, who thinks there has not been any progress in the matter of recovering his possessions. The prebends are promising to reinstate the revenues. Czeglédi should make sure that the masses are not cancelled. If Lodovico Gritti arrives, he should look after his affairs.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Cegledinum provisorem.

A multis temporibus nullas tuas litteras accepi, quam quas tertio Ianuarii praeteriti  
ad me dedisti.<sup>1</sup> Scribis in bonis meis recuperandis nihil actum esse, doleo id maxime,  
fiet fortasse aliquando, si Deus voluerit. Miror, quod rex bona mea in manibus Va-  
5 lentini Theurek<sup>2</sup> dimisit usque ad certum tempus. Si sollicitatores mei praestitissent

465 <sup>5</sup> Ferenc Bebek. 465 <sup>6</sup> On what came before, see Ep. 274. and Ep. 372. 465 <sup>7</sup> Hans Katzianer. 465 <sup>8</sup> Ep. 372. 465 <sup>9</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 372. Note 5. 465 <sup>10</sup> István Pemfflinger. 466 <sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 466 <sup>2</sup> Bálint Török.

operam suam, credo, id non fuisset factum, sed qui currum alterius insidet, illius cantilenam eum cantare necesse est. Fac, ut melius consulatur, si fieri potest. Canonici dicunt se restitutos proventus praeter hos, qui solent, praesentibus dari. At ego non censeor absens, qui sum in servitio regis et reginae. Missa non negligatur, si non ex proventibus canonicatus. At ex quarta et cathedratico provideas solutioni. Nam 10 missam negligi nullo modo volo.

Centum illos ducatos Posenienses non vidi, cura, ut videam eos et alios residuos, si qui sunt, brevi. Nam intellexisti ex meis aliis res meas. Cum Griti<sup>3</sup> advenerit, rem meam non negligas. Tui non obliviscar, certus sis, modo sine me respirare. Vale et scribe. Responsum domini Strigoniensis<sup>4</sup> non misisti, cura, ut illud habeam. 15  
Bruxellae 4. Martii 1534.

<sup>457</sup>467

Miklós Oláh to Adrien Amerot  
Brussels, 5 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 196–197.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 471–472.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 671–672.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 9–10.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He wanted to thank him for explaining to him the Lucian passage that he did not understand the other day, but unfortunately the courier did not return for the reply despite his promises. Then due to bad luck Oláh and Amerot also missed each other in Brussels, he only learned from Jakob Jespersen afterwards that Amerot had been here and was looking for him. So he thanks him now, and he would be happy to return the favor.*

Nicolai Olai ad Hadrianum Amerotium responsio.

Cum nuper in legendo Luciani περὶ παρασίτου<sup>1</sup> dialogo, locus quidam difficilior videretur, mihi que inter aulicas curas et occupationes, quibus tunc distinebar, nullum otium esset ad te scribendi, commiseram Levino,<sup>2</sup> ut eum locum, in quo haerebamus, exscriberet, et meo nomine de eo te consuleret, quod ipse fecerat. Tu vero meo 5 respondisti voto, eumque Luciani locum tam exquisite, docte et erudite explicasti,<sup>3</sup> ut nihil visus sis praetermississe, quod ad lucidam illius explanationem pertinuerit. Ego vero admonueram M. Claudium familiarem tuum, qui hanc explanationem attulerat, ut me inscio ad te non reverteretur, ut tibi responderem, et tuis studiis, laboribus et vigiliis, pro me susceptis, per eum gratias agere possem. Nescio tamen, quo fato 10 contigit, ille ad me non rediit, occupatus fortasse rebus maioribus, et ego quoque inter

466,6–7 qui ... est ] Cf. old Hungarian proverb: "Az ki másnak szekere farkán ül, annak énekét mondgya." János Baranyai Decsi, *Adagiorum Graecolatinoungaricorum Chiliades quinque* VI,9,8,2, see DECIUS BARONIUS 1596, 328; and "kinek szekere farkán ülsz, annak nótáját dudoljad." KV 1866., see ERDÉLYI 1851, 362. No. 7112.

466<sup>3</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 466<sup>4</sup> Pál Várday. 467<sup>1</sup> '(On) the parasite.' 467<sup>2</sup> Lieven Algoet. 467<sup>3</sup> Ep. 457.

solitas curialium occupationes non tantum habueram temporis, ut per alium quoque meo in te officio tunc satisfacere potuissem. Ecce autem alia occasio tibi gratias agendi nescio quo meo infortunio mihi erepta fuit. Veneras medio hoc tempore Bruxellas et  
15 me in aedibus meis quaesiveras semel et iterum, ego vero simili aulicarum rerum occupatione, tunc in aula apud reginam nostram detentus fueram diutius, ignarus omnino te huc advenisse. Postea vero quam ad hospitium revertissem et Danus<sup>4</sup> mihi retulisset te adfuisse meque quaesivisse. Di boni, qua sum tristitia affectus, utpote  
20 prius facere debebam, nunc facio. Ago et habeo tibi gratias, qui Levini scriptis immo meis votis abunde responderis, si quando dabitur occasio, ut tibi gratificari possim, certo tibi persuade, me vicissim omnia, quae me facere velis, libentissime tui honoris causa facturum. Quod vero in extremo epistolae tuae adiungis te in omnibus rebus, quibus tuam operam sim desideraturus, meum futurum, vicissim de me quoque ita  
25 tibi pollicere, nullam rem me neglecturum, quam mea opera curavi, volueris.

Vale et me, ut soles, ama, meoque omni, ut volueris, utere officio ad arbitrium tuum promptissimo. Quod vero tardius ad te rescripserim, quam tuus in me amor requirebat, ignosce, et meis occupationibus, quibus per hos omnes dies maxime fueram obrutus, magis tribue, quam quod tui in me officii fuerim immemor.

30 Bruxellae V. Martii 1534.

452<sup>468</sup>472 481

Miklós Oláh to Lieven van den Zande  
Brussels, 7 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 211.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 472.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 27.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Due to the lack of a reliable person to deliver the letter, he can only send the promised books now. He has received two letters from Erasmus of Rotterdam, in one he writes that he has not given up on returning home, in the other one he writes about his illness and promises to arrive by the end of April.*

Nicolaus Olaus Levino Ammonio monacho Carthusiano salutem.

Mitto ad te, Levine Doctissime mihique Carissime, promissa nuper a me tibi opuscula, *Meditationes* Clenardi Graecanicas καὶ ὁμιλίαν Ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου περὶ τοῦ ὀλίγω οἴνω χρῆ.<sup>1</sup> Misissem antea, si quempiam fidum ad te profecturum  
5 tabellarium consequi potuissem. Cum sciam te cupere aliquid de Erasmo nostro intelligere, scito eum binas his diebus ad me dedisse litteras,<sup>2</sup> quarum alteris prius datis

468,3 Ἰωάννου] *corr. ex* Ἰοαννου 468,3 χρυσοστόμου] *corr. ex* χρυσόστομου 468,4 τοῦ] *corr. ex* το

467<sup>4</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 468<sup>1</sup> '[John] Chrysostom's sermon [on the sentence] "Use little wine"'. 468<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 422. and Ep. 445. Oláh also mentions both of these letters in Ep. 471.

scribit se animum redeundi minime abiecisse, alteris posterius hoc<sup>3</sup> est 23. Ianuarii scriptis, haec verba inserit: “Toties, Olahe mi, me repetit cruciatus ille membrorum, ut nesciam, quid sperandum sit de hoc plus quam vitreo corpusculo. A natali Christi gravissime laboravi, ac misere mihi metuo simul atque resolverit se hoc gelu. Itaque 10 condidi testamentum et excuditur liber meus de praeparatione ad mortem. Cetera sunt in manu Domini, qui si dederit mediocrem valetudinem, statui vos sub finem Aprilis revisere.” Haec tibi pro mutuo nostro, qui iampridem inter nos intercessit, amore volui significare. Vale et me, ut soles, ama tui amantem.

Bruxellae 7. Martii 1534.

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Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 10 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 550–551.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 474.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He thanks him for the information. Oláh has already informed Weze about the legates' return, for whose affairs there was not enough time. The Queen is sending a secretary for the election of the Danish King. The events in Württemberg have saddened him, and he fears that Lodovico Gritti's slowness will end in disappointment.*

Idem archiepiscopo Lundensi oratori Caroli caesaris.

Accepi his diebus tuas litteras XX. mensis Aprilis datas,<sup>1</sup> habeo gratias tibi cumulatissimas, quod de omnibus, quas in hunc diem speravimus, et acta sunt, certio-  
rem me reddideris. Fac hoc et deinceps. De reditu oratorum<sup>2</sup> ex Hamburga et eorum  
tractatibus feci<sup>3</sup> te proximis meis certio- 5  
rem; hoc unum ex corde doleo, non datum  
eis esse tempus et occasionem, ut in rebus tuis aliquid aut tractare aut finire possent.  
Sed hae fortasse ex Dei voluntate reservatae sunt ad tempus magis opportunum. In  
Daniam misit regina secretarium quendam, ut animos illorum praeparet in electionem  
regis pro favore imperatoris. Ad festum sancti Ioannis Baptistae<sup>4</sup> fiet electio. Mittentur  
hinc ad eum diem et alii potiores. Utinam ille sit futurus rex, de quo scribis. Nihil esset 10  
dubii in rebus tuis.

De rebus Virtenbergensibus cum summo animi mei dolore audivi. Rex curare  
debet, ut victor evadat. Nam si aliter alea fortunae, quod Deus longe avertat, ceciderit,  
turbabitur aestimatio regis et res Hungarica. Vereor, ne Griti<sup>5</sup> tarditas aliquid mali  
afferat et timeo, ne rex et nos omnes fallamur. Litteras Cornelii<sup>6</sup> misi ad uxorem,<sup>7</sup> nunc 15  
remitto illius ad eum. Rogo te, ut de rebus, ut istic processerint et ut transigentur, et  
an veniat Griti, facias me certio-rem. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Martii 1534.

468<sup>3</sup> Ep. 445. 469<sup>1</sup> Probably on 20 April, 1533. We do not know this letter. 469<sup>2</sup> On the legates see Ep. 449. 469<sup>3</sup> Ep. 456. 469<sup>4</sup> 24 June. 469<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 469<sup>6</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 469<sup>7</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

Erasmus Schets to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 11 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 200.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 474–475.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He has received Oláh's letter, along with the package that he should forward to Erasmus of Rotterdam. He is glad that Oláh has managed to persuade the Queen to ban the work that maligns Erasmus, although he is afraid that it is too late now. The Marquess will do what he can.*

Erasmus Schetus Nicolao Olao secretario Mariae reginae.

Accepi tuae humanitatis epistolam<sup>1</sup> simul ea sarcina, quam carissimo nobis Erasmo Rotterodamo transmitti desideras; fide me huic officio non defuturum. Curabo namque, ut quamprimum accipiat. Summe mihi placuit, quod apud inclitam reginam sic institeris,<sup>2</sup> ut aemulorum Erasmi aliquot rabulas, quae hic sub praelo sunt, supprimi iubeat. Utinam iam non esset serum, vereor iam acervos aliquot exiisse. Marchionem<sup>3</sup> nostrum officio suo alias non defuturum puto. Est namque vir bonus optimorum doctissimorumque, non indevotus mihi que gratissimus et amantissimus. Tibi vero, quam plus valeo, pro hoc tuo erga Erasmus affectu, ago gratias simulque pro tua mihi oblata amicitia. Si quid obvenerit, quod hanc tuam erga me humanitatem experiri poscat, scias me adoriturum te liberius et licentius. Et tu, precor, erga me fac simile. Vale.

Ex Antverpia XI. Martii anno a Christo nato 1534.

422 445 **471** 482

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 12 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 358–361.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 475–477; ALLEN 1941, 367–369.

*In Dutch:* BEJCYZ 2020, 273–276.

*In English:* ESTES-MILLER 2020, 250–253.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 672–674.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 132–135.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 114–116.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*1. He has just received two of his letters. In the second one Erasmus recommends Wigle Aytta to Oláh's attention, which he accepts. Erasmus writes that according to a rumor, King Henry VIII has taken Catherine of Aragon back, but it is not true at all; what is more, Henry VIII is holding Catherine of Aragon captive, and he disrespects the Pope to such an extent that satirical pamphlets are being published about him in England. 2. In the other*

470<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 470<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 471. Cap. 2. 470<sup>3</sup> Probably William van den Werwe, see Ep. 471. Cap. 2.



letter Erasmus writes about his illness, and Oláh wishes he could alleviate it. As far as the clown (Nikolaus Ferber of Herborn) and his book is concerned, Oláh has made sure that the Queen instruct the Marquess to have his book banned and the publisher fined. He should not take these attacks to heart; there are many who support Erasmus and are looking forward to his return and would be happy to support him. He has promised him, the Queen, and the rest of his supporters anyway that he will return at the end of April – he should make sure he cannot be accused of being fickle. Erasmus has arranged for a salary and a position for Lieven Algoet.

Nicolai Olai secretarii reginae Mariae ad Erasmum Roterodamum responsio.

[1.] Binas tuas his diebus accepi litteras, Erasme Doctissime mihi que Carissime. Alteras, quae prius datae<sup>1</sup> erant, ab Viglio Schuichemio<sup>2</sup> tardius, alteras <quas> posterius scriptas,<sup>3</sup> cum aliis litteris una annexis opera Erasmi Scheti prius recepi. Commendas prioribus mihi Schuichenium: doctrina, ingenio et moribus suis, et tuis 5 litteris commendationeque eo in eum affectus sum animo, ut ipsius et notitiam et familiaritatem magni aestimem. Cui meam, si qua in re illi usus eveniet, operam et studium liberaliter sum pollicitus, eaque pro mea virili re ipsa praestabo, dum uti his voluerit.

Scribis<sup>4</sup> rumorem apud vos esse regem Angliae<sup>5</sup> reginam Catharinam<sup>6</sup> reduxisse, 10 utinam id ita esset. Verum nihil minus rex ipse quam hoc cogitat. Nam ob amorem Annae<sup>7</sup> suae et quod pontificis<sup>8</sup> excommunicatione irritatus sit, reginam ipsam in arcem quandam inclusit cum quibusdam pauculis ministris. Pontificis autem auctoritatem adeo contempsit, ut Indies diversi contra illum volent ad nos ex Anglia libelli famosi,<sup>9</sup> iniuriosi et contumeliis gravissimis pleni, quibus Christi humilitatem, castitatem, 15 paupertatem, patientiam et alias virtutes Angli depraedicant. Papae vero vicarii Christi superbiam, impuritatem, opes, tyrannidem, impatientiam, aliaque nefanda ob oculos ponunt. Vetuisse praeterea his diebus rex dicitur, ne in precationibus et supplicationibus ecclesiae, uti hactenus solitum fuit, preces pro pontifice fierent, monasteria distribuisset suis baronibus, quibus demolitis uterentur suo arbitrio; edixisset 20 deinde, ne quis pontificem ipsum recogniscat, aliumque putet, quam solius Romae episcopum, dicuntur etiam tres aut quattuor illius principes repudiatis eius exemplo suis coniugibus legitimis alias duxisse in matrimonium. Videntur iam hi, si res ita se habet, et Martinum<sup>10</sup> ipsum longe superasse, qui more barbarorum gentilium toties mutent uxores, quoties libido nos stimulaverit. Quid adhuc sequatur, incertum est. 25 Nihil boni ex rebus male inceptis sperare possumus.

[2.] Alteris tuis litteris<sup>11</sup> significas te a natali Christi male valuisse. Ingrata mihi est tua valetudo. Optarem illius partem, si partitio fieri posset, aliquam libenter in me suscipere, modo tibi prodesse tuosque dolores minuere possem. At spero iam te Deo adiuvente optimo maximo cum hyeme et hoc Martio nunc finiendo, omnes corporis 30 cruciatus in malam crucem ablegaturum.

471,5 prioribus] O corr. ex precibus 471,11 Nam] O corr. ex Ita 471,12 sit] O corr. ex est 471,24 barbarorum gentilium] O corr. ex Brabantorum 471,30 nunc] del. ex nunc nunc 471,31 malam] O del. ex malam eorum

471<sup>1</sup> Ep. 422. 471<sup>2</sup> Wigle Ayta or Viglius Zuichemus. 471<sup>3</sup> Ep. 445. 471<sup>4</sup> Ep. 422. Cap. 2. 471<sup>5</sup> King Henry VIII. 471<sup>6</sup> Catherine of Aragon. 471<sup>7</sup> Anne Boleyn. 471<sup>8</sup> Pope Clement VII. 471<sup>9</sup> See Ep. 462. Cap. 1. 471<sup>10</sup> Martin Luther. 471<sup>11</sup> Ep. 445. Cap. 1.

De scurra<sup>12</sup> illo et libello eius Antverpiae impresso egi cum regina, Panormitano,<sup>13</sup> cui et litteras tuas reddidi<sup>14</sup> et duce Arscoti.<sup>15</sup> Curavi, ut regina marchioni Antverpiensi<sup>16</sup> mandaret, quo libellus ille, si iam impressus est, non vendatur et ὁ βιβλιόπωλης<sup>17</sup> puniatur propter mandatum caesaris violatum. Quod quale sit, intelliges ex litteris Panormitani; quibus autem verbis marchioni mandatum sit ex litterarum exemplo, quod ad te misi, cognosces. Non igitur talium rabularum, scurrarum et hominum impudentium aut verba aut scripta te moveant! Qui his coaxationibus sibi magis, quam tibi oberunt, odiumque omnium bonorum non in te, sed in seipsos concitant.

40 Nec puta alibi tibi tutius, quam hic esse aut vivendum aut moriendum.

Nam ut in Germania non desunt, ita hic quoque non deerunt tibi patroni hi, qui ad te scripserunt, et quibus tua virtus est carissima. Monachorum etiam sanior pars, ut ego iam certo expertus sum, tibi favet. Indoctiores et qui vix tua scripta legerunt, sed ab aliis falsas illorum saltem audierunt narrationes, et nihil habent aliud

45 in se virtutis, quam ostentationem merae superstitionis pharisaicae, tibi obstrepunt, indignantur et succensent. At hi, quoque quid aliud faciunt, quam garrunt? Tua est virtus et animi magnitudo, ut strenue eos contemnas. Quis enim ab hisce latratibus stolidis et temerariis cavere sibi potest? Si caesar, regina et principes alii non carent oblocutoribus, certe tu multo minus. Quis unquam etiam ex vetustioribus, si veterum

50 memoriam revolveris, fuit, qui hominum nihili et scurrarum obtrectationibus non fuisset obnoxius? Quare, mi Erasme, non est, cur hoc nomine tuum reditum remoreris. Quemadmodum deliberasti antea ac non modo mihi et reginae et aliis tuis patronis pollicitus es, redi vel in fine Aprilis, uti scribis, vel quamprimum ex commodo valetudinis tuae fieri poterit. Ne, si secus faceres, et te inconstantiae arguerent, et de

55 me nescio, quam conciperent opinionem, qui pro eo amore, quo in te sum, ea quae et potui et debui in rebus tuis semper feci animo sincero et in te candidissimo. Quae malo te ex aliorum litteris aut cum tempore sermonibus, quam ex meis intelligere.

Levinum<sup>18</sup> mihi commendas. Eius utor opera, dum et quoties est opus. Curaveram antea, ut in singulos dies octo grossos haberet ex camera, nunc rursus curavi, ut

60 iuvenes reginae nobiles instituat, ex quo ministerio totidem habet diurnos. Dominus dux Arschoti te salvare iubet, qui in omnibus, quibus potest, cupit tibi gratificari. Vale. Bruxellae 12. Martii 1534.

471,34–35 et ... puniatur] *O add.* 471,34 ὁ βιβλιόπωλης] *corr.* ex ὁ βιβλιόπολης 471,60 habet] *O del.* ex habet grossos

471<sup>12</sup> Nikolaus Ferber. 471<sup>13</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 471<sup>14</sup> See Erasmus' letter, Ep. 2899. in ALLEN 1941, 349–350. 471<sup>15</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ. 471<sup>16</sup> William van den Werwe held this office between 1531–1550, see ALLEN 1941, 364. 471<sup>17</sup> 'bookseller'. 471<sup>18</sup> Probably Lieven Algoet.

427 468<sup>472</sup>493

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 17 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 211–214.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 477–480.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 27–31.

*Notes:* Copy. The scribe started to copy this letter before and deleted it on pages 210–211 of the ms.

1. Oláh will forgive his late reply when he tells him why it happened. Of course, it was not Lieven van den Zande's fault, namely as soon as he received Oláh's letter and package, he wanted to respond straight away and thank him, but several people talked him out of it, saying that there is no need to rush when there is nobody to deliver the letter anyway, and if someone is available, it is difficult to find a ride because he cannot go on foot. 2. The next time he thought of responding, a larger merry company arrived to him, who talked him out of his plan, saying that nobody would pay attention anyway. But then he really felt that he could not postpone writing any longer. 3. When Omaar van Edingen arrived with Oláh's letter and the books he had sent, he again happened to be in illustrious company, all admirers of Erasmus of Rotterdam. James Robbius read Oláh's letter aloud, the erudition of which was a great hit. These were the reasons for his delay. 4. As to his other letter, he hopes that nothing will prevent Erasmus from returning because if he dies, he should at least be buried here. He is really looking forward to Erasmus' book on death – if it is not too much to ask, Oláh should send him a copy. If he wants to send or request anything, there is nobody better to deliver it than Omaar van Edingen.

Levinus Ammonius Carthusianus Nicolao Olao secretario.

[1.] Clarissime Olahe, condones mihi, precor, hanc cessationem, qua factum est, ut praeverteres tuo bene merendi studio meam de muneribus acceptis gratiarum actionem. Id quod mea tamen culpa nequaquam, si quid mihi credis, accidit. Quod ipsum, quo credas facilius, audi, quaeso, paucis ταυτηνι την ἀπολογία. <sup>1</sup>Haud quaque 5 te fugit opinor, immo recenti, sat scio, memoria retines, iampridem τὸν οἰκονόμον ἡμῶν <sup>2</sup>istic fuisse ad priorem subventionis pensionem mitigandum, tum quando rediens attulit mihi abs te Vivis <sup>3</sup>libellum *De ratione dicendi* <sup>4</sup>sane quam elegantem, una cum duobus aliis libellis et epistola tua mihi longe gratissima. Eram responsurus e vestigio litteris tuis et de muneribus gratias acturus, si non obstitisset consilium 10 quorundam, qui hic plurimum possunt, dicentium nihil opus esse tanta approperatione respondendi, quod idem non ita multo post, eandem ob causam, pro secundae pensionis relevatione istuc foret necessario rediturus. Proinde quando nequaquam facile nuntius aut tabellarius alius inveniri posset, consultius esse ad aliquot dies rescribendi provinciam differre. Quorum consultationi, quandoquidem rationi con- 15 sentanea videbatur, standum duxi, licet animo nonnihl reluctantante. Videbam enim tuas promissiones fore, ut brevi alios quoque libellos mihi dono mitteres, et id, quod modo factum est, metuebam, ne meam cessationem tua munificentiae alacritate praecurreres. Quod ipsum tamen minime contigisset, si meas ad te litteras, quo tempore scriptae fuerant, perferre potuisset. Erat enim omnino istuc rediturus eo 20

472 <sup>1</sup> 'this defence'. 472 <sup>2</sup> 'our administrator'. 472 <sup>3</sup> Juan Luis Vives. 472 <sup>4</sup> Oláh received this volume from Rutger Ressen on 13 October, 1533, see the postscript of Ep. 415.

tempore, quo celebrabantur hilaria pridem ante quadraginta ieiuniorum dies, totoque biduo vehiculum quaerebatur, quo gestaretur, et ea tum fortunae iniquitas erat, ut inveniri non posset, et alioqui pedes ire non potuit, quod e cruce laborabat tum, si quando alias, maxime.

- 25 [2.] Interea, dum eo esset animo, forte venit ad nos quidam ex isto concilio dominus Scardavus<sup>5</sup> cum uxore, ni fallor, aliisque probis viris simul ac mulierculis. Qui audita nostratium voluntate ac petitione, dissuasit eo tempore proficisci, quo hilaritudine circumstrepebant undique omnia, negans fore, ut nostrae petitiunculae quisque tum temporis aures animumque praeberet. Exspectandum potius tantisper  
30 dum mundus ab ea temporis et morum temulentia resipisceret, ac tum animis ad pietatem gravitatemque revocatis facilius quod vellet impetratum iri. Ex quo factum est, ut aliis atque aliis emergentibus negotiis hactenus istuc redire nequiverit, nec meas litteras, uti volebam reddere, quas etiam num penes se servat, redditurus, si  
35 ut rursus ad aliorum consultationem respondere tuis amantissimis litteris differrem, sed statim nihil moratus rescribendum duxi.

- [3.] Attulit autem eas cum duobus libellis et funiculis et cera obsignatas amicissimus mihi vir dominus Audomarus Edingus,<sup>6</sup> quem ex epistolis Erasmi<sup>7</sup> nostri, si non aliunde, nosse potuisti. Is est ab actis senatus Flandrensis. Et quod magis  
40 in tempore cecidit, eo attulit die, quo postremus quantum sane ad hoc institutum vitae pertinet, actus mihi, ni fallor, agebatur, ad quem condecorandum convenerat amicorum plurima multitudo, quorum nemo non eruditissimus erat et Erasmo nostro addictus. Inter quos tamen primas egere partes Gulielmus a Vala,<sup>8</sup> Edingus et Carolus Utenhovius.<sup>9</sup> Quaeris, qui fuerit actus? Astrinxi me huic coenobio, tota simul sodalitate  
45 plaudente. Litteras autem tuas, mi Olahe, prius diligenter inspectas, ne quid inesset, quod publicas non sustineret aureis, ut de Erasmo nostro nuntiare vidi, confestim misi per Iacobum Robbium,<sup>10</sup> virum plane disertum, qui eas convivis omnibus (nam prandebant) recitaret, ut si quid forte tristioris rei inter eos obortum fuisset, hisce veluti bellariis Atticis dispelleretur, et ad hilaritatem eos revocarent. Quas miro plausu  
50 exceperunt, admirantes in aula dictionem tam luculentam et eruditam, nemoque erat, qui non earum autorem propius nosse percuperet. Fuerunt tibi eae litterae (id quod equidem fore sciebam) magno honori, non eo tantum nomine, quod doctae, sed eo quoque, quod in amiculum tam liberalis esses, subinde alium atque alium donando libellum. Utinam mihi foret in manu, si non parem, id quod vix fieri posse video,  
55 referre gratiam, aliquo usque saltem ad istam accedere munificentiam. Illud certe

472<sup>5</sup> Lord of Scardauw or Scardau is mentioned in a letter from 1546, see DE VOCHT 1961, 394. 472<sup>6</sup> Omaar van Edingen of Ghent (ca. 1488–1540) had a prosperous lawyer’s office in Ghent, although he probably did not study law at university. He was in frequent correspondence with Lieven van den Zande, Karel van Uutenhove and Erasmus of Rotterdam, see PETEGHEM 1985, 420. 472<sup>7</sup> Erasmus of Rotterdam. 472<sup>8</sup> We do not know him more closely. 472<sup>9</sup> Karel van Uutenhove (documented ca. 1524–1577) was a member of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense and later a member of Erasmus’ household in Basel. For more see NAUWELAERTS 1987. 472<sup>10</sup> James Robbius of Audenarde, a servant or “scribe, probably employed at the Council of Flanders, possibly also a secretary of Karel Uutenhove”, see SKOLIMOWSKA–TURSKA 2010, Person #51; and DE VOCHT 1961, 117.

minime committam, ut indignus tuis fuisse beneficiis existimari debeam. Habebo gratiam, et quantis maxime possum viribus, efficiam, ne quis ignoret istam erga me benevolentiam. Habes, mi Olahe (patieris enim sic familiaritatis ausu, et amicitiae iure istam dignationem compellare me), cur hactenus ad illas alteras litteras cum muneribus responsum non acceperis, ut veniat tibi in mentem tum quando mea tibi 60 reddetur epistola, quanto ante tempore scripta fuerit Ammoniumque tuum omni tum cessationis, tum ingratitude suspitione liberes.

[4.] Venio nunc ad hanc epistolam posteriorem.<sup>11</sup> Quam metuo, ne voluntas illa redeundi in patriam refrigescat in Erasmo nostro, vel eam morbus aliquis incumbens impediatur, denique vel mors semel homini mortali subeunda prorsus abrumpat. Nam 65 si moriendum est ei nunc temporis, et fatalis (ut ita dicam) dies advenit, mallem ego sane, ut in patria vitae catastropham absolveret, quam ἀποδημίας,<sup>12</sup> ut e vicino illud eius extremum “valete et plaudite”<sup>13</sup> exaudiremus. Idque mallem, si ita Christo videretur, non una sane ratione, quamquam quod ad ipsum spectat, ita scio esse animo confirmatum, ut nihil eius referat, qua mundi regione spiritum Deo reddat. E quolibet 70 loco piis animis recta patet in caelum via. Quis nescit? Sed nostra nonnihil, opinor, interest, ut apud nos in patria vir tantus habeat sepulturam, quando eum Christus cumque vocare dignabitur. Iamdudum totus illi *Libro de praeparatione ad mortem* in hio, quem post nundinas Franckfordienses, quae in praesentia fiunt, exspecto, solet enim ferme sub eas nundinas novi nonnihil apparere, quod publicae propinet utilitati, 75 ut semper est omnium salutis memor. Profecto si non esset impudens, a quo tam multa acceperis beneficia, ei porro negotium facessere aliud atque aliud subinde flagitando, hunc etiam librum peterem a tua benevolentia. Nam istic ante, ni fallor, erit venalis, quam vel advectus esse nobis hic erit manifestum.

Posthac vero si quid tibi mittendum a me fuerit, per praedictum Edingum mittam, 80 qui facile reperiet idoneum fidumque ad te tabellarium, per quem priores illas quoque litteras fueram missurus, quae adhuc (ut ante dixi) tenentur in manibus haerentque nisi per alios stetisset. Id vero faciam, si non obiter alius occurrat proprius istuc nuntius. Precorque te vicissim, ut ad eundem, si quid ad me velis, mittas. Habes epistolam nugatoriam quidem illam, sed plus aequo prolixam, quaeso te boni consulas, 85 habeasque tibi persuasum nihil non facturum me tua causa, quicquid per hunc homuncionem fieri poterit, Christus Iesus te servet incolumem, faciatque sibi quotidianis autibus gratiorem. Ammonium tuum tibi commendo.

Ex Valleregia iuxta Gandavum postridie, quam tuas<sup>14</sup> accepi, nempe 16. Kalendas Aprilis 1534. 90

472<sup>11</sup> Ep. 468. 472<sup>12</sup> ‘in foreign land = (having left home)’. 472<sup>13</sup> Classical closing of the Plautine and Terentian comedies. 472<sup>14</sup> Ep. 468.

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Hvar, 19 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 496.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 480–481.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 301–302.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He is forced to linger on the island of Hvar, where Venetian triremes arrived from Crete, Constantinople, and Corfu both yesterday and today, reporting that Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha has fled from Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. He had 40,000 soldiers, half of the Porte troops. Only reserves will stay in Greece, the rest of the troops will return with the Sultan to Asia in April. This has caused great terror in Constantinople. Péter Krusics has plundered in the name of the Emperor and the Pope, and the Sanjak-bey wants to avenge this. Lodovico Gritti has left Constantinople, there is no other news. The Turks are talking about King Ferdinand I breaking the peace. Schepper is headed for Dubrovnik, he will also write from there.*

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Et prosperis et adversis tempestatibus usus haereo in hac insula Lesina, quae antiquis fuit Pttaros,<sup>1</sup> memorata Appiano in Illirico.<sup>2</sup> Heri hodieque venere huc aliquot triremes Venetorum ex Creta, ex Constantinopoli, ex Phaeacia sive Corfu narrantes  
 5 Imbrahimum bassam<sup>3</sup> profligatum esse a Sophy.<sup>4</sup> Id quod pridem fuit dictum, sed nunquam certius, quam nunc scitum. Habuit Imbrahimus medietatem Portae, hoc est mediam partem militum ordinariorum caesaris Turcarum, quae summa ascendit ad quadraginta millia praeter acangios<sup>5</sup> et alios et familiam suam. Nunc quicquid residuum est militum in Graecia, id omne iustum est venire Constantinopolim et  
 10 Callypolim<sup>6</sup> ad traiciendum in Asiam cum ipso caesare Turcarum proximo Aprili. Ingens metus invasit hanc gentem, quia et Christiani, qui fuere Constantinopoli, omnes fugiunt, nescio quo presagio. Petrus Crusitz<sup>7</sup> capitaneus Clyssae praetexto nomine caesaris et papae magnam praedam abduxit ex Bossina et Polyza. Sansachus huius provinciae Myhalybegovitz<sup>8</sup> vellet vices rependere, nisi obstaret alius et fortior  
 15 hostis, contra quem delectus faciendus est. Turcae a rege Ferdinando aiunt pacem ruptam, eo quod Petrus Crusitz et milites et colonos abduxerit e provinciis regis et inibi praedam vendat, et semper fuerit ipsius regiae maiestatis servitor, Clyssaque non caesaris sit, sed regis. Aloisius Gryti<sup>9</sup> dicitur a Constantinopoli abiisse, sed nec dum id certo scitur. Ego Rhagusii, quo tendo, omnia certiora sciam, et abinde rescribam facturum ea, quae conveniunt servitio maiestatis regiae et caesareae. Res meas

473<sup>1</sup>Pharos is the old name of Hvar. 473<sup>2</sup>Book IX of Appian's *Roman History* is dedicated to the Illyrian wars. Pharos is mentioned in IX,17–21, 24. 473<sup>3</sup>Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 473<sup>4</sup>Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. 473<sup>5</sup>The akinji were members of an irregular light cavalry unit according to Ramminger, i.e. 'a trooper in the Turkish army', see RAMMINGER 2008. 473<sup>6</sup>Instead of Gallypolum. 473<sup>7</sup>Péter Krusics. 473<sup>8</sup>Probably Gazi Hüsrev Bey, who was an Ottoman Bosnian sanjak-bey of the Sanjak of Bosnia in 1521–1525, 1526–1534, and 1536–1541, see ZLATAR 2010. 473<sup>9</sup>Lodovico Gritti.

particulares commendatas habebis reginali maiestati aliisque dominis et patronis illic  
existentibus, pro ut merentur, servitia mea, uxorem<sup>10</sup> amicosque consolabere, et vale.  
Ex insula Lesina die 19. Martii 1534.

474

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 22 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 544–547.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 481–484.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He has received two letters from him, he is answering both now. He wishes Cornelis de Schepper an auspicious trip. Otherwise, the Emperor will not have another good opportunity like this to attack the Turks, when they are fighting in Persia. He has sent Schepper's letter to Schepper's wife, and Schepper's courier has also been here. A Danish clerical envoy has brought letters of accreditation, they tried to send the orders after the legates who had been sent to Hamburg, so that they can represent Weze's affairs, but it is probably already too late. 2. He is happy to hear about the Hungarian news, but he also knows that since Mohács even a tiny spark is enough for home affairs to end in tragedy again. Although now the Turks seem to be busy with the Persian war, they can attack again any time, and due to the lack of fortresses there is nothing to stop them from ravaging the country again. 3. As far as Weze's affairs are concerned, he was happy to help, but the whole thing will be decided after a king has been elected. 4. The Queen is better, although her illness has become chronic; fortunately several people are visiting her. Christina of Denmark has left for Milan, and the English situation is getting worse: Oláh is afraid that this matter will even surpass the Lutheran predicament.

Nicolai Olai ad archiepiscopum Lundensem oratorem caesaris.

[1.] Binas litteras<sup>1</sup> tuas nudiustertius accepi: alteras, quae XV. Ianuarii praeteriti, alteras, quae secunda huius mensis datae erant. Utraeque fuerunt mihi gratissimae, primum, quod intellexi certam Cornelii<sup>2</sup> ad Constantinopolim profectionem, quam antea veluti sub nube intellexeram, deinde quod te memoriam mei habere cognovi. 5 Nam nullas tuas a septima Februarii<sup>3</sup> acceperam. Summatim igitur ad eas litteris respondebo.

Cornelii profectionem et reversionem felicem et faustam exopto. Aliam ego expectabam negotiorum rationem. Occupato nunc in Persia Turca, nulla salutarior, melior et commodior caesari nostro commoditas fuisset vires illius frangendi, et non dico Hungariam saltem, sed Europam recuperandi, quam nunc divinitus data fuerit, sed heu quo fata res mortalium trahunt.

Litteras ad uxorem<sup>4</sup> Cornelii misi per decanum Brugensem,<sup>5</sup> qui heri casu ad me huc venerat, et reversus est hodie servitor etiam Cornelii; hoc die applicuit huc incolumis cum equis, cras vadit Brugas. Fetialis<sup>6</sup> Danorum quidam, ut antea 15

473 <sup>10</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 474 <sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 474 <sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 474 <sup>3</sup> According to Ep. 449., Oláh received Weze's letter on 6 February. 474 <sup>4</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 474 <sup>5</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. 474 <sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely.

scripseram,<sup>7</sup> venerat huc per postham cum litteris solis, cum illo nihil firmum in rebus tuis agi potuit. Nam nihil aliud fuit, quam cursor cum litteris credentiis. Iam ante illius huc adventum res tua demandata erat et verbis et scriptis in instructione commissariis, qui Hamburgam profecti sunt, ut illius curam haberent sollicitam.<sup>8</sup> Cum  
20 quibus quid egerim, etiam ipse perscripsi aliis meis. Curabo, ut reginae litterae hinc ad eos mittantur, sed arbitror iam id frustra futurum. Nam exspectamus eorum reditum ad festum Paschae<sup>9</sup> vel circiter.

[2.] De Hungarorum et illius, quem nominas, ad regem<sup>10</sup> nostrum adventu laetor, sed nisi rex aliter stabilierit sua negotia, non multum fundamenti in ea re pono. Nam  
25 fundamento alio non strato quam facile illi veniunt, tam facile abeunt. Et modica contingente occasione nova rursus tragoedia, novum bellum orietur, quod quam difficile nostri sustineant, iam a septennio<sup>11</sup> fere experti sumus. De te nihil dubito, quin quando tempus erit, rem meam diligenter perficias; quae quanto melius perficientur, tanto ego ero tibi obligatior. A Turca hoste nihil patior, sed a Turca amico Valentino,<sup>12</sup> qui mihi  
30 hoste Turca est acerbior. Ex adventu Griti,<sup>13</sup> quis sit finis rerum Hungariae secuturus, videbimus, verum timeo, ne diutius remoretur, quam speramus. Ab initio ego et scripsi et dixi commercium Turcicum esse formidolosum, nubeculisque simillimum, huc et illuc vento agitatis, dum hostis eos urget ex Persia, libenter quaerunt in Europa pacem, dum illinc nihil timent, non aliud dies et noctes somniant, quam Hungariam totam et  
35 aliam Christianitatem; eorum animus, fides et promissio pendet ex rerum progressu. Tuum quod dicis esse somnium, mihi non somnium, sed vaticinium videtur. Nam si etiam victi fuerint, aut saltem attriti, quid multum de nobis iam extenuatis curant caesare quiescente, et ut res demonstrat, nihil magis, quam quietem amante. Cogemur nos facere quod illi volunt, nolimus, velimus. Nam ubi sunt claustra regni, quae illis vel  
40 minimum saltem resistere possent, si erimus eorum votis contrarii, a Taurino usque Strigonium, immo usque Viennam planitiem habent. Tria millia Turcarum, etiam si totam Hungariam nos sine arcibus illis amissis finitimis haberemus, dum volunt nos adoriri, Hungariae non minimam partem exurere possunt, si milites illis opponere voluerimus, non venient eo, ubi milites sentiunt, sed ubi nulli erunt. Praeterea quis  
45 est, qui tam latos Hungariae campos et vias militum praesidiis custodire possit? Nos illis nocere non multum possumus. Illi veniunt modica manu, dum volunt et nobis negotium facessunt, quandoquidem claves, quae sunt arces, amissae habent Hungariae, sed de his coram planius et exactius possemus commentari, quam litteris. Si scis Hungariae situm, haec omnia tu ipse diiudicabis, quae nunc scribo.

50 [3.] De mea in rebus tuis cura non est, quod gratias agas. Nam et feci et facturus sum omnia, in quibus tibi inservire potero libentissime. Gratumque est, dum tibi gratificari possum, vellem tamen, ut res Danica, quod ad regis electionem pertinet, securior esset. Qui quis futurus sit adhuc, incertum est. Post conventum Lubecensem, in quam partem res devolvetur, videbimus. Reginam ego de re illa, quam scribis,  
55 admonere possum, sed video, ut res hic agatur. Accipimus, quod dant, verbis plus

474<sup>7</sup> See Ep. 456. 474<sup>8</sup> See Ep. 449. 474<sup>9</sup> 5 April. 474<sup>10</sup> King Ferdinand I. 474<sup>11</sup> Since the battle of Mohács (in 1526). 474<sup>12</sup> Bálint Török. 474<sup>13</sup> Lodovico Gritti.



faciunt multo, quam stipite duro. Mores huius patriae iam fere a triennio vidi, pacis potius, quam belli nunc cupidae.

[4.] Regina adveniente iam verno tempore melius se habere cepit, et speramus pristinam sanitatem, sed chronicam habet valetudinem. Quae mutatur nunc in melius, nunc in deterius. Spem habemus tamen, quod nostrum omnium votis sua maiestas 60 sanabitur. Nobilis a Siesnek huc venit. Optime maiestas regia fecit, quod eum huc visitatum miserit. Nam caesar miserat ante quadragesimam dominum a Lassaw<sup>14</sup> visum reginam, qui in die ultima Saturnaliorum hinc reversus est ad caesarem. Christierna<sup>15</sup> princeps sponsa Mediolani ducis, ut scripsi,<sup>16</sup> antea discessit hinc undecima<sup>17</sup> huius mensis. Res Anglicae indies fiunt contra pontificem<sup>18</sup> deteriores, vereor, ne 65 superent Lutherum. Nam res iam, si verum est quod praedicatur, devenisse dicitur ad demolitionem locorum sacrarum. Vespasianus<sup>19</sup> quid retulerit, fac me certiozem. Non mihi valde placet, quod sine Griti redierit, de quo quid speretur, cura, ut sciam. Mitto litteras Stanshardi<sup>20</sup> et decani<sup>21</sup> ad Cornelium. Vale.

Bruxellae 22. Martii 1534.

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Conrad Wackers to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 28 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 190–191.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 484.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 148–149.

*Notes:* Copy.

*It was foolish to recommend that particular person in Oláh's attention, but he pursued him very aggressively to help him find a way to Oláh. Indeed he speaks Greek and Hebrew, and he is not the most despicable person, either, so if he has put in a good word for him already, good, but it is not a problem if he has not done so, either.*

Conradus Goclenius domino Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Scio me impudenter facere, nec video, quo colore possim deprecari culpam, qui huic Franciscano<sup>1</sup> litteras ad te dederim.<sup>2</sup> Sed, ut vere dicam, expugnavit me homo, ut est illud genus non nimis verecundum, assiduis flagitationibus, ut aliquid litterarum ad Tuam Excellentiam darem, quo illi aditus esset paratior ad ea, quae sine tuo 5 sicut affirmat incommodo ambit. Tuo monitu si vera praedicat, istuc reversus, velut ad opportunitiora institutae venationis tempora, quo sermone mihi certe plus iniecit audaciae, ut non sim veritus de illo ad te scribere, qui tibi notior est, quam mihi. Nam nisi quod aliquot praelectionibus interfuit, seque tum Graecae, tum Hebraicae linguae, per quam studiosum praedicat, equidem gravius testimonium non habeo 10 dicere, quamquam in sua gente non videtur postremae notae. Quod si in hunc aliquid

474 <sup>14</sup> Probably John de Lassaw. 474 <sup>15</sup> Christina of Denmark. 474 <sup>16</sup> See Ep. 464. 474 <sup>17</sup> In Ep. 464. Oláh wrote that Christina would leave on 10 April. 474 <sup>18</sup> Pope Clement VII. 474 <sup>19</sup> Vespasian of Zara. 474 <sup>20</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 9. 474 <sup>21</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. 475 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 475 <sup>2</sup> See Ep. 436.

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beneficii apud reginam conferre decrevisti, licet illi benefacere, ut homini, quem fortasse virum bonum experiundo comperies. Si ad eam rem non est opportunitas et idonea tempestas, verbum non amplius addo. Quod enim nec in mea, nec in amici  
15 causa quantumvis coniuncti postularem a tanto viro, id pro ignoto nulla ratione debeo postulare. Bene vale, Domine Clarissime!  
Lovanii quinto Kalendas Aprilis anno MDXXXVIII.

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Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Dubrovnik, 31 March 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 497.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 484–485.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 302–303.

*He has finally made it to Dubrovnik. He has learnt that Lodovico Gritti is still in Constantinople and is waiting for Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha is said to have fled from the shah, but Schepper is still waiting for more reliable information on everything. Except for three sanjak-beys, all have returned to Asia, which suggests that there will be no peace there now. Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey is said to have sieged the castle of Klis, to avenge Krusics' sin. Soon they will know more, and he will write in more detail, too.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Contranitentibus ventis decem et octo diebus fui in mari Hadriaco. Tandem perveni Rhagusium, ubi, quod ad Gritti<sup>1</sup> attinet, intellexi illum adhuc esse Constantinopoli, exspectareque adventum Barbarossae,<sup>2</sup> qui concessit in Syriam ad Imbrahimum bas-  
5 sam.<sup>3</sup> Idne sit verum, an aliter se habeat res, non satis scio. Breviter tamen sum resciturus omnia. Hunc Imbrahimum aiunt a Sophy profligatum esse. Quomodo tamen aut qualiter non satis scitur, ubi primum venissem Rhagusium, statim expedivi cursorem ad Sansachum Hertzogoniae et ad caesarem Turcarum et ad Aloisium Gryti, scrip-  
10 sique ad tres illos in rebus mihi commissis, spero brevi habiturum responsum. Tunc verius et copiosius scribam de omnibus. Nam nunc urget me abitus huius Hergantini,<sup>4</sup> qui nactus properas ad redeundum tempestates, me cogit esse brevem. Commendo tibi res meas, quae istic sunt; ego vicissim vestrarum rerum curam sum habiturus, de quo mimine convenit dubitare. Omnes Sansachi praeter Samandriae, Bossinae Hertzogoniae, quorum trium vires sunt triginta millia equitum solum, concessere in  
15 Asiam: quae res arguit illic non bene succedere negotia. Dicitur et Myhalibegouytz<sup>5</sup> obsessurus arcem Clyssam<sup>6</sup> ob damna illata a Petro Crusitz.<sup>7</sup> Quid desuper futurum sit, nescio. Fertur etiam magnus caesar Turcarum in persona propria abiturus in Asiam. Brevi sciemus veritatem rei. Commenda servitia mea sacrae reginali maiestati aliisque

476 <sup>1</sup>Lodovico Gritti. 476 <sup>2</sup>Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 476 <sup>3</sup>Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 476 <sup>4</sup>We do not know him more closely. 476 <sup>5</sup>Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey. In 1517, he was Sanjak-bey of Bosnia, in 1520 Sanjak-bey of Herzegovina, and he also participated in the battle of Mohács. He then became Sanjak-bey of Nikopol, see BABINGER 1993; BAŞAR 2005, 25; SABEV 2013, 232. 476 <sup>6</sup>Klis. 476 <sup>7</sup>Péter Krusics.

dominis meis, reverendissimo praesuli Panormitano,<sup>8</sup> duci de Arschoth,<sup>9</sup> dominis de Sanctpy<sup>10</sup> et Molenbais ceterisque, quos una cum Dominatione Tua Christus servet 20 incolumis.

Rhagusii ultimo Martii 1534.

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Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Dubrovnik, 3 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 498–499.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 485–486.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 303–305.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. The Sanjak from Herzegovina has sent a servant and 40 horsemen for him, to lead him to Constantinople. He has also written that Lodovico Gritti is still there, and he is likely going to wait for him. Hieronymus of Zara is ailing in Rijeka. Something big is brewing on the sea: 200 Turkish boats are leaving, headed by Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha has negotiated a truce with the Persians, and they are discussing peace, which the Turks are very happy about. 2. This is what he knows for certain. Now he is hitting the road and entrusts himself to the barbarians, whom – trusting the Lord – he is not only not afraid of, but he is hoping for victory. He will appear like a tyrant: with sword and crozier.

Cornelius Sceperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Hodie misit ad me Perybeg Baltogly<sup>1</sup> Sansachus Hertzogoninae ex slavish<sup>2</sup> suum unum cum quadraginta equis,<sup>3</sup> qui me hinc sunt abducturi Constantinopolim. Scribit idem Sansachus Aloisium Gritti<sup>4</sup> esse Constantinopoli adhuc, neque tam cito inde esse abiturum, hortatus, ut eo me conferam. Id quod facturus sum die Lunae 5 proximo, non exspectato Hieronimo de Zara,<sup>5</sup> qui in eis, quae regiam maiestatem concernunt mihi adiunctus, aegrotus mansit in oppido Sancti Viti Liburniae.<sup>6</sup> Omnino magnum aliquid mari moliuntur Turcae parata classe ducentarum navium actuararium, triremium dico et biremium. In quam piratae remigesque sine numero profici- 10 scuntur indies. Huius ducatum habiturus est Barbarossa,<sup>7</sup> ab ineunte aetate piratarum alpha. Quid intendant, Deus novit, neque omnino me clam est, sed nunquam defuit suis ipsius gratia. Vae autem illis, per quos in id inductus est. Imbrahimus bassa<sup>8</sup> amissa parte copiarum nescio, quibus artibus iuvenes illos Persas fratres induxit ad inducias, quibus stantibus ipsorum Sophy<sup>9</sup> fratrum mater cum alter viro Persa sene, 15 maximaeque in ea gente autoritatis Constantinopolim ventura est brevi de pace actura. Ipse caesar Turcarum, cuius re in ambiguo erant, rursus emersit. Non queo dicere,

476<sup>8</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 476<sup>9</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ. 476<sup>10</sup> Antoine de Croÿ. 477<sup>1</sup> Balta oğlu Piri Bey. No data is available that he may have been the Sanjak-bey of Herzegovina in 1534. Mihaloğlu besieged Klis together with Mehmed Bey, see ÖZKILIÇ–COŞKUN–SIVRIDAĞ–YÜZBAŞIOĞLU–TOKÖZ 2005, 33, 45; GÖYÜNÇ 1969, 26–27. 477<sup>2</sup> ‘slave’, see DU CANGE. 477<sup>3</sup> i.e. equitibus. Forty horses seem to be too many for two travellers. 477<sup>4</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 477<sup>5</sup> Hieronymus of Zara. 477<sup>6</sup> Rijeka. 477<sup>7</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 477<sup>8</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 477<sup>9</sup> Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran.

quanto cum gaudio Turcae nuntium hunc de induciis cum Sophy firmatis acceperere. Longa enim militia erecti, ad hanc non inviti modo, sed desperati contendebant. Nunc autem feliciora tempora sperant. Nam quod ad classem attinet, non tam militum, 20 quam remigum capax futura est, magisque praedationi, quam bello utilis quantumvis numerosa. Subsistit autem Imbrahimus Halapiae,<sup>10</sup> donec, quid mater Sophy cum caesare magno transegerit, exploratum habuerit; neque in itinere est, quemadmodum ultimi tabellarii, qui ex Constantinopoli venerant, retulere. Illi enim nomine lapsi sunt Barbarossam pro Imbrahimis putantes.

25 [2.] Haec sunt, quae verissima esse ego scio. Dispono interim conscientiae meae hac Domini resurrectione,<sup>11</sup> ut sumpto viatico sanctissimi ipsius corporis et sanguinis, tutius audaciusque me committere possim fidei barbarorum, a quibus ipsius praesidio fretus nihil metuo, immo certissimam spero victoriam, et quorundam sceleratorum hominum conatibus obviaturum in rem totius reipublicae Christianae et principum 30 nostrorum. Ibo autem tyrannico illo modo, quo priore vice, in gladio et baculo scilicet. Interim me serenissimae reginali maiestati et Panormitano,<sup>12</sup> ceterisque dominis et amicis plurimum commenda. Et bene vale. Commenda me Conrado Goclenio<sup>13</sup> et Petro Aegidio,<sup>14</sup> si ad eos scripseris.

Ex Rhagusio 3. Aprilis 1534.

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Jemme Reinerszoon to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 13 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 198.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 487–488.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Since upon their first meeting Oláh made him promise that he would write to him even when Oláh is busy with serious problems, and he has indeed kept this promise because he wants to please him, Oláh's interest in science has urged him to surprise him with a small gift. He should welcome it, he sends his best regards.*

Gemma Frisius<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario reginae Mariae.

Cum in quadragesima Bruxellam venissem domini Camilli<sup>2</sup> gratia, memini Dominationem Vestram mihi iniunxisse, uti nonnunquam meis, etsi ineptis litteris eam seriis alioqui occupatam rebus interpellarem, quod nullo modo omittendum duxi,

477<sup>10</sup> Aleppo. 477<sup>11</sup> Easter Monday was on 5 April. 477<sup>12</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 477<sup>13</sup> Conrad Wackers. 477<sup>14</sup> Peter Gilles (1486–1533) was a humanist and a famous printer. He was a friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Thomas More, who dedicated his work *Utopia* to him. Gilles died on 11 November, 1533, but Schepper would not have known of his death at the time of writing this letter. See DE VOCHT 1961, 204–206. 478<sup>1</sup> Gemme Reinerszoon (1508–1555) was a Dutch physician, mathematician, and cartographer. For more on his life and works, see HAASBROEK 1968, 8–15. 478<sup>2</sup> Camillo Ghilino (†1535) was an orator and a Secretary of the Duke of Milan, Francesco II Sforza. He was intensely interested in the arts and sciences, see DE VOCHT 1961, 239–240. On the correspondence between Oláh and Ghilino, see POPA-GORJANU 2005.

quandoquidem principibus placuisse viris non infima laus est. Verum absterruere 5  
non sine ratione ab instituto meo ardua ac seria, quibus Dominationem Vestram  
occupatam video, negotia, metuentem, ne importunae meae litterae merito foras  
reiicerentur. Contra tamen me incitavit ac animum mihi addidit insignis Dominationis  
Vestrae in omnes studiosos humanitas, qua sola fretus iam non incedere vereor per  
mediam aulam, per medias turbas perque ardua quantumvis negotia, et Dominationis 10  
Vestrae parvo munisculo aggredi, quod etsi quantitate sua parvum sit, si tamen animi  
in Dominationem Vestram mei affectum spectemus, cum quovis magnifico munere  
conferri poterit. Quod oro Dominationem Vestram uti pro sua humanitate, meique  
animi candore gratum habere velit, meque iam inde commendatissimum habeat. Deus  
optimus maximus Dominationem Vestram diu servet incolumem. 15

Ex Lovanio 13. Aprilis 1534.

479<sub>488</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Camillo Ghilino  
Brussels, 13 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 199–200.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 488–489.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*Ambrogio Candiano, the Sforzas' physician, has arrived to them. He seems to be worthy of the task of healing the Queen, who has recovered so much that she can ride again. He has received the treasurer's quarters and table for his use. Ghilino's horse is well, they have sent it to Antwerp to the treasurer of Ghilino's lord, but he is not riding it any more: he is dead. He will try to send his horse to him. Jemme Reinerszoon's globe is not perfect yet. Conrad Wackers is trying to hurry up the artist, but Ghilino also knows how shrewd the Brabantians are – he will take care of this, too.*

Nicolai Olai ad Camillum Gilinum a Secretis Francisci Sforciae ducis Mediolanensis.

Litterarum illarum, de quibus olim locuti fuimus, γνομόνικος<sup>1</sup> Elegantissime et  
Strenuissime: Salve! Medicus<sup>2</sup> illustrissimi ducis<sup>3</sup> tui, quem tanto desiderio exspec-  
tabamus, aliquot post tuum a nobis discessum diebus ad nos applicuit. Dignus sane, 5  
ut videtur, vir, cui reginae valetudo committatur, quae iam ad equitationem usque  
convaleuit. Domus et tabula quaestoris nostri est illi designata, qua uteretur ex animi  
sui sententia. Scis enim eos, qui pecuniam tractant, lautiores solere esse hospites.  
Equus tuus convaleuit, quem miseramus Antwerpianam ad ducis tui quaestorem,<sup>4</sup> sed

479,1 Sforciae ] *O corr. ex Scorciae* 479,3 Litterarum ] *O del. ex Salve! Litterarum* 479,4 Salve ] *O add.*

479<sup>1</sup> 'competent'. 479<sup>2</sup> Ambrogio Candiano was Francesco II Sforza's physician, and he also healed Queen Mary of Hungary, see TIRABOSCHI 1796, 626. In the poem addressed to Candiano, Oláh called him Angelus Candianus, see HEGEDŰS 1906, 396–398; FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 18–19; NEAGU 2003, 316–317. 479<sup>3</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 479<sup>4</sup> According to Ghilino's answer, his name was Monbelli. We do not know him more closely.

10 ille maluit Charontis<sup>5</sup> naviculam, quam equum tuum equitare: dicitur enim vita esse  
functus. Curabimus tamen cum Banisio,<sup>6</sup> ut equus ad te perveniat. Globus<sup>7</sup> ille caele-  
stis nondum perfectus est. Goclenius<sup>8</sup> artificem sollicitat, sed scis vafritiem<sup>9</sup> hominum  
Brabantinorum. Ultra praefinitam mercedem nescio, quid pluris somniat, dicit te non  
satisfecisse Gemmae,<sup>10</sup> quod tibi annulorum artificium et legem demonstrarit. Vide  
15 hominis impudentiam! Conficiemus tamen id quoque cum eo. Banisius profectus est  
heri Lovanium. Cui, si nihil per hunc baliolum ad te scripserit, veniam dabis. Nova  
hic nulla, si quae istic habetis, fac me certiozem. Vale, Olai non immemor tui ex corde  
amantis. Commenda me, si aliquando occasio oblata fuerit, duci tuo. Vale iterum.  
Bruxellae 13. Aprilis 1534.

462<sup>480</sup>499

Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
Šintava, 13 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 405–407.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 489–490.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He has received Oláh's letter in which Oláh asks for his forgiveness if he has offended him, but Thurzó does not know what offence or estrangement he means: there is nothing to apologize for, especially in these confusing and hostile times. He believes Oláh will not bring up the length of time that has passed if he thinks about the severity of Thurzó's illness, which was more dangerous than anything he had ever experienced, and it lasted virtually all of the autumn and winter, so he has become more sluggish not only in connection with his friends but with his home affairs as well. But their friendship has not changed, and when he has more time, he will write to his friends. 2. Even though he is sick, he has tried to settle Oláh's issue with Bálint Török, but without success. Obviously Oláh also knows that Török holds nothing sacred, neither friends' requests nor royal commands. The King will be meeting with Lodovico Gritti soon, everything depends on the outcome of this negotiation. 3. The Queen's fickle health saddens him; he asks Oláh to recommend him to her. He wishes for the Pope and the neighboring rulers to unite and take advantage of the fact that the Turks are fighting in Persia.

Alexius Turzo comes etc. Nicolao Olao.

[1.] Reverende Domine, Amice Honorande, salutem! Litteras vestras de quarto  
mensis praeteriti datas<sup>1</sup> accepimus, quibus in primis deprecari videmini, nescio, quam  
animi a vobis nostri alienationem, quam non aliunde colligitis, quam quod tanto  
5 tempore nihil ad vos litterarum dederimus. Cui quidem deprecationi non videmus,  
an locus ullus esse possit, praesertim in hoc rerum nostrarum turbine et temporum

479,18 fuerit] *O del. ex fuerit magnifico*

479<sup>5</sup> In Greek mythology, Kharon carries the souls across the river Styx. 479<sup>6</sup> Probably Jakob Radich de Bannisis the Younger. 479<sup>7</sup> On the globe Jemme Reinerszoon made for Ghilino, see SMET 1966/1967, 228–229. 479<sup>8</sup> Conrad Wackers. 479<sup>9</sup> Early modern form, as opposed to the classical *vafritia*, see RAMMINGER 2008. 479<sup>10</sup> Jemme Reinerszoon. 480<sup>1</sup> Ep. 462.

malignitate, quod ad eripienda sua bona ex quorundam faucibus pertinet. Nam quod ad temporis tractum spectat, quo nihil fere scripsimus, et ut vestrum est iudicium, nescimus, quam favoris et benevolentiae alienationem huic praebuimus. Non putamus certe transactum tempus hoc Dominationem Vestram pro argumento tracturam, si re- 10  
putabit gravissimas aegritudines nostras et quibus periculosiores medicorum omnium sententia nunquam sensit, integram fere hiemem, autumno iunctam occupavisse. Haec causa nos non solum, ut erga amicos pigriores solito essemus, sed etiam, ne domestica negotia curarem, prohibuit.<sup>2</sup> Proinde, si quis Dominationis Vestrae animum inanis metus de mutatione benevolentiae nostrae occupavit, explendus 15  
est. Manet enim et solida et vetus illa nostri in vos animi benevolentia et favor, nec evelli facile tantopere radicata possit. Quod si quae interdum exigua ad horam sanitas redibat, exhausti atroci aegritudine vires non sufficiebant, ut interdum vel horam alteram dictandis ad amicos epistolis vacarem, utcumque tamen volumus Dominationis Vestrae timorem illum vanum animo eiiciat. 20

[2.] Quamquam enim vires voluntati non responderint, egimus tamen, dum poteramus, apud dominum Valentinum Therek<sup>3</sup> nec mediocri conatu, ut Dominationis Vestrae bona, quae usurpavit, pro se dimitteret. Sed o mores, o tempora! Non dubitamus et vobis constare huius hominum generis ingenium, quod et alioqui suapte natura praefractum, temporis huius conditio efferavit, ut neque iussa regia, neque 25  
amicorum intercessionem aut respectus ab instituto illos revocare possint. Nihil nos apud dominum Valentinum efficere potuimus. Non enim illum intercessionem nostrae contemptum tolerare, aut subinde frustra repetere voluimus. Erat tenuis quaedam indiciorum spes, sed et ea in fumum abiit. Nunc maiestas regia (ut credimus ad festa Pentecostes<sup>4</sup>) habitura est de stabiliendo aut transigendo potius regni statu cum 30  
Grithi<sup>5</sup> tractatus. Inde omnis ordo, omnis gubernandi regni modus pendet, qualiscumque futurus sit. Spes quidem magna reginalem maiestatem tenet, quo et nos bene sperare vult. Nisi tractatibus istis pro regni commodo absolutis frena vaganti licentiae imponantur, non videmus, hoc genus hominum qua alia via aut remedio coerceri possit. 35

[3.] De maiestatis reginalis adversa valetudine plurimum profecto tristamur, faxit Deus optimus maximus, ut maiestatem suam pristinae sanitati restituat. Scripsimus et nunc ad eius maiestatem, cui Dominatio Vestra servitatem nostram commendare velit, idque diligentissime. Commendet Dominatio Vestra maxima nos servitia, et quidem summa fide ac diligentia cum tempore serenissimi et clementissimi principis 40  
nostri, domini Ludovici regis, tum deinde quoque exhibuisse cum maxima rerum et bonorum meorum iactura. Quae et modo nos premit magnis ob fidelitatem et servitia incommodis et detrimentis oppressos, tantum abest, ut auctum me ab eius maiestate gloriari liceat. Cupio quidem eius maiestatis benevolentiam, et dum vita manebit,

480,16 et ] *corr. ex est*

480,23 Sed ... tempora ] *Cic. In Cat. I,2.*

480<sup>2</sup> Obscure sentence, it is likely that either something went wrong during the copying or Thurzó had not fully recovered by the time of writing. 480<sup>3</sup> Bálint Török. 480<sup>4</sup> 24 May. 480<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

45 servire contendam. De rebus pontificis et vicinorum principum Dominatio Vestra ne  
intermittat ad nos scribere, optaremus illorum unionem. Quod si odiis contendere  
pergent, nihilominus erunt nobis grata, quae ex vestris litteris acceperimus. Nunc  
principibus nostris nescimus, an melior unquam arriserit occasio confinia nostra recu-  
perandi. Vacua sunt enim omnia translatis in Persam Soffi<sup>6</sup> ad Ibraymum<sup>7</sup> praesidiis,  
50 quibus munita fuerant. Modo Deus id his inspiraret. Sed nescimus, quo fato nostro  
fiat, ut tot ac tantae occasiones sine fructu dilabantur semper. Dominatio Vestra, ut  
praemisimus, commendet servitia nostra maiestati reginali, et ipsa quoque valeat felix.  
Ex Sempthe XIII. die Aprilis 1534.

<sup>468</sup>481<sup>493</sup>

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 19 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 214–215.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 491.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 31–32.

*Notes:* Copy.

*The clerk has brought back a letter he had written to Oláh before, without delivering it; he is sending it again.  
Oláh should let him know if there is any hope that Erasmus of Rotterdam will return home, he hopes no harm  
befalls him. Erasmus' book is said to be already for sale in Antwerp, but nobody has seen it yet.*

Levinus Ammonius Carthusianus monachus Nicolao Olao.

En mitto ad te epistolam,<sup>1</sup> Clarissime Olahe, de qua iam pridem scripsi, quam  
fuerat οἰκονόμος<sup>2</sup> noster tibi redditurus; si potuisset istuc proficisci eo tempore, quo  
in ea signatum est, qui tandem mihi eam reddidit, dicens nolle frustra fatigari, quod  
5 istic nemini gratia fiat. Eam itaque tibi mitto, ut me scias in tempore respondisse,  
deque beneficiis acceptis egisse gratias. Si vel tantillum fuerit otii, precor te, mihi  
scribas, an sit etiam num spes reditus Erasmi nostri.<sup>3</sup> Vix credas, quam formidem, ne  
quid ei accidat humani. Sin autem ne tantillum quidem inter ista negotia sit otii, fas  
erit, opinor, ut huic homini, qui reddidit epistolam, in aurem dicas, quid sperandum  
10 sit. Audio *De praeparatione ad mortem libellum* esse iamdudum Antverpiae venalem,  
quem tamen hic nemo, quod equidem sciam, vidit. Christus Iesus te servet incolumem,  
cui me totum commendo.

E Valleregia iuxta Gandavum 13. Kalendas Maias anno 1534.

480<sup>6</sup> Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. 480<sup>7</sup> Ibrahim Pargali Pasha. 481<sup>1</sup> Ep. 472. 481<sup>2</sup> 'administrator'. 481<sup>3</sup> It  
is not clear if Lieven van den Zande received Oláh's letter on Erasmus, see Ep. 468.



471<sup>482</sup>496

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Miklós Oláh  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 22 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 361–362.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 491–493; ALLEN 1941, 375–376.

*In Dutch:* BEJCYZ 2020, 283–285.

*In English:* ESTES–MILLER 2020, 270–273.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 675–676.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–FIRU 1968, 189–191; ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 137–137.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 116–118.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He can only partially agree with what Oláh is writing about the affairs in England. He got better by 1 April, but eight days later he was struck by a terrible headache and neckache that seems never to leave any more. He has not been outside in five months, but if he did venture on the 4-5-day journey, he would only do it if he was carried lying down. The Marquess will not do anything, but it does not matter any more, that dumb book cannot really hurt Erasmus' reputation any longer. Luther has also written a crazy and hate-filled letter. 2. He is happy to hear what Oláh has written about Lieven Algoet. He has heard from him that Oláh wants to go home, so he wishes Oláh luck and is also saddened by it at the same time. His friends should not be angry with him that he is not writing to them, the pain is stopping him from doing so. 3. He knows what Pieter van Monfoort is on to, but he does not care. He is not a friend of his, and although he thinks that Pieter van Monfoort is talented, he is a vacant and sleazy character, and he should not believe a word he says. He promised to bring him his fee of 300 florins, then he said he would only bring 200, but that also turned out to be an empty promise; all the while he encouraged him to write untrue letters, even though he was really sick. He was also freeloading on him and does not thank him for anything.

Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Olao secretario reginae salutem.

[1.] Quae scribis<sup>1</sup> de rebus Angliae, facile credo ex parte esse vera, omnia non credo. Ad hanc tragoediam non fuisset ventum, si cardinales a pontifice<sup>2</sup> delegati ante annos septem liquido pronuntiassent. Optarim inter nos et Anglos convenire.

Ad Kalendas Aprilis cepi non bene quidem, sed aliquanto minus male habere, et 5 in bonam spem erectus sum. At post dies octo gravissimus cruciatus invasit sinistrum capitis et colli latus cum humero et brachio, qui sic illic haeret, ut videatur nusquam abiturus. Quinque mensibus non extuleram pedem domo. Ipso die Paschae<sup>3</sup> sacrificavi in cubiculo. Me a reditu monachorum intemperiae non deterrere, nisi mihi metuerem a paralyysi. Quod si iter esset quattuor aut quinque dierum, vel lectica curarem 10 me istuc deportandum.

Arguerent, inquis, te inconstantiae;<sup>4</sup> utinam hoc crimen in me haereret. Marchio<sup>5</sup> nihil faciet Hillenio,<sup>6</sup> favet funigeris. Et iam volumina distracta sunt. Quamquam ille stolidus liber haut multum officiet meo nomini. Hic timeo graviora a sectarum

482,14 sectarum] *corr. ex sectorum*

482<sup>1</sup> Ep. 471. Cap. 1. 482<sup>2</sup> Pope Clement VII. 482<sup>3</sup> 5 April. 482<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 471. Cap. 2. 482<sup>5</sup> William van den Werwe. 482<sup>6</sup> Michaël Hillen von Hoochstraaten was a printer who published Herborn's book, see ALLEN 1941, 376. For more on his editions, see CONLEY 2011.

15 fautoribus, qui sibi persuadent Erasmus in mora esse, quo minus impune regnent ubique. Luterus emisit epistolam simpliciter furiosam nec aliud spirantem, quam odium parricidiale. De tuo in me studio, Olahe Carissime, profecto memorem mones, nec sum ignarus, quot et quantis nominibus tibi debeam. Id utinam officio quopiam insigni queam declarare.

20 [2.] Gratum est, quod scribis de Levino,<sup>7</sup> sed utinam ille τὰς χεῖρας ποτιφέρων<sup>8</sup> fortunam invocaret. Significat te parare reditum in Hungariam, quod ut tibi precor, quam felicissimum esse, ita mihi futurum est incommodum sive redeo, sive non redeo: τηλοῦ φίλοι ναίοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φίλοι.<sup>9</sup> Oro, ut apud reverendissimum dominum archiepiscopum Panormitanum<sup>10</sup> sis mihi epistolae vice, eique meo nomine gratias agas, et si commodum videbitur, has illi litteras exhibeas. Vix enim haec potui scribere prae cruciatu. Crede mihi, nullis hortamentis opus est ad reditum: non deero occasionei. Serenissimae reginae precor omnia laeta. Duci Arscoti<sup>11</sup> salutem plurimam. Danum meis verbis salvere iube. Fortasse suspiciatur me iratum, quod non scribam. Morbus in causa est, non animus. Vale.

30 Friburgi 22. die Aprilis 1534.

[3.] Lege solus!

Scio, quid venetur Petrus Montfortius,<sup>12</sup> nec illi invideo successum. Mea causa non est, quod illi faveat quisquam. Nulli amicus est, nisi sibi ipsi. Mihi certe amicus non est. Est magno promptoque ingenio, sed vafro, vano, fastuoso et sordido. Cave quicquam  
35 illi credas. Extorquet undique commendationes. Ambiit, ut ad me perferret munus honorarium, quod sex Hollandiae civitates decreverant. Decreti erant Floreni Caroleni trecenti. Ille pertulit ducentos, sed verbis dumtaxat. Me tum graviter laborantem urgebat usque ad vitae taedium, ut scriberem longas ac mendaces ad caesarem, ad commendatorem mihi ignotum, ad thesaurarium Hollandiae et ad alios. Maluissem  
40 ei numerare bonam pecuniae summam, quam eo labore cruciare valetudinem. Pastus est domi meae cum suo collega dies aliquot. Nec egit gratias. Per Quirinum<sup>13</sup> meum non dignatus est tria verba scribere. Haec, mi Olae, oportuit te scire. Dissimulandum tamen. Loquacissimus est et posset laedere, quod cuivis facillimum est. Vale.

<sup>460</sup>483

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 24 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 495–496.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 493.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 305–306.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

482,27 Danum ] *corr. ex* Danis 482,41 meae ] *corr. ex* mei

482,20 τὰς ... ποτιφέρων ] Cf. *Apophthegmata Laconica* 239 A 10: τὸν χεῖρα ποτιφέροντα τὸν τύχῃ καλεῖν.

482<sup>7</sup> Probably Lieven Algoet 482<sup>8</sup> 'putting his hands together (i.e. bringing them forward)'. 482<sup>9</sup> 'friends who live far away are not friends'. 482<sup>10</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 482<sup>11</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ. 482<sup>12</sup> Pieter van Monfoort. 482<sup>13</sup> Quirinus Hagius.

1. He has learned from his letter that he has been delayed because of the floods. Everyone is well here, except for Mark Lauwerijns, who has traveled to Antwerp to have his illness treated, which Schepper obviously also knows about. 2. He does not like what has happened to Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha, nor Lodovico Gritti's delay; he hopes it is not a trap. He should help him return, and he wishes Schepper safe travels. Schepper's appointment to councilor has been signed and sent. Were people not so dumb, there has never been a better time to save Europe.

Nicolao Olai ad Cornelium Sceperum.

[1.] Ex litteris tuis ultima Februarii Lubianae datis<sup>1</sup> intellexi te sanum esse, et istic haesisse aliquantisper ob aquarum inundationem. Scito tuos quoque omnes hic sanos esse, praeter decanum,<sup>2</sup> qui nuper veteris sui morbi, tibi, ut arbitror, non ignoti, curandi gratia hinc diverterat Antverpnam, ubi adhuc est in manibus chirurgi. Ex 5 catapotiis inciderat in dysenteriam. Iam valet melius. Credo eum convaliturum.

[2.] Ibrahimi<sup>3</sup> eventus mihi non satis placuit, vellem infra finem rerum salvus fuisset. Nam si res in manus alterius devenerit, nescio, an faciliter sit progressus. Nemo est omnium, quem mora Gryti<sup>4</sup> non commoverit, verentur omnes, ne fraus lateat in rebus. Quae voluisti referri, reginae retuli, tibi in meis rebus diligentem 10 curam habituro ago gratias non minimas. Fac deinceps quoque, ut eandem, quam coepisti et in qua nihil dubito habeas sollicitudinem, ut me hinc, si dis placet, reducas. Tu perfectis istic ex sententia rebus omnibus redi feliciter. Iam consiliaritus tuus confectus est, subscripserunt financiarii omnes. Litteras per decanum Brugas ad uxorem<sup>5</sup> nuper misimus. Nisi homines plumbei et plusquam caudices essent, nulla 15 melior occasio data fuisset aliquid praeclare agendi, quam nunc, dum vires omnes ab Europa excesserunt. Scis, quid velim. Mitto ad te litteras coniugis tuae cum aliorum literis, vale, mei et mearum rerum non immemor. Iterum vale.

Bruxellae 24. Aprilis 1534.

484

Miklós Oláh to Johan Weze  
Brussels, 24 April 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 548–550.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 493–495.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He has not written to him recently because he did not know where to send the letter. The envoys sent to Hamburg have only agreed on a four-year ceasefire with the people of Lübeck. No progress has been made in Weze's case because they were informed too late, and there was no time to gather the councilors, not a single Danish councilor turned up. 2. Weze's case completely depends on the outcome of the Danish king election: there are some who support the son of the late king and some who support King Henry VIII. He has reminded

483,4 morbi ] *O corr.* ex more 483,4 ignoti ] *O add.* 483,5 hinc ] *O corr.* ex huc

483<sup>1</sup> Ep. 460. 483<sup>2</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. 483<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 483<sup>4</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 483<sup>5</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

Stanshard to write more cordial letters to Weze, and he has forwarded what he had sent to Oláh. Oláh thinks these must have arrived because his have arrived. 3. Lodovico Gritti is taking turtle steps to get here. It is not in the king's interest to kill Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha or to take him prisoner, either, he should rather be within the Hungarian borders to participate in its fortification. Schepper is already on his way to the Turkish Porte, where he will be of great help not only to the King but Oláh, too. He is also sending to Weze what he needs to know in case Gritti arrives in Schepper's absence.

Nicolai Olai ad archiepiscopum Lundensem oratorem caesaris.

[1.] Si tardius rescripseram, quam res postulabat, id ei rei tribue, quod postremis tuis litteris<sup>1</sup> scripseras te hora datarum litterarum ad duces Bavariae profecturum. Nescivi igitur, quo meas litteras dirigerem, has quoque fere in dubium emisi. Oratores, 5 qui caesaris nomine Hamburgum profecti erant, redierunt praeteritis diebus, summa tractatus eorum totius est, quod inducias cum Lubecensibus quadriennes confecerunt. Quibus modis et rationibus, credo te a rege intellecturum, nam de omnibus hinc solet certior fieri. In tuo negotio (quod cum summo animi dolore in reditu oratorum audivi et nunc quoque non sine maestitia scribere possum) nihil agi potuit. Nam 10 quemadmodum decretum erat, Dani oratores<sup>2</sup> cum pleno totius regni mandato in Hamburgo vocati comparere debebant, sed intrusus ille archiepiscopus Lundensis<sup>3</sup> respondit oratoribus caesaris per litteras, non esse possibile tam brevi tempore se posse convocare regnum (hoc enim officium convocandi regni ad ecclesiam tuam pertinere dicitur) et de missione oratorum tractare, nam tarde fuisset hinc per litteras 15 admonitus, excusavitque se et omnes alios regnicolas, quantum potuit. Ita nemo istic Danus comparuit. Si comparuissent aliqui, in rebus tuis tractatum esset per commissarios, quantum fuisset possibile. Nunc cum ita res contigerit, necessitati tribuenda est neglectio ista, non aut oratoribus caesaris aut mihi. Qui testor fidem boni viri eam curam in his tuis rebus sollicitandis, et apud reginam et apud alios ubi opus 20 fuit, habui, quam extremam habere potui, quamque fortasse in rebus meis privatis vix unquam habuissem. Quam etiam deinceps, si quae dabitur occasio, pro meo posse sum adhibiturus. Non diffido autem, quin ventura sit adhuc huic rei occasio.

[2.] Nam tua omnis res pendet in electione regis Dani, qui si futurus est ad votum caesaris, non desperandum est, sin contra votum, certe res ita erit difficilior. Nunc 25 autem electio regis stat in statu incerto. Alii favent minori filio<sup>4</sup> ducis Friderici,<sup>5</sup> alii regi Angliae,<sup>6</sup> qui pecuniis omnes oppugnat. Non desunt etiam alii, qui regnum illud ambient, hinc, quantum est possibile, curabitur, ne talis eligatur, qui sit adversus caesari. Alioqui negotium his provinciis maritimis imperatoris daretur. Quicquid igitur ad eam rem avertendam pertinet, regina curabit. Quod si successerit ex animi 30 nostri sententia, facilior erit rerum tuarum tractatio. Ego quantum in me erit, nec spe praemii ulla, neque alias ulla ob rationes, quam quod tibi inservire ex animo cupiam, quandocumque tempus se praestiterit, non patiar, ut meum in te officium sis

484,19 curam] corr. ex curavi

484<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 484<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 449. Cap. 2.: George of Austria as Bishop of Brixen, Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen, and Erhard Müller. 484<sup>3</sup> Johan Weze. 484<sup>4</sup> King Christian II of Denmark. 484<sup>5</sup> King Frederick I of Denmark. 484<sup>6</sup> King Henry VIII.

desideraturus. Tuum igitur erit iubere, meum iussa capessere. Ioannem Stanshardum<sup>7</sup> admonui, ut meliores ad te daret litteras, dicit se plures dedisse. Ego quotquot per me dedit, omnes misi ad te cum meis. Quas, quia meae fuerunt redditae, credo non 35 periisse. Nunc quoque ipsius mitto unas, cum aliis his annexas.

[3.] De adventu Griti<sup>8</sup> nihil adhuc certi audimus. Testudineo gressu procedit. Vereor, ne haec mora aliquid pariat gravius. De Vespasiani a Zara responso, quid a Griti retulerit, nihil scripsisti. Ex eo sciri potest, quando ille venturus sit. Imbrahimi, ut dicitur, aut interitus aut captivitas non parum obesse potest regiis rebus. Vellem 40 eum salvum esse infra finem rerum Hungaricarum, et dum res regis firmari posset. Cornelius<sup>9</sup> non incidet fortasse in Gritum, etiam si ille iam in via est, et continget eum ad Turcarum imperatorem recta proficisci. Quod si fiet, licet et rebus regiis non esset admodum utile, tamen et meis non minimum obesset, quia miseram ad eum de rebus meis informationem, hac igitur consideratione ductus mitto ad te etiam signaturam 45 hanc, ut absente Cornelio, si interea Griti adveniret, iuxta eam meum cures negotium, pro quo habebis me ad omnia tua vota vicissim devinctum. Si quid est vel erit certi de Griti et de rebus aliis Hungaricis, rogo, fac me certiolem. Angliae regis matrimonium stat adhuc in priore statu. Et sententias et excommunicationem pontificis<sup>10</sup> parum curare videtur, in pessimum aliorum exemplum. Vale. 50

Bruxellae 24. Aprilis 1534.

485

Miklós Oláh to Sebestyén Pemfflinger  
Brussels, 1 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 413–414.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 495–496.

*In Hungarian:* DOBROSSY 2000, 169.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He is happy that Sebestyén Pemfflinger has arrived to his wife. The Queen is also better, but a month ago she had such a high fever that they were sincerely worried about her life. 2. He thanks him for occupying the Miskolctapolca abbey in his name once again, and he asks him to look after it. If possible, he should bring back the monks who had scattered, and he should provide food from the supplies of the Miskolctapolca parish and the Diósgyőr castle. If the monastery is uninhabitable, they should move to the Miskolc building of the abbey or to the parish. The most important thing is to continue with the services, they should not neglect them.

Nicolai Olai ad Sebastianum Pemfflingerum comitem Borsodiensem.

[1.] His diebus praeteritis redditae fuerunt mihi litterae tuae in Valkenstein<sup>1</sup> datae,<sup>2</sup> ex quibus intellexi te sanum et incolumem ex Dyosgieuur<sup>3</sup> e multis calami-

485,1 Pemfflingerum] O corr. ex Pemfflinger

484<sup>7</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 9. 484<sup>8</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 484<sup>9</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 484<sup>10</sup> Pope Clement VII. 485<sup>1</sup> Wolkenstein. 485<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 485<sup>3</sup> Diósgyőr.

tatibus et damnis ad carissimam coniugem<sup>4</sup> tuam venisse. Habeo gratias Deo, qui te  
5 sanum reduxerit. Nihil est gratius, quam intellexisse te bene valere. Ex Dei gratia  
regina nostra serenissima iam melius valet, sed fere ab uno mense diebus interpositis  
illa infirmitate Posoniensi et Altenburgensi sua pristina, intermixtis febribus adeo  
aegrotabat, ut timorem non parvum nobis incusserit vitae suae finiendae. Sed Deo  
ago gratias, qui eam sanam fecerit. Nos quoque omnes bene valemus et exspectamus  
10 avido animo pacem Hungaricam.

[2.] Habeo gratias tibi, qui abbatiam de Thapoltza rursus meo nomine occupari  
feceris, eamque possideas. Rogo te, cura eam illiusque bona ut tua propria et de-  
fende. Nihil enim ex meis ita meum esse duco, ut tecum non sit commune. Si fieri  
potest, reducas monachos metu dilapsos, ne divina negligantur. De victualibus eis  
15 necessariis interea provideri ex proventibus plebaniae de Myskoltz poterit, vel rogo  
te ex victualibus arcis Dyosgeuur usque ad novum frumentum et vinum, ex quibus id,  
quod eis nunc datur, postea excipe. Si monasterium per sacrilegum illum Bebek<sup>5</sup> adeo  
destructum est, ut habitare istic non possint, habet in Myskolcz abbatia domum. In qua  
vel etiam in domo plebani monachi habitare possunt, quo usque monasterium refici  
20 poterit aliquantisper. Et nihilominus in ecclesia parochiali Myskolchiensi monachi  
divina servitia debita monasterio continuare poterunt, interea dum illud reformabitur.  
Si magno beneficio me vis afficere, cura, ut servitia divina uno vel alio modo non  
negligantur, quo usque exire hinc potero. Viceplebanus ad me scripsit nihil. Cuperem,  
ut non perpetuo taceret, damnum alioqui patietur. De novitatibus mihi significatis  
25 habeo tibi gratias. Utinam iam pacem haberemus! Quam omnino spero, si rem bene  
intelligo futuram. Vale.

Bruxellae prima Maii 1534.

486

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 10 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 497–498.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 496–497.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 306.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Everyone is well, they are looking forward to Schepper's return, hopefully having succeeded. He should not forget about Oláh's affairs, the rest can wait until he returns.*

485,7 intermixtis] *corr. ex intermistis O corr. ex interruptis* 485,8 incusserit] *O corr. ex incusserat*  
485,9 fecerit] *O corr. ex fecerat* 485,21 poterunt] *corr. ex poterint* 485,23 Viceplebanus] *O del. ex*  
Viceplebanus Michel

485<sup>4</sup> Elisabeth von Puchheim. 485<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Bebek. On its antecedents, see Ep. 274; Ep. 372; and Ep. 462.

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Scepero suo salutem.

Quid multa a me exspectas? Tui omnes sunt sani. Tuum reditum felicem desiderant, fac igitur, ut rebus omnibus ex sententia caesaris et regis istic confectis revertare cum triumpho, measque res non negliges. De aliis rebus nunc non scribo, quia dum redieris ad aulam regis, singula intelliges. Mitto ad te cum praesentibus litteras uxoris<sup>1</sup> 5 tuae. Bene vale et mei sis memor.

Bruxellae decimo die Maii 1534.

487

Mark Lauwerijns to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 10 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 435–436.

*Published:* *Ἱστορίαι* 1875, 497–498.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*At many people's advice, he entrusted himself to a Gallic physician (or rather a scoundrel), as a result of whose treatment he has only gotten worse. Since he has been suffering from his internal hernia for a long time, and many people told him that this Gallic person had healed them, he looked him up. As a result of the treatment, he could not walk without a limp, and he was bedridden for five weeks; that is when he realized that he had become the victim of a fraud. Since he was not cured, he did not pay him. He will return to Bruges tomorrow, from where he has been away for two months; he should write to him what he knows about Cornelis de Schepper.*

Idem Marcus Laurinus Nicolao Olao.

Magnifice Domine Olae! Quod a meo discessu a Bruxella ex me nil audiveris, miraberis, scio certe.<sup>1</sup> In causa fuit meus diuturnus ex malo, quo laboravi, decubitus. Consilio quorundam submisi me curae chirurgi Galli et vere nebulonis, qui ex multis et magnis pollicitis nil praestitit. Immo in peiore me collocavit statu, ubi prius sine 5 molestia agerem, quae collibisset in omni genere profectionis curru, equo videlicet, aut alio quovis labore, nunc ne gressum quidem et illum lentum habere possum sine dolore et metu maioris mali. Laboravi multis annis hernia intestinali, quam Graeci euterocelen appellant; quaesivi curam, commendatus mihi erat hic Gallus, ut qui certo me posset pristinae integritati restituere. Nec falleret me, qui alios plures 10 eodem curavisset malo, sunt ostensi aliquot, cum quibus locutus fui, credebant se, ut dixerunt, curatos. Ego consultis amicis eadem spe conieci me in illius manus, perpeusus sum taediosum decubitus quinque ebdomadatum, non sine gravi tormento et vix tollerabili. Ita mihi construxerat et compresserat inguen, ne delaberentur ex solito intestina in scrotum aut osceon; cum permisisset deambulationem et gressum, 15 ne unum quidem pedem movere poteram sine grandi claudicatione, quod cum turpe

487,1 Idem] *O add.* 487,10 pristinae] *corr.* ex pristini 487,14 delaberentur] *corr.* ex delaborentur

486<sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 487<sup>1</sup> Oláh actually knew about Lauwerijns' illness, see Oláh's letter to Schepper Ep. 483.

cernerem et non sine verecundia paterer, dissolvi modiuscule ligaculum, deciderant  
ex motu continuo, ut prius, intestina. Rursusque ostenderat se malum, meque in  
impostoris manus reposuisse indicaverat. Quod nunc a triduo per meum ministrum  
20 curavi, meo nomine valedici illi. Et cum non acceperim sanitatis atque pristinae  
integritati resitutionem, ille quoque nullam acciperet pecuniam. Interea hominem non  
vidi, utinam nunquam vidissem.

Nolui omittere, Domine Olae Magnifice, quin meas fortunas Tuae Dominationi  
cognitas facerem, priusquam in Flandriam demigrarem, a qua nunc ad bimestre abfui.  
25 Nec interea quicquam de domino Cornelio<sup>2</sup> nostro, communi amico audivi. Si quid  
habueris, rogo, fac nos participes, die crastina abeo in Flandriam Brugas, ubi si quid  
dignum percepero, ut scias, curabo iuvante Deo optimo maximo, qui Tuam Dignitatem  
perpetuo a malis servare dignetur.

Antverpiae 10. Maii 1534.

<sup>479</sup>488

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 21 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 198–199.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 498–499.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He is responding to Oláh's letter: he is happy to hear that they welcomed Candiano; he is asking him to make  
sure his horse does not go missing along with Monbelli, and Francesco II Sforza also sends his greetings. 2. The  
Italian and French affairs are calm, but it is feared that Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse will start a Lutheran  
feud with King Ferdinand I and threaten the Württemberg principality. Sforza, Antonio de Leyva, and Jacobus  
a Flandira have all warned Emperor Charles V to help his younger brother. Emperor Charles V has moved the  
troops from Koroni to Sicily and left the city under Turkish sovereignty. He is asking Oláh to inform him about  
the Hungarian affairs.

Camillus Gilinus Nicolao Olao secretario Mariae salutem.

[1.] Ex litteris tuis, quam<sup>1</sup> mihi Idibus Aprilis dedisti, Candianum<sup>2</sup> ducis mei medi-  
cum tandem istuc pervenisse intellexi, quod certe mihi gratissimum fuit. Di faciant, ut  
eius curatura reginae nostrae valetudo melior indies fiat! Praeter litteras tuas is ad nos  
5 scripsit, quam libenti animo, quam nitide et prolixè hominem acceperitis. Innatus iste  
regius animus abunde prae se fert, quantum omni virtute et munificentia inter ceteros  
splendeat. Quod ad equum meum attinet, operam dabis, ne ex occasu Monbelli et ipse  
nafragium faciat, apud quem pro 4 argenteis vasculis aureos LX deposui. Quare, ne  
simul pereant una cum Camiliano et Bannisio,<sup>3</sup> curabis, ex procuratione quadam vobis

487,25 amico] *del. ex amico quicquam*

487<sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 488<sup>1</sup> Ep. 479. 488<sup>2</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 488<sup>3</sup> Probably Jakob Radich de  
Bannisis the Younger, nephew of the former Imperial Secretary and Canon of Trento, see HEFNER 1857, 96.



omnibus ius tradidi, quo sine negotio omnia mea recuperare possetis. De globo non 10  
est, quod ad te scribam, nosti hominum impudentiam, et quam perfidiose cum alienis  
semper transigant, si cum praeter conventum inpendes, ab haeredibus Monbelli ex  
illa pecunia accipies, quam pro arrhabone<sup>4</sup> vasorum causa reliqui. Ducem<sup>5</sup> nomine tuo  
salutavi, agit tibi gratias, et si qua in re bonam operam tibi navare poterit, cognosces  
hominem amicitia tua dignissimum et tui amantissimum. 15

[2.] Res Itala nunc mire quiescit, nec Gallum veremur, a Germanis valde suspensi  
sumus, aiunt enim Lantgravium<sup>6</sup> Lutheranam faecem in Romanorum regem sollicita-  
turum et Vitenbergensi Ducatui imminere, quae vobis, si vera sunt, iamdiu cognita  
esse deberent. Caesar a duce meo, item Antonio a Leyva<sup>7</sup> et Prato,<sup>8</sup> per dispositos  
equos monitus est, ut fratri subveniat, pecuniam et quam expeditissimam curet, hoc 20  
si praestiterit, brevi scies. Praesidium, quod Coronii nomine caesaris erat, in Siciliam  
traiecit, urbemque in Turcae potestate reliquit. Mirantur omnia caesaris servitia a  
Romanorum rege nihil intelligere; quid cum Turca ipso de Pannoniis transactum sit,  
tu, si quid habes, fac, ut intelligam. Serenissimae reginae dominae, dominae nostrae  
clementissimae manus meo nomine osculaberis, cui semper omnia nova Italica per 25  
litteras ducis mittentur. Vale, Olae Doctissime, et Gilinum tuum mutuo ama.

Ex Mediolano XII. Kalendas Iunias 1534.

489<sub>493</sub>

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 29 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 215–217.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 499–501.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Why is Oláh silent, why is he keeping his joy a secret? A Benedictine monk has arrived to him, who claims that Erasmus of Rotterdam is in Brussels with the Queen, and that they had traveled together from Cologne. He is afraid that the monk was lying, so he does not dare believe this news (which he really wishes was true) until Oláh or someone else confirms it. If it is true, he should savor his happiness, but then he should not forget about his friends, either. 2. He cannot begin to say how sorry he is to hear that due to his illness Jakob Jespersen has left Oláh's service. He had already seen the signs when he visited him last year, and he was unfortunately right. But he does not want Oláh to stop his Greek studies, least because according to Buccio (with whom Oláh had recently had breakfast), Oláh has already advanced in his Greek studies, and this should not go to waste because it is such patrons who can take on the fight against barbarism. 3. He asks him to try to intercede for Jean Molinier, to lessen his punishment. He cannot name a profane or religious work that cannot be found

488,11 impudentiam] *Olahus?* corr. ex impudetiam 488,12 inpendes] *O* corr. ex impedes 488,13 arrhabone] corr. ex arabone

488<sup>4</sup> arrhabo -onis m 'deposit'. 488<sup>5</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 488<sup>6</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. 488<sup>7</sup> Antonio de Leyva (1480–1536) was Duke of Terranova and Prince of Ascoli. He was Commander-in-chief of the imperial army in the Duchy of Milan, and after the death of Francesco II Sforza, he became Governor of Milan under Emperor Charles V. 488<sup>8</sup> Jacobus a Flandria.

in Molinier's library; Oláh should trust that he would not speak up for a youth who is not worthy of it, but Molinier deserves Oláh's support. Even if he cannot help him, he would like for Molinier to know that he has now put in a word for him with Oláh.

Levinus Ammonius Carthusianus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario Mariae salutem.

[1.] Quonam usque siles, mi Olahe, εἴτ' οὐ μεταδιδώσεις τοῖς φίλοις τῆς χαρᾶς?<sup>1</sup> Hodie monachus<sup>2</sup> apud nos quispiam Benedictinus, ni fallor, fuit, qui nuntium nobis exoptatissimum, et qualem audire iamdiu desideravimus, attulit, esse Erasmum nostrum Bruxellae apud reginam. Quod ipsum quo facilius, magisque pronis auribus admitteremus, ait, se obiter dum Colonia Agrippina<sup>3</sup> huc venit, comitem aliquantisper Erasmo fuisse. Quid igitur? Tune author es mihi, ut hoc credam? An (ut fere habet) vanus ille monachus fuit? Scio fieri solere, ut nonnulli dum sperant sese splendidius accipi posse, afferant novi nonnihil, quod gratum fore credant hospitibus. Sciunt plerique permultos hic esse, qui reditum Erasmi valde desiderent, nec illud ignorant facile persuaderi posse, quod in primis velis esse verissimum. Quid enim citius persuadeatur, quam id quod maxime factum cupias? Equidem fateor, ut nihil magis verum esse velim, quam quod ille dixit, ita dicentis persona mihi suspecta est. Nec enim me fugit, quos eiusmodi larvae ludos edant plerumque, quorum maleficio fit, ut monachorum professio hoc aevi audiat pessime. Iniquissime quidem illud, ut paucorum sutelae omnium faciant praeiudicium, sed tamen ea est hominum temeritas, ut communem esse credant cunctorum culpam, si quid unus aut alter οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς<sup>4</sup> designarit. Quapropter animo fixum est, non prius credere, quod magnopere verum esse velim, quam vel abs te, vel ab alio certior mihi nuntius advenerit. Interim tamen si verum ille dixit, οὐδεις φθόνος, ὄναιο σύγε ταύτης τῆς εὐδαιμονίας,<sup>5</sup> quam tibi plane gratulor. Novi, quam tenearis Erasmi desiderio, aut ut magis dicam proprie φιλήρω.<sup>6</sup> Exple tandem animum sitientem. Cumque satiatus fueris, si tamen unquam potest quispiam talis viri consuetudine satiari, memineris amicorum. Saltem meis illi verbis salutem dicas; atque haec quidem hactenus.

[2.] Vix credas, mi Olahe, quam me habeat male, quod ob morbum illum deterrimum Danus<sup>7</sup> ille coactus sit tuum deserere famulitium. Fateor tibi, quod verum est, cum anno superiore tecum me viseret, facies illa lucida insignem mihi morbum mox emersurum promittebat. Doleo tamen verum me vatem fuisse, per enim velim, ut Graecanicae linguae studii cursum minime intermitteres. Sed Buccius<sup>8</sup> meus ille, inquam, Carmelitanus, qui die divi Marci<sup>9</sup> istic tecum pransus est (si non hic quoque fallit) frigidam aspersionem. Ait enim nunc, si quando alias, maxime solitis incumbere studiis Olahum sine cortice, quod aiunt: nare cepisse, et vertendis Graecis in Latinum

489,8 Tune] corr. ex Tun' 489,22 φιλήρω] corr. ex φιλήρω

489,33 sine ... nare] Erasm. Adag. 742. IVIII,42. Sine cortice nabis. MYNORS 1989, 145.

489<sup>1</sup> 'and you do not share your joy with your friends'. 489<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 489<sup>3</sup> Cologne. 489<sup>4</sup> 'nothing healthy (= useful)'. 489<sup>5</sup> '(I have) no jealousy, you should enjoy this happiness'. 489<sup>6</sup> 'more of a friend'. 489<sup>7</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 489<sup>8</sup> Probably Pietro Buccio who wrote the *Prognosticon astrologicum ad annum Christi MDLVIII* in Ghent. 489<sup>9</sup> 25 April.

sermonem aliis atque aliis scriptoribus esse occupatum. Mirum dictu, quam cupiam  
illum hic esse minime vanum. Huiusmodi enim patronis res eget litteraria, quae 35  
ancipiti Marte adversus barbariem repullulare meditantem pugnat, sed bona me spes  
habet fore, ut adventus Erasmi nostri totam illam infelicium barbarorum phalangem  
in fugam vertat, prosternat, proterat. Quis enim barbarus coram tanto pollitioris  
litteraturae vindice stare possit? Immo ut verum fatear, non solum bonas humanasque  
litteras in illius adventum mihi videre videor exhilaratas esse, sed etiam sinceram 40  
illam germanamque theologiam caput attulisse.

[3.] Perge, quaeso, o noster Olahe, tuo studio bonas litteras animare, studioso-  
rumque omnium patronum agere! Si posses aliquid impetrare apud reginam, maxime  
velim meo affini domino Ioanni Molendino,<sup>10</sup> canonico Tornacensi adesses in hac  
gravissima exactione, ut quantum ad illum attinet, nonnihil mitigaretur. Meretur hoc 45  
illius eruditio minime vulgaris, meretur hoc indefatigabile omnium bonorum librorum  
veterum novorumque studium, denique meretur illius splendidissimae bibliothecae  
construendae molitio. Vix enim credo quippiam exstare tam in prophanis, quam sacris  
autoribus, cum nostratibus, tum peregrinis, quod in illa bibliotheca non reperias. Adde  
his erga omnes bonorum studiorum cultores peculiarem quendam propensumque 50  
favorem, quem metuo, ut nonnihil remittere cogatur, si per hanc exactionem nimis ad  
vivum non tam tondeatur, quam deglubatur. Non ago causam istorum grassorum, qui  
ut nihil boni noverunt, quod ad animi cultum pertineat, ita nihil aliud fere agunt, quam  
ut scortis, alea, potationibus, lusibus, pergraecationibus utcumque affluentem pecu-  
niam prodigant perdantque, quibus expedit, eam amputare occasionem, sed eruditi 55  
viri, et verae eruditionis studiosorum patroni causam ago. Indignum profecto fuerit,  
ut is una cum ceteris, quibus cum nihil commune habet praeter unam sodalitatem,  
in ordinem redigatur. Dignum vero tuo patrocinio, ut illi saltem nonnihil gratiae fiat.  
Quod ipsum, si vel non potes impetrare, vel etiam tentare non libet, cupio, ut resciscat  
ille me hanc epistolam ad te ea de causa dedisse. Est enim de me vir ille meritis optime. 60  
Neque tamen credas me hoc abs te contendere, velim, quasi ipso petente, nihil enim  
minus est, sed meapte sponte, et erga meum affinem iusta caritate me facere. Fretus  
necessitudine mutua, quam mihi tecum voluisti intercedere, non meo merito, sed tua  
comitate, hac de re interpellandum te duxi. Salutem, quam mihi per Buccium dici  
iussisti, magno cum fenore tibi reddo, precorque Christum, ut te quam diutissime 65  
servet incolumem. Panagath<sup>11</sup> salutem. Serenissimae reginae opto bonam firmamque  
valetudinem, vel tua (ut nihil aliud) causa, quam propemodum unus tam longe a  
natali solo peregre acturus es consecutus. Rursus bene valeat Tua Reverendissima  
Dominatio et meam boni consulat audaciam.

E Valleregia Carthusiana iuxta Gandavum 4. Kalendas Iunias 1534.

70

489 <sup>10</sup> Johannes de Molendino or Jean Molinier (documented 1501–1534) was a Canon of Tournai and corre-  
sponded with Erasmus of Rotterdam and Lieven van den Zande, see FARGE–BIETENHOLZ 1986. Until now,  
the last known information in the literature about him was from 29 May, 1534, but Lieven van den Zande  
writes in his letter of 7 July that Molinier arrived to him a few days before, see Ep. 498. 489 <sup>11</sup> Lieven Algoet.

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 31 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 388–389.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 501–502.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. *Ambrogio Candiano has returned, but he had such a good time at the court that he had forgotten about his friends, wife, and homeland, and he was received in such a cordial way that he can only talk about the Queen's greatness ever since. He will likely not even stay here but return to the Queen's service, which Francesco II Sforza also supports. He is happy to hear that the Queen is doing well.* 2. *He should send the globe to Candiano with Giacomo Fagnano, he will make sure it gets to Ghilino.* 2. *His lord (Sforza) was happy to receive Oláh's letter. If the Germans obey the emperor, good, if not, the emperor will not lack either advice or money. The Pope is suffering from gout and stomach-ache; and the Sultan set out on 11 June with 40,000 horsemen and two legions to aid Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha, who is said to have been driven out by the Persian army.*

Camillus Gilinus secretarius Francisci Sforciae ducis Mediolani Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Rediit Candianus<sup>1</sup> noster a regina et vobis omnibus adeo bene habitus, ut non solum amicorum, sed uxoris et patriae penitus sit oblitus. Hunc enim adeo prolixè accepistis, tanta humanitate hominem regina comprehendit, ut praeter istius animi magnitudinem, munificentiam et singularem prudentiam, quae in aliis principibus nostrae aetatis maxime desiderantur, nihil aliud loquatur. Quo fiet, ut nullo negotio ad nos posse redire putem, uxore tamen non reluctantem, cui valde emancipatum esse intelligo. Dux<sup>2</sup> et hortabitur ambos et coget, si licebit, ne reginae voluntati adversentur, quam pro numine suspicit et veneratur. Laetor hunc in reginae curatione comitem fortunam habuisse, faxint di, ut melior et valentior Indies evadat, hoc mihi praesertim nihil gratius atque iucundius esse poterit.

[2.] Reculas meas tibi cordi esse audio. Globus quamprimum absolutus erit, fac, Iacobo Fagnano<sup>3</sup> negotiatori Mediolanensi Antverpiam deferatur, is Candiano pollicitus est, se curaturum, ut ad me incolumis perveniat.

Dux meus tibi gratias agit, quod tantum sibi tribuas et tuas litteras syllabatim legit, huius fidem et diligentiam in tuis aut amicorum rebus frustra nunquam, mihi crede, implorabis. Si Germani principes caesaribus nostris in futurum obsequentiores erunt, bene illis erit, sin aliter, Deo nostro Hispaniensi nec consilium, nec belli nervus<sup>4</sup> deerit. Pontifex adhuc in lecto cubat ex podagra et stomacho laborans. Turca, ut Imbramo bassa<sup>5</sup> suppetias ferat, Constantinopoli castra movit tertio Iduum Iunii cum quadraginta millibus equitum et legionibus duabus. Duriores quippe apud Dalmatas

490,1 secretarius ... Mediolani ] *O add.* 490,21 Imbramo bassa ] *corr. ex* Imbramo basso

490,19 belli nervus ] *Cic. Philipp.* V,1,5.

490<sup>1</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 490<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 490<sup>3</sup> Giacomo Fagnano was a merchant from Milan, we only know him from this correspondence. 490<sup>4</sup> I.e. 'money'. 490<sup>5</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha.

rumores de eo pervenerant, scilicet Imbraimum a rege Persarum cum maiori parte copiarum esse profligatum et exercitus reliquias in quibusdam montium angustiis redactas. Haec si vera sunt, Hungariae ad vestram ditionem brevi adiungentur, reliqua 25 ex insertis litterarum exemplis accipies.

Serenissimae dominae reginae, dominae nostrae clementissimae, ut debemus, omnia bona optamus, cuius salus et mihi et bonis omnibus non minus cara est, quam ipsius ducis vita. Dominae Lucretiae Virgini<sup>6</sup> electissimae meis verbis plurimam salutem dices, item amicis omnibus. Principes mei recte valent et animi causa rusticantur, 30 cum ad regem proficiscar, te statim admonebo. Interim cura, ut valeas et me, ut facis, mutuo ama.

Mediolani pridie Kalendarum Sextilis 1534.

491

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 31 May 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 389.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 502–503.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. It is clear by now that the French are inciting Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha to cross over to Italy. In the meantime, Philipp I Landgrave of Hessen is scheming to hand Insubria over to the French. 2. The Emperor has made it clear that he will do anything for his brother's inviolability. The Helvetians have remained Catholic, the rest will leave the Emperor if King Francis I attacks them, and the Veneti, having heard of Hayreddin Hayreddin Pasha's campaign, have set up a fleet and appointed Vincenzo Cappello to lead it, who is familiar with sea affairs.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Ex litteris, quas baliolo, item Molamhesio<sup>1</sup> ad te dedi, quicquid principi meo cognita in ea die erant, tibi significari, quae vero postea intellexerimus, accipe. Iam satis constat Gallum<sup>2</sup> per certos homines Aenobarbum<sup>3</sup> pyratam apud Turcam sollicitare, ut magna classe comparata in Italiam transmittat. Item Lantgravium<sup>4</sup> summe 5 laborare, quo Germanicis rebus cum serenissimo rege Ferdinando compositis Gallo XII peditum et equitum tria millia, ex Barensi inter eos foedere tradat ad invadendam Insubriam<sup>5</sup> hanc nostram, et quae prius secreto agebantur, nunc palam nullo caesaris respectu aguntur. Utinam quae sceleritatis domus Austriacae sempiterni hostes quotidie moliuntur, tandem eo erumpant, ut illos, de quibus timere iure debemus, ob 10 oculos nobis semper versentur; navigabimus certe in vado.

[2.] Tabellarius regis, qui caesari nunciavit rem Virtenbergensem in desperatis esse, nudiusquartus rediit, de quo intelleximus maiestatem caesaream pro fratris inco-

491,1 Idem] *O add.*

490 <sup>6</sup>Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 491 <sup>1</sup>We do not know him more closely. 491 <sup>2</sup>King Francis I. 491 <sup>3</sup>Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 491 <sup>4</sup>Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. 491 <sup>5</sup>Insubria is an ancient region that corresponds to today's region of Lombardy.

lumitate et rem et sanguinem ipsum exposituram. Helvetiorum Arguli, qui religionem  
15 nostram auctam profitentur, in fide permanent; reliqui, si Gallus nos urgeret, a caesare  
deficerent, sed de eis vix timendum, cum intestinis seditionibus laborent. Veneti  
pro tuendis rebus suis cognita Aenobarbi expeditione contra Christianos triremos  
instruxerunt, ducem generalem navalis apparatus decreverunt Vincentium Capellam<sup>6</sup>  
20 virum in re maritima experientem nec contemnendum. Si quid interea succedet, dabo  
operam, ut quamprimum intelligas, tu vero tempore medio nomine meo serenissimae  
reginae dominae nostrae colendissimae manus et pedes deosculaberis et Lucretiae  
Virgini<sup>7</sup> rarissimae et castissimae me plurimum commenda, et aliquando ad nos de  
rebus Anglicis item vestris scribe. Item quid de globo meo et reculis meis Bannisius<sup>8</sup>  
25 decreverit. Vale, Amicorum Optime.  
Mediolano pridie Kalendas Sextilis anno Domini MDXXXIII.

492<sub>502</sub>

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Constantinople, 2 June 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 499–500.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 503–504.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 307.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He said goodbye to the Sultan today, who has very graciously sent him on his way. He will go to Hungary through Romanian land, he will have an entourage until Esztergom, punishable by death, no less: until Schepper lets him know that he has arrived safely, the members of his entourage are not safe, either. Lodovico Gritti has also left, he will go to Buda through Transylvania, then on to King Ferdinand I. He has confirmed twice what the Sultan promised last year in connection with restoring Queen Mary's dowry. He has not forgotten about Oláh, either, but he will write the rest from Germany, who knows who all will handle this letter.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Ego hodie valedixi caesari Turcarum, a quo mira cum benignitate sum dimissus.  
Venio per Vlachos, ut aiunt, per regnum Hungariae. Iussum est capitaneis omnibus  
et sansacho<sup>1</sup> Samandriae,<sup>2</sup> ut me salvum et laetum deducant ad Strigonium.<sup>3</sup> Neque  
5 de vita sua securi sint, donec a me litteras habuerint, quibus significem me sanum  
eo pervenisse. Ipse Turcarum caesar ore proprio dixit: “Etiam si mihi esses mortalis  
hostis, ego te inter brachia servorum meorum faciam portari laetum et ridentem usque  
in Strigonium, quia tu es servitor domini tui et facis ea, quae tibi sunt commissa.”

491,17 Christianos ] *del. ex* Christianos in

491<sup>6</sup> Vincenzo Cappello (1469–1541) was a Venetian nobleman and Admiral of the Venetian army, see OLIVIERI 1975. 491<sup>7</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 491<sup>8</sup> Jakob Radich de Bannisis the Younger. 492<sup>1</sup> Yahya Pashazade Mehmed Bey (†1548) was the son of Yahya Pasha. According to a list dated 1526, he was already Pasha of Smederevo at this time. He later became Pasha of Buda (1543–1548), see BARTA 1971, 292; GÉVAY 1841, 6; and ÎNBAȘI 2019, 528. 492<sup>2</sup> Smederevo. 492<sup>3</sup> Esztergom.

Egi ipsius maiestati gratias. Neque parum est quod mihi contigit, Deo sit laus et gloria. Illustris dominus Aloisius Gritti<sup>4</sup> valedixit similiter magno caesari venitque per Transsilvaniam Budam, deinde ad serenissimum regem Ferdinandum.

Abiturus est eo, quo ego, tempore. Ita quae anno superiore magnus caesar promisit, de restituenda scilicet dote serenissimae reginae Mariae, iterum nunc me admonente bis confirmavit. Rei Dominationis Vestrae non oblitus sum, nec obliviscar. Ampliora habituri estis ex me, cum in Germaniam pervenero, nam haud satis scio, per quorum manus hae sunt pertransiturae. Commenda me dominis et amicis omnibus, qui istic sunt, et maiestati reginali imprimis, domino duci Darscoth,<sup>5</sup> archiepiscopo Panormitano<sup>6</sup> aliisque. Commendo itidem Dominationis Vestrae familiam meam, ut eam consoleris. Et bene vale.

Datum Constantinopoli, quae et Bizantium die secundo mensis Iunii 1534. 20

472 481 489 **493**<sub>497</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Lieven van den Zande  
Brussels, 6 June 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 217–219.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 505–508.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 35–39.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He attributes his late answer to having spent the last 12 days hunting with the Queen around Leuven, and before that he was busy with his tasks at the court; this is the reason and not some kind of alienation because that will never happen. 2. He has received two, that is, three letters from Lieven van den Zande, he will respond to all of them now. There is no need for Lieven to thank him for the books, and he should not accuse himself of being ungrateful because he only thanked him much later. This is how it is done between friends: it does not cause joy to do harm, but we interpret a friend's every deed as good. 3. That Benedictine monk has indeed lied because Erasmus of Rotterdam has not left yet. He quotes from Erasmus' letter of 22 April, in which their mutual friend writes about his illness and worries, then he reassures him that he will notify Lieven if Erasmus gets there. 4. Jakob Jespersen has not left his service due to his illness: if he served him when he was healthy, it is only right that Oláh should look after him and his medical treatment. As far as his Greek studies are concerned, beside Jespersen's illness, it was also halted by his bureaucratic affairs, but he had only been at the beginner level anyway, as Buccius could also observe the other day. 5. The inquiry now being conducted against all church personnel is very strict and not in the Queen's competence but that of the financiers, i.e. bankers, so he cannot help Jean Molinier, no matter how much he wishes he could do so.

Nicolaus Olaus Levino Ammonio monacho Carthusiensi salutem.

[1.] Miraris, Ammoni Carissime, quod praeter meam naturam per hosce dies fuerim in respondendo negligentior. Non mireris, nam nisi me invitum occupationes primum meae quamplurimae, quibus fui iam a multis temporibus detentus, deinde absentia, per quam circum Lovanium in venationibus hos totos duodecim 5

492 <sup>4</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 492 <sup>5</sup> Philippe II de Croÿ. 492 <sup>6</sup> Jean II Carondelet.

dies praeteritos cum regina mea occupati fuimus, ab officio me scribendi parumper retraxissent, non commissem profecto, ut te tam suavem et mihi gratum amicum expectatione mei responsi tamdiu tenerem suspensum. Sed nosti nostras curialium, dico, occupationes, volebam dicere miserias tumultuosas, quibus potius tu id, quod a  
10 me cessatum hactenus fuit, ascribito velim, quam meo in te alieno animo. Qui dum spirabit, mea sponte non modo non alienabitur, sed, ut spero, cum aetate utriusque nostrum indies iam maturescente erga te augebitur.

[2.] Binas a te, immo ternas<sup>1</sup> (alteris enim veteres erant, quaedam inclusae) accepi litteras: alteras ultima, ni fallor, Aprilis, alteras hodie, dum e Lovanio reverteremur.  
15 Priores unus ex meis pueris acceperat, nescio, a quo tabellione incerto, quem ego non vidi. Has novissimas reddidit mihi Ioannes Langhius<sup>2</sup> a secretis Panormitani.<sup>3</sup> Nunc ad utrasque accipe.

Agis mihi gratias de libellis a me tibi dono missis, et purgas te, ne ingratitude te accusem, quod prius gratias non egeris. Inter τοὺς φίλους<sup>4</sup> non licet uti hac  
20 excusatione. Nam quae gratia agi debet amico, sponte cupienti amico gratificari, et alioqui vera ἡ φιλία<sup>5</sup> seu ἀγάπη,<sup>6</sup> ut Paulino utar verbo, ab amico neque expectat sibi referri gratiam, neque λογίζεται τὸ κακόν,<sup>7</sup> sed omnia, quae amicus facit, sive sileat, sive multis verborum utatur cumulis gratitudinem referentibus, in bonam interpretatur partem. Non igitur erat opus aut excusatione silentii aut gratiarum  
25 actione te apud me uti. Minima res est, pro qua gratus es. Accipe animum meum in te benevolum, non ipsa munuscula papiracea, quae parvam merentur gratiam. Amor et desiderium tum erga Erasmum nostrum mihi satis sunt comperta. Nam iam pridem ex tuis verbis coram cognovi, quo studio animique in illum sis affectione.

[3.] Scribis<sup>8</sup> quendam Benedictum ad te fuisse profectum, qui dixerit se comitem  
30 Erasmo ex Colonia Agrippina huc venienti fuisse, et laetaris illum iam esse apud reginam mihi que gratularis illius me iucundissima frui consuetudine. Utinam, mi Ammoni, ita sint omnia vera, quae monachi nonnulli malitiosi invidia, ut arbitror, potius quam vera ducti religione, in Erasmum soliti sunt debachari, quam id verum est, quod Benedictinus ille tibi de Erasmo narravit. Somniaverat fortasse se vidisse  
35 Erasmum. Nondum illum puto se itineri potuisse committere. Nam praemisisset aliquem, qui suum mihi adventum nuntiaret. Cuius animum ex his litterarum<sup>9</sup> suarum XXII. Aprilis ad me datarum fragmentis cognoscas: "Ad Kalendas Aprilis coepi non bene quidem, sed aliquanto minus male habere, et in bonam spem erectus sum. At post dies octo gravissimis cruciatibus invasit sinistrum capitis et colli latus cum humero et brachio, qui sic illi haeret, ut videatur nusquam abiturus. Quinque mensibus non extuleram pedem domo. Ipso die Paschae<sup>10</sup> sacrificavi in cubiculo. Me a reditu monachorum intemperies non deterrerent, nisi mihi metuerem a paralyysi. Quod si

493,11 non] *O add.* 493,20 debet] *O corr. ex debetur* 493,29 Scribis] *corr. ex Scribes* 493,35 committere] *O corr. ex commisisse*

493,22 λογίζεται ... κακόν] 1Cor 13:6.

493<sup>1</sup> Probably Ep. 472; Ep. 481; and Ep. 489. 493<sup>2</sup> John de Lange. 493<sup>3</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 493<sup>4</sup> '(Among) friends'. 493<sup>5</sup> 'friendship'. 493<sup>6</sup> 'love'. 493<sup>7</sup> 'it takes no pleasure in wrongdoing'. 493<sup>8</sup> Ep. 489. Cap. 1. 493<sup>9</sup> Ep. 482. 493<sup>10</sup> 5 April.



iter esset quattuor aut quinque dierum, vel lectita curarem me istic deportandum. Arguerent, inquis, te inconstatae,<sup>11</sup> utinam hoc crimen in me haereret. Marchio nihil faciet, Hellenio<sup>12</sup> favet funigeris et iam volumina distracta sunt. Quamquam 45 ille stolidus liber haud multum officiet meo nomini, hic timeo graviora a sectarum fautoribus, qui sibi persuadent Erasmus in mora esse, quo minus impune regnent ubique. Lutherus epistolam emisit simpliciter furiosam, nec aliud spirantem, quam odium parricidiale. De tuo in me studio, Olahe Carissime, profecto memorem mones, nec sum ignarus, quot et quantis nominibus tibi debeam. Id utinam officio quopiam 50 insigni queam declarare! Levinus<sup>13</sup> significat te parare reditum in Hungariam, quod ut tibi precor, quam felicissimum esse, ita mihi futurum est incommodum, sive redeo, sive non redeo. τηλοῦ φίλοι ναίοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φίλοι<sup>14</sup> Vix haec potui scribere prae cruciatu. Crede mihi nullis hortamentis opus est ad reditum. Non deero occasione.<sup>15</sup> Non igitur adhuc venit, neque animum abiecit redeundi, nisi eum inique et praeter 55 ullam iustam rationem acrius impeterent aetatis suae iam senilis inimici capitales. Si venerit, vel aliquid ab eo certi habuero, faciam, ut scias.

[4.] Novi enim te virtutis illius mecum una esse amantem. Danus,<sup>15</sup> si morbus illius pateretur, non desereret meum servitium. Laborat τῆ ὕδρωπι<sup>16</sup> morbo pestifero, provisum est a me illi et de hospitio et de medicis aliisque necessariis rebus. Nec 60 sinam eum egere, cum sanus mihi servierit. Studium meum Graecanicum adeo mihi interruptum est ipsius morbo et meis aliis non modo aulae huius mihi molestis negotiis, sed etiam tum regis mei Ferdinandi, tum patriae meae rebus publicis et meis quoque privatis in Hungaria turbatis, ut parum nunc promoveam. Buccius<sup>17</sup> noster fuit apud me nuper. Ostenderam ei quaedam a me versa e Graeco exercitii gratia. Ea 65 tamen talia sunt, qualia exspectare possunt a tirone.

[5.] Exactio illa,<sup>18</sup> qua nunc omnes ecclesiastici huius regionis urgentur, tam arcta est, difficilis et ἀνεὺ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης,<sup>19</sup> ut nemini adhuc crediderim, vel minimam ex ea partem esse relaxatam etiam ad quorumvis magnatum preces. Res agitur per 70 financiarios, non per reginam, hi quales sint, puto te audivisse. Accipere dicuntur libentius ab aliis quam dare, hos urgent οἱ τραπεζίται,<sup>20</sup> qui iam olim huius exactionis gratia argentum crediderunt ad caesaris negotia. Quibus haec exactio est designata, si igitur nec ego, nec alii possunt Molendino<sup>21</sup> nostro, qui tamen apud me nec fuit, nec eum vidi hac in re gratificari, bono accipe animo. Nihil est, quod tum pro te, tum pro eo, qui dum Tornaci cum caesare essemus, nonnulla humanitatis in me praestitit 75 officia, non libenter essem obiturus, si in qua re eius voluntati satisfacere possem.

493,75 nonnulla ] *O corr. ex nonnihil* 493,76 officia ] *O corr. ex officii*

493<sup>11</sup> Inserted after Erasmus' letter. Without these words the sentence does not make sense. 493<sup>12</sup> Michaël Hillen von Hoochstraaten. 493<sup>13</sup> Lieven Algoet. 493<sup>14</sup> 'friends who love far away are not friends'. Oláh omitted one sentence of Erasmus' letter here. 493<sup>15</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 493<sup>16</sup> 'from dropsy'. 493<sup>17</sup> See Ep. 489. Cap. 2. Probably Pietro Buccio. 493<sup>18</sup> Ep. 489. Cap. 3. 493<sup>19</sup> 'ruthless'. 493<sup>20</sup> 'bankers'. 493<sup>21</sup> Jean Molinier.

Mitto ad te Erasmi *De praeparatione ad mortem*<sup>22</sup> et eiusdem τὴν ἀπολογία<sup>23</sup> adversus epistolam Lutheri, ut cum adhuc praesens alloqui Desiderium non possis, eius legendo opera cum illo confabulari videare. Vale et me ama.  
80 Bruxellae sexta Iunii anno 1534.

494

Guilhelmus van den Steene to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 7 June 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 222–223.

*Published:* *Ἰσολύι* 1875, 509–511.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. It may seem improper and impolite for a commoner who lacks erudition to turn to such a highly regarded and outstanding person, but he hopes that Oláh's wisdom will interpret it kindly because everyone admires and respects him, the cultivator of literature. Maybe he will forgive him the impropriety of writing to him because several of their mutual friends (Conrad Wackers, Mark Lauwerijns, Cornelis de Schepper) have encouraged him to do so. 2. He also has some time now to visit him because he published a booklet the other day, which he wishes to give to him as a gift. If he accepts it, he would also like to send him a longer one, which he is now writing stuck inside four walls; once he has licked it into shape, he would like to dedicate it to Oláh.

Guilhelmus Lapidanus monachus Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi secretario et consiliario reginae salutem.

[1.] Videbitur fortassis ipsa fronte, Generosissime Domine, id ex rusticana quaedam incivilitate profectum, quod ego abiectus homuncio ex infima hominum fere  
5 proiectus, eruditionis sane nullius, audeam indoctas has meas nenas transmittere ad virum tantum, tamque gravem, tamque rara doctrina insignem. Verum id unum in hanc partem interpretabitur tua prudentia me in hanc prorupisse audaciam, non quidem ex instinctu meae naturae, quae mihi inutilem illum pudorem, quem Graeci  
10 δῦσωπίαν<sup>1</sup> vocant, potius reddidit familiarem, sed in hunc ausum me impulit illustris ille ac illibatus tui animi candor, tua non vulgaris et eruditio et prudentia, quam non vulgus litteratorum modo, sed universi litterarum antistites admirantur et adorant, denique tuus singularis tum in litteras, tum in litterarum cultores favor ac propensio, quae me tandem in eum erexit animum, ut non trepidem ego tametsi rurestris ac prorsus serpens humi adrepere ad Tuam Clementiam, non quidem mihi usque adeo  
15 amplum est ad te scribendi argumentum, neque etiam si mihi id suppeteret, adeo foret ex honore meo meipsum ingerere citra iussionem colloquio tanti viri. Sed veniam, obsecro, dabis, si hac in parte quippiam incivilitatis a me commissum fuerit, imputans id potius tuo candori incorrupto, qui plerosque alliciat, immo ut verius dicam, trahat

493,77 Erasmi ] *corr. ex Erasmus* 494,9 δῦσωπίαν ] *corr. ex δημοσίαν*

493<sup>22</sup> This book was published in Basel in 1534. 493<sup>23</sup> 'his defence'. 494<sup>1</sup> 'coyness, exaggerated modesty'. Plutarch wrote an essay on δῦσωπία (*vitiosus pudor* in Latin), Gilhhelmus van den Steene is probably referring to this.

ad tui accessum, quemadmodum nonnunquam in nostris conventiculis relatum est a  
Conrado Goclenio,<sup>2</sup> a domino decano sancti Donatiani<sup>3</sup> viro sane non inter mininos 20  
habendo, a domino Scepperio,<sup>4</sup> quo aliquando usus sum Lovanii familiariter, et aliis  
viris et splendore natalium conspicuis et omnis eruditionis maecenatibus. Itaque  
factum est, ut quamvis his viris nullo prorsus modo veniam conferendus tua tamen  
benevolentia et facilitate tractus, qua et illi crediderim, has meas litterulas tuo ministro  
Deo dato, nam is mihi opportunus occurrit, alioqui ipse Lovanii Dominationi Tuae 25  
compellassem, nisi id vetuisset pudor ingenitus.

[2.] Est nihilominus, quod Tuae Dominationi hoc temporis articulo velim significa-  
tum. Edidi paucis ab hinc diebus libellulum quendam *De non timenda morte*,<sup>5</sup> de cuius  
praeparatione edito meo libello et ipsum Erasmum protulisse in lucem<sup>6</sup> non ignoras.  
Illum loco munusculi tametsi exigui ac indigni tua dignitate mitto iterum atque iterum 30  
rogans atque obtestans, ut animo, quo es praeditus, ingenio ac liberali, quicquid  
est donarii, accipias spectans ad modum Artaxerxis Persarum regis non tam doni  
magnitudinem, quam pronum donantis affectum. Quod si id non graveris efficere,  
neque offendant te vilitas ipsius muneris, uberiora propediem sum transmissurus ad  
Tuam Clementiam. Parturio enim intra privatos parietes quaedam in sacris litteris, 35  
quae postea quam lambendo ac relambendo acceperint formam, sum emissurus in  
communem hominum utilitatem, ac (si placeret Tuae Prudentiae) dedicaturus tuo no-  
mine, ut nimirum tui tam praeclari nominis titulus velut fax quaedam praelucens rem  
per se obscuram illustraret ac commendaret, obnixè precor, ut Lapidanum religiosum  
apud dominum Guninocum Bergis habeat semper sibi commendatum. Raptim. 40

Lovanii Dominica prima post Sacramenti 1534.

495

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 15 June 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 390–391.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 508.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He has sent word through Philippe de Souvastre about what has happened, and Francesco II Sforza is warning the Queen. The Württemberg affairs are worrisome, especially because King Ferdinand I has written to Antonio de Leyva that King Francis I is trying to attack Milan with the troops of Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse, and Ulrich Duke of Württemberg. King Francis I is also encouraging the Helvetians to join them. An epidemic is laying waste to the Parma field, and Cagnini is especially supported by the Pope. Schepper has written to*

494,30 Illum] *corr. ex Ellum*

494,36 quam ... formam] Cf. Suetonius *Vita Vergilii*: "carmen se more ursae parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere."

494<sup>2</sup> Conrad Wackers. 494<sup>3</sup> Mark Lauwerijns. 494<sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 494<sup>5</sup> Van den Steene's book was published by Rutger Ressen on 27 September, 1533, according to the explicit. 494<sup>6</sup> Erasmus' *De praeparatione ad mortem* was published in January 1534, see Ep. 445. Cap. 1.

*Souvastre and Sforza that he is planning to go on a long trip to the Turks. He recommends his globe and his affairs to Oláh's attention. Sforza has appointed Ghilino to travel to King Ferdinand I, he will let him know when he will be arriving.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Per balium reginae nostrae pincernam,<sup>1</sup> quae in eam usque diem habebamus, per litteras meas tibi significavi, quae praeterea secuta sunt in praesentiarum, dux<sup>2</sup> maiestatem reginae nostrae monet. Res Vertenbergensis nos mire sollicitat, adde, quod  
5 Romanorum rex Leynae<sup>3</sup> imperatori exercitus totius Italici foederis scribit Gallum<sup>4</sup> manibus et pedibus conari, ut omnes illas copias, quas Lantgravius<sup>5</sup> et Uldericus<sup>6</sup> contraxerunt, in Italiam descendant, ad oppugnandum Mediolanensem ducatum; quid casurum sit, adhuc ignoramus, satis constat eundem Gallum Helvetios magnis conditionibus propositis ad expeditionem hanc hortari; brevi intelligemus, si quid in  
10 nos gravius decernet. Apud Insubres tranquilla omnia, in agro Parmensi, qui nunc per summum pontificem<sup>7</sup> possidetur, Pallavicini et Cagnini contagio male habetur. Pontifex noster aequissimus Cagnini rebus studiose favet, si quid praeterea succedet, te monebo. Cornelius Scepperus ex Epidauro ducem et Soatram<sup>8</sup> certiozem fecit, magnis se itineribus ad Turcam festinare, melioraque operare. Haec Scepperus, cuius  
15 votis di obsecudent. Globum meum resque meas omnes tibi summo pere commendo. Dux me ad regem Romanum<sup>9</sup> designavit, cum eo proficiscar, te admonebo. Interim serenissimae reginae dominae, dominae nostrae clementissimae pedes meo nomine deosculabis, cuius bonam valetudinem dux meus et nos omnes tantum desideramus, quantum debemus, isti enim omnia debemus. Vale, Olae Doctissime, et me, ut facis,  
20 ama.

Mediolano XV. Iunii 1534.

<sup>482</sup>496

Miklós Oláh to Erasmus of Rotterdam  
Brussels, 25 June 1534

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* Germany, Augsburg.

*ms. II:* MNL OL P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23. p. 551–552.

*In Dutch:* BEJCYZ 2020, 318–319.

*In English:* ESTES–DALZELL 2021, 19–20.

*In Hungarian:* V. KOVÁCS 1971, 677–678.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 137–138.

*In Slovakian:* ŠKOVIERA 2008, 118–119.

*Notes:* Ms. I was the original, autograph version throughout, but it has been lost.

Ms. II (a letter from Oláh's collection) seems to represent an earlier version, and it contains autograph emendations.

495<sup>1</sup> Philippe de Souvastre. 495<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 495<sup>3</sup> Antonio de Leyva. 495<sup>4</sup> King Francis I. 495<sup>5</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. 495<sup>6</sup> Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg (1487–1550). 495<sup>7</sup> Pope Clement VII. 495<sup>8</sup> Philippe de Souvastre. 495<sup>9</sup> I.e. Romanorum.

1. He is briefly responding to his letter of 22 April, lest he misses the courier. Thomas More is said to still be in captivity, and John Fisher is not safe, either. Erasmus' health worries him, he would be happy if he returned. According to Erasmus, the marquess will not do anything against Michaël Hillen von Hoochstraaten; but Erasmus is afraid of the monks, too. Oláh does not understand what he should be afraid of, only the Lutherans are to be feared. 2. There is no need to thank for his services for Erasmus. Oláh will go where fate calls him, but he really wishes he were home, his brothers, friends, and others are looking forward to welcoming him back home, but the situation is quite turbulent there now.

Nicolai Olai ad Desyderium Erasmus Roterodamum.

[1.] Salutem plurimam! Litteras, quas ad me XXII. Aprilis dedisti,<sup>1</sup> XII. Maii praeteriti accepi. Nuntium hunc nolui sine meis litteris ad te proficisci. Ad litteras igitur tuas breviter accipe.

Angliae regis<sup>2</sup> res scribis te ex parte credere. At credes brevi in omnibus. Morus<sup>3</sup> adhuc captus esse dicitur cum Rofensi,<sup>4</sup> non sine periculo, ut aiunt. Valetudo tua est mihi molestissima, cuperem, ut bene valeres et redires. Marchionem<sup>5</sup> nihil facturum scribis Hillenio.<sup>6</sup> Times monachos. Si factus es tam timidus, et in eo constans esse pergis, non facile tibi hunc exhaurire possum timorem, nihil tamen video, quod tibi hic magnopere esset timendum. Si vereris obtreccationes hominum nostrae aetatis, 10 ab his nec tu, nec alii, dum vivunt, liberi esse possunt. Hic parum, istic ubi nunc es existimo plurimum tibi posse (quod absit) imminere mali, si praesentium temporum conditionem consideraveris. Cave igitur milites Luteranos, quorum fortasse rabies ad ea usque loca, ubi nunc agis, (di malum hoc prohibeant) brevi penetrabunt.

[2.] Meum in te officium, de quo scribis, tale est, ut nihil a te aliud exigat, quam 15 testimonium tui erga me amoris et utque Olaum tuum ames. Reditum meum in Hungariam scribis tibi incommodum futurum, sive huc redeas, sive non. Quocumque me fata vocent, tuum, quem nosti, omnibus in locis habebis Olaum. Utinam, mi Erasme, salvis rebus reverti possem, nihil eo esset mihi iucundius. Patria, fratres, amici et alii necessitudine intima mihi iuncti me hortantur, ut redeam. Sed id quam 20 commode nunc facere possim, rebus non modo Hungaricis et publicis et meis quoque privatis, sed etiam aliis regiis, non sine magno malo turbatis, vix statuere statis possum, huius rei causa temporari servandum esse arbitror. Apud reginam meam, duce Arscoli,<sup>7</sup> Panormitanum<sup>8</sup> fui, tibi vice epistolae et quae voluisti, eis retuli. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

25

496,2 Salutem plurimam! ] *ms. II. om.* 496,5 res ] *ms. II. actiones* 496,6 Rofensi ] *ms. II. Roffensi* 496,7 molestissima ] *ms. II. ingratissima* 496,8 monachos ] *ms. II. funigeros* 496,8 eo ] *ms. II. hoc timore* 496,9 pergis ] *ms. II. perges* 496,9 hunc ] *ms. II. eum O corr. ex hinc* 496,9 timorem ] *ms. II. om.* 496,9–10 tibi hic ] *ms. II. hic tibi* 496,10 vereris ] *ms. II. times* 496,11 his ] *ms. II. eis* 496,11 nunc ] *ms. II. om.* 496,12 existimo plurimum ] *ms. II. plurimum existimo* 496,12 posse (quod absit) ] *ms. II. om.* 496,13 consideraveris ] *ms. II. consideraris* 496,13 Luteranos ] *ms. II. Lutheranos* 496,14 nunc ... brevi ] *ms. II. es, di id prohibeant* 496,15 a te aliud ] *ms. II. aliud a te* 496,16 utque ] *ms. II. ut* 496,18 omnibus in locis ] *ms. II. om.* 496,19–20 fratres, amici et alii ] *ms. II. amici, fratres* 496,20 necessitudine ] *ms. II. et necessitudine* 496,20 intima ] *ms. II. om.* 496,22 sine magno malo ] *ms. II. minimum* 496,22 statuere statis ] *ms. II. statis statuere*

496<sup>1</sup> Ep. 482. 496<sup>2</sup> King Henry VIII. 496<sup>3</sup> Thomas More. 496<sup>4</sup> John Fisher. 496<sup>5</sup> William van den Werwe. 496<sup>6</sup> Michaël Hillen von Hoochstraaten. 496<sup>7</sup> Philippe II de Croy. 496<sup>8</sup> Jean II Carondelet.

Bruxellae 25. Iunii 1534.

Tuus, ut nosti.

Olaus etc.

[On the outer side:] Excellentissimo viro domino Erasmo Roterodamo, sacrae theologiae doctori etc., domino et amico praecipuo et observandissimo.

<sup>493</sup>497

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 2 July 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 219–220.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 511–512.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 39–41.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He is very grateful that Oláh has sent him two of Erasmus of Rotterdam's works, he cannot thank him enough. 2. He has a bad feeling that while the Benedictine monk lied to him that he had met Erasmus, Erasmus is held captive by his illness; he was quite stricken by the lines of Erasmus Oláh quoted to him. 3. He has accepted Oláh's explanation why he cannot help Jean Molinier, although he would really deserve it. 4. He is happy to hear that Oláh is supporting Jakob Jespersen during his illness and is paying for his treatment; he will receive his reward from Christ for this. 5. While he is writing this, Molinier has arrived and sends many regards to Oláh. Molinier does not know that van den Zande has tried to put in a word for him, he will learn about it from Oláh. He wanted to write more, but a courier is available now, and he has also started conversing with Molinier.

Levinus Ammonius monachus Carthusiensis Nicolao Olao secretario.

- [1.] Dignus es profecto, Heros Clarissime, quem aeterno prosequar amore, non solum, quod hosce libellos<sup>1</sup> Erasmi mihi plane gratissimos dono mihi dederis, sed etiam quod istum potius animum me cupias expendere, eumque penitius amplecti.
- 5 Quod ut faciam, et suadet honestas et necessitudo cogit. Non possum tamen etiam verbis non agere gratias. Sit sane verum, non requirit animus suapte sponte propensus in benignitatem huiusmodi verborum officia, sed par est tamen, ut gratus animus beneficium collatum libenter agnoscat, si quando praeter gratum sermonem rependere nihil potest.
- 10 [2.] Vehementer male me habet, quod et Benedictinus<sup>2</sup> ille vanus apud nos fuit, inani cupiens nos oblectare mendacio, et quod morbus alius subinde atque alius invadens Erasmus nostrum a reditu remoratur. Metuo enim ne omnino illic illum detineat. Non leviter enim pupugit animum meum illud in ipsius epistola:<sup>3</sup> "sive redeo, sive non redeo." Sed boni consulendum, quicquid mutari non potest.

496,27–28 Tuus ... etc.] *ms. II. om.*

496,29–30 Excellentissimo ... observandissimo.] *ms. II. om.*

497<sup>1</sup> *De praeparatione ad mortem* and *Purgatio adversus epistolam Lutheri*, see Ep. 493. Cap. 5. 497<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. See Ep. 489. Cap. 1. 497<sup>3</sup> Ep. 482.

[3.] Accipio plane tuam excusationem in Molendini<sup>4</sup> nostri negotio, quamquam 15  
alioqui cupio vehementer illi bene consultum. Quod vero tam benigniter offers ani-  
mum bene merendi promptum, idque in omnem prorsus occasionem, agnosco sane  
candorem eximum, sed ista tamen magnificentia dignissimum. Cui tantum abest, ut  
paria facere possim, quod tamen, nisi improbum foret optare, pervelim, ut vix agenda  
gratiae iam locus supersit, nimirum quod pro tanta benignitatis accumulatione, tam 20  
levi gratiarum actionis munere defungi sit pudor. Nec tamen abiicio, nec recuso, quod  
offers usus, si quando res ita feret, citra tuum tamen incommodum.

[4.] Quod vero tam humaniter habeas Danum<sup>5</sup> nostrum, ut aegroto provideris de  
hospitio, medicis rebusque necessariis, quantis laudibus vehendum est? Sed scio te  
nihil morari solaque virtute contentum esse et a Christo mercedem exspectare. Sic age, 25  
mi Olahe, sic age! Huiusmodi officiis demerere Christum, sic itur ad astra. Nusquam  
tutius depones thesauros tuos; hoc enim solum minime perit, quicquid hic impenditur.

[5.] Interea, dum haec scriberem, ecce venit ad me meus affinis dominus Ioannes  
Molendinus, qui cum rogaret, quid agerem, audissetque me epistolam ad Olaum  
scribere, "eia", inquit, "multam verbis meis illi salutem dicas velim." Ceterum, mi 30  
Olahe, ex me audiat, nolim, quid apud te in illius negotio egerim, potius id velim,  
resciscat per alium. Nam mea sponte id egi illo nesciente, quid ego molirer, sed  
diserte iussit, ut suo nomine adscriberem ad te. Si quid apud ipsum est, vel per  
ipsum potest quippiam in gratiam tuam obire, tuus est ex animo. Plura scripturus  
eram, sed quoniam aderat commodus nuntius istuc postridie primo mane profecturus 35  
οἰκονόμος<sup>6</sup> domus Carthusianae Bruxellensis, hic desinendum statui et erat iam cum  
dicto domino Ioanne Molendino miscendum colloquium. Brevi forte latius. Bene te  
valere opto, Clarissime Domine. Hoc in calce addendum duxi me Olahum inter amicos  
principe loco habiturum.

E Valleregia Gandavensi sexto Nonas Iulii 1534.

40

498

Lieven van den Zande to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 7 July 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 220–222.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 512–515.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 41–44.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. Jean Molinier arrived to him a few days ago, and they talked for two days, but even that seemed to be brief. Molinier said that he had a guest from Paris, who had seen it for himself that Chrysostomus' works have started to be published in Paris, he suspects in several volumes. But it is unlikely that he will be able to access even a quarter of these, since even from the Latin works he only has the ones his friends have sent him. 2. Molinier

497,30 illi ] O corr. ex illis 497,35 commodus ] corr. ex commodum

497<sup>4</sup> Jean Molinier. 497<sup>5</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 497<sup>6</sup> 'administrator'.

also added that neither the Queen nor Oláh had seen him yet, even if they had planned to do so, and if Oláh wants to return the Santes Pagnino volume, he can send it to Ghent through Omaar van Edingen. Or it would be even better if he sent it to van den Zande so that he can read it a little as well. 3. He was sad to hear that Oláh wants to go home, but he recommends only to go when it is certain that there is peace in his homeland: war is not for him. 4. He is still hoping that Erasmus of Rotterdam will return home. In the meantime, if he has any reliable news about Thomas More and John Fisher, he should write it to him. Johannes Clautus has traveled to Erasmus, and van den Zande suspects that he does not wish to return home any more; and Erasmus is in need of a servant right now. Oláh should write him if he really wants to return home, he is namely preparing a small present for him.

Levinus Ammonius Carthusianus Nicolao Olaho secretario Mariae salutem.

[1.] Ante dies ab hinc non ita multos, Domine Olahe, scripsi<sup>1</sup> intervenisse litteris ad te meis, quas tum prae manibus habebam dominum Iohannem Molendinum,<sup>2</sup> meum affinem et amicum singularem. Et fuit is apud me totum biduum, quamquam  
5 id totum biduum mihi quidem tanti viri desiderio perbreve esse videbat. Quis enim unquam talis viri colloquio possit satiari? Is inter alia memoratu digna hoc maxime retinendum mihi dixit, fuit apud me, inquit, non ita pridem Parisiensis quidam magnus ac praepotens hospes, qui persancte mihi narrabat omnia divi Chrysostomi opera Graece excudi coepta esse Lutetiae,<sup>3</sup> quorum sese aliquot vidisse quaterniones deie-  
10 rabat, futurumque, ut absoluta tandem (chalcographorum supputatione) ad sex libras Grossorum aut paulo amplius (loquar magis vulgari more, quam Latino) ascendant emere volentibus. Aitque sese suspicari, non ea simul cuncta, sed particulatim et per tomos edenda esse, quod res sit ingentis molis ac momenti. Quid hic, mi Olahe, dicam? Nisi, ut gratuler eis, qui feliciter et bene nati tantum sibi thesaurum poterunt  
15 comparare. Hoc enim puto solum mihi integrum erit hac sane in re, nisi in me fortuna vices mutet suas, id quod equidem vix duco sperandum esse, ea est huius instituti conditio. De qua tamen ipsa non est, quod amplius dicere possim, praesertim per epistolam, neque fortassis admodum necesse est plura dicere, quod ipse non sis, ea est tua prudentia, rudis omnino monasticarum consuetudinum. Cum autem solus hic sim  
20 Graece (non dicam peritus), sed studiosus, non est ulla spes, ut ei, qui rem communem administrant, vel teruncium velint mea causa comparandis Graecis libris expendere, cum ne Latinos quidem ullos, nisi amicorum beneficio nactus non sim. Sed habeant, qui habere possunt.

[2.] Praeterea inter affinem meum et me nonnihil etiam de tua dignatione tractatum fuit eo colloquio, dicebamque te, inquam, mihi dixisse, tum in animo tibi fuisse adire Tornacum illumque convenire, et reddere illi librum, quem ab illo commodatum habebas. Is negabat reginam fuisse Tornaci anno superiore, et nec te, nec ullum abs te nuntium vidisse. Ceterum si est illi (inquit) animus mihi restituere librum, mittat illum huc ad te Gandavum, quod facile erit, praesertim per dominum scribam Audomarum  
30 Edingum.<sup>4</sup> Is liber est Sanctis Pagnini Lucensis<sup>5</sup> grammatica.<sup>6</sup> Hoc itaque libro, mi

498,25 tibi] corr. ex mihi

498<sup>1</sup> Ep. 497. 498<sup>2</sup> Jean Molinier. 498<sup>3</sup> Paris. 498<sup>4</sup> Omaar van Edingen of Ghent. 498<sup>5</sup> Santes Pagnino or Sanctes Pagninus Lucensis (1470–1536) was a Dominican friar, theologian, and philologist, see ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 46. 498<sup>6</sup> Probably the *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* edited in 1529.



Olae, si satis es usus, et vis illi reddere, id quod tamen in tua voluit esse potestate, facias, an non facias, curabis illum ad me deferri, ego salvum illum restituum. Nam alioqui pervelim ego quoque nonnihil eo uti libro, et est ille ea erga me benevolentia praeditus, ut lubens patiatur aliquot menses apud me eum librum haerere. Solet enim subinde mihi alium atque alium librum ad usuram mittere. Ad usuram dico (ne quis 35 erret in verbo), quemadmodum dixit Plautus, usuramque eius corporis cepit sibi, sed cur hoc apud te dico? Cum probe scias, quae sit eius vocis significatio.

[3.] Illud in epistola tua moleste tuli, quod Erasmo rescribente<sup>7</sup> tibi de reditu in Hungariam tuo videaris non ita multo posthac abitum maturare. Equidem, mi Olae, nolim ego consilia inturbare tua, scio tibi probe constare huius voluntatis rationem, 40 neque velim vel honorem, vel commodum tuum ulla in parte remorari, nonnihil etiam de meo, si quid esset meum, lubenter admensurus. Sed tamen illud pervelim, teque rogandum etiam duxerim, ne prius hinc discedas in patriam et natale solum, quam firma et constanti pace tuta illic omnia esse cognoscas. Quid opus est homini Musis et optimis studiis dedito in turbas tumultumque bellorum se immittere? Nihil minus 45 convenit, quam Musis et Marti. Iampridem Dei magna bonitate e mediis periculis, atque adeo e praesentaneo ereptus exitio nihil est necesse tentare Deum, et rursus in discrimen temet iniicere, cum alioqui placida frui quiete liceat. Quod ipsum tamen ita dictum esse velim, existimes, Optime Vir, non ut praeceam tuis consiliis, sed ut agnoscas me tibi optime velle, utque omnes tuae res in tuto stationis portu consistant. 50

[4.] Porro de Erasmi ad nos reditu vix mihi spes superesse videtur, ita malum aliud super aliud subinde virum illum optimum invadit, ut nunquam non sit illi, iusta quidem illa, sed nobis tamen odiosa, causa differendi. Pervelim scire, quid actum sit de Moro<sup>8</sup> et episcopo Roffensi<sup>9</sup> in Anglia, si certum habes inde nuntium. Nam varius hic rumor et alioqui incertus circumfertur. Est autem in proclivi credere, certiora paulu- 55 lum istic in aula referri. Pervelim illud quoque scire, num Ioannes Clauthus<sup>10</sup> profectus est ad Erasmum cum illo moraturus eique famulaturus. Audieram enim ex amiculo quopiam fore, ut abs te litteras ad Erasmum impetraret pro se commendatitias, quod Erasmus famulum requireret aliquem nostratem. Quod ipsum mihi quidem parum videtur olere desiderium revertendi, quid tibi videatur, nescio. 60

Postremo me certiore facias, precor, an vere sit animus tibi propediem in natale solum te recipiendi. Omnino enim cupio tibi parare munusculum aliquod, tenue quidem illud, sed quale tamen a monacho possis exspectare, qui non prorsus a bonis studiis sit alienus. Buccius<sup>11</sup> noster multam tibi salutem iussit ascribi. Gaudeo fortunam aliquousque tollerabilem contigisse Panagatho,<sup>12</sup> idque potissimum tua com- 65 mendatione. Dominus Iesus Tuam Dominationem servet incolumem, tuaque omnia consilia bene vertat.

E Valleregia Carthusiana iuxta Gandavum Nonis Iulii 1534.

498,36 usuramque ... sibi] Plaut. *Amph.* 108.

498<sup>7</sup> Ep. 482. 498<sup>8</sup> Thomas More. 498<sup>9</sup> John Fisher. 498<sup>10</sup> Johannes Clauthus (†1534) entered Erasmus' service in spring 1534. He was sent to England to collect information on Thomas More and John Fisher, but he unexpectedly died during this journey. See BIERLAIRE 1985. 498<sup>11</sup> Probably Pietro Buccio. See Ep. 489. 498<sup>12</sup> Lieven Algoet.

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Brussels, 27 July 1534*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 404–405.*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 515–516.*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Leopold Schreiberstorff has brought him Thurzó's letter, from which he has learnt that Thurzó is not angry with him; he will try to be worthy of Thurzó's benevolence. 2. Thurzó should not give up in connection with Bálint Török, although if the King does not want to or cannot reform the country, there is no hope left. He wishes Lodovico Gritti would bring good news; but Gritti also rather favors himself. The Veneti are sending 50 *triremes*, and the Pope is sending another 40 of them against Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. The Danish still have not elected a king from the two Christians. The Protestants are surrounded in Münster, but unless they run out of food, they cannot be defeated. 3. The Queen is better, and if there was peace in Hungary, she would not reject the idea of returning. Thurzó writes that by pledging loyalty he has lost more than he has gained – Oláh understands this well, and it is high time for rulers to appreciate good service. But he believes that the Queen will aim to do so, and he will also try to help Thurzó, just like Thurzó should help him recover his estates from Török.

Nicolaus Olaus ad Alexium Turzonem.

[1.] Leopoldus a Schrayberstorff<sup>1</sup> reddidit mihi his diebus litteras tuas,<sup>2</sup> quibus confirmatus omnem animi molestiam deposui ex ea re susceptam, quod ob diuturnam tuam taciturnitatem te in me alieniori animo esse arbitrabar. Habeo gratias, quod tua pristina benevolentia te me prosecuturum scribas, ego quoque contendam viribus omnibus, ut me huc idoneum reddam. Nihil mihi gratius fuit, quam me intellexisse te tuam pristinam sanitatem consecutum esse, quam velim diuturnam fore.

[2.] In meis rebus nolim te tuam auctoritatem existimationemque apud Valentinum Thewrek<sup>3</sup> minuere. Scio, cuius hi sint generis hominum: plus rogati deteriores 10 fiunt. Si rex vel non vult, vel non potest reformare regni Hungariae statum, quid sperandum est aliud, quam ut rebus hoc ordine stantibus regnum totum desoletur. Quod si nunc non reformabitur, cum Cornelius<sup>4</sup> a Turca redierit, et Gritti<sup>5</sup> exeat, quae spes est huius rei reliqua? Utinam Grithi aliquid boni afferat! Tamen vereor, ne magis sibi faveat, quam regis partibus, et utinam quae in parte regis sunt, sint duratura. Nova 15 hic nulla sunt alia.

Contra illum Barbarossam<sup>6</sup> capitaneum maris per Turcam designatum Veneti quinquaginta *triremes* armare et Clemens<sup>7</sup> quoque pontifex quadraginta adiecturus

499,2 a] *O add.* 499,2 Schrayberstorff] *O corr.* ex Schrayberstorffer 499,6 huc] *O corr.* ex hi 499,9 cuius] *O corr.* ex cuius 499,11 ut] *O add.* 499,17 adiecturus] *O corr.* ex facturus

499<sup>1</sup> Leopold Schreiberstorff was Steward in Queen Mary's court in the Low Countries, after which he accompanied to King Ferdinand I to serve him in the battle against the Turks in 1532. Between 1534 and 1539, he was in Queen Mary's service as Steward again, see KERKHOFF 2008, 61. 499<sup>2</sup> Ep. 480. 499<sup>3</sup> Bálint Török. 499<sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 499<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 499<sup>6</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 499<sup>7</sup> Pope Clement VII.

esse dicitur. Rex<sup>8</sup> Angliae permanet in sua contra pontificem sententia. De cuius et etiam regis<sup>9</sup> Galliae contra has caesaris provincias malo animo et ut eas invadere cogitent, non est parvus rumor, sed in hunc diem non sunt ausi rem aggredi. In Dania 20 de rege creando non minima est dissensio, pars cupit regem Christernum<sup>10</sup> captum, ad hoc autem suffragatur regis Galliae ac Angliae ac Lubeccensium practica, pars vult duces Holsatiae Friderici regis<sup>11</sup> nuper vita defuncti maiorem filium.<sup>12</sup> Adhuc dissident. Monasterium<sup>13</sup> civitas adhuc obsidetur; inclusi sunt Anabaptistae, Lutherani et Adamistae,<sup>14</sup> ut vocant. Episcopus eius civitatis adiutus aliorum principum et etiam 25 caesaris copiis eam civitatem oppugnat, firmiter illi resistunt. Modica dicitur esse spes vi illam capiendi, si commeatus non deficiant, si obsessi superiores erunt, verendum erit, ne omnes hae provinciae illorum exemplo inficiantur haeresi.

[3.] Serenissima regina mea iam ex Dei gratia optime valet, et si futura est spes in Hungaria, non abiecit animum redeundi et rebus istic suis aliquamdiu providendi. 30 Litteras suae maiestatis mitto ad te cum praesentibus. Quod te magnis incommodis magis, quam aliquo augmento commodi ob fidelitatem susceptam affectum esse scribis, non miror, si respectus esset servitorum et fidelitatis, aliter ubique ageretur. Cum bonis servitoribus, quibus curae et sollicitudines indies accrescunt, sed commoda 35 minuuntur, et tamen principes magno beneficio se suos affecisse putant, cum verba eis dederint, promissisque nos aluerint solis, ac permiserint, ut aliquis pecuniis suis bona emat. Quicquid habes, scio te non gratis habere, sed tuis propriis te tibi ordinasse, quod tolerabilius esset, si quieta essent tempora, et rerum status non posset mutari. Id autem alii, qui rem non intelligunt, aliter interpretantur. Tempus esset, si bonorum 40 servitia aliter recompensarentur. In regina nihil defuturum esse existimo, quicquid in rem tuam clementiae et operaepraestare possit, verum si Hungaria hoc modo stabit, vel aliam nobis non placentem induerit faciem ac conditionem, quid facere poterit? Ego, certus sis, et pedibus et manibus sum tibi deditus, et ubi scivero me tibi morem gerere posse, nihil praetermissurum. Vellem tamen istic potius me tibi gratificari et inservire in Hungaria, quam in solo alieno. Si erit tempus et res ita feret, velis bona 45 mea e manibus Valentini Thewrek eripere, non cum imminutione auctoritatis tuae et existimationis, sed quatenus illa patientur. Lucretia<sup>15</sup> commendat servitia et negotia sua tibi.

Bruxellis 27. Iulii anno Domini 1534.

499,18 dicitur] *O del. ex dicitur quia debet* 499,34 quibus] *O add.* 499,34 curae] *O del. ex curae his* 499,41 clementiae] *O corr. ex clementia* 499,41 operae] *O corr. ex opera* 499,41 praestare possit] *O corr. ex facere potest* 499,41 stabit] *O corr. ex durabit* 499,47 illa] *O corr. ex illi* 499,47 id] *O add.*

499<sup>8</sup> King Henry VIII. 499<sup>9</sup> King Francis I. 499<sup>10</sup> Christian II of Denmark remained in prison until his death. 499<sup>11</sup> Frederick I of Denmark. 499<sup>12</sup> Christian III of Denmark, King of Denmark from 1534. 499<sup>13</sup> Münster. 499<sup>14</sup> I. e. Adamites. 499<sup>15</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross).

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 30 July 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 501–503.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 517–519.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. Because he completed the trip from Belgrade to Buda within five days by carriage, he became quite sick, so he could not write from Bratislava. In Buda he spoke to Voivode Szapolyai, which he will tell Oláh about in person, now he will only describe a few things. Lodovico Gritti is bringing 2,000 horsemen and infantrymen to calm Hungary down. He has promised many things in secret, the question is which promises he will keep. The Hungarians, it seems, do not want a dual monarchy, they are now siding with King Ferdinand I instead. Everyone is petrified by Gritti, he has already completely plundered Szapolyai, and he also has Transylvania's revenue. It was terrible for him to see Buda full of Turks, and he even brought it up with Szapolyai that this is not a Christian state any more but a Turkish one, which Szapolyai did not deny, instead he blamed those who had forced him into it. Oláh should not worry about his possessions, changes are coming now that will have a favorable influence on this as well. 2. He will arrive shortly. The Sultan has promised twice that the Queen's estates will be returned to her, but Tamás Nádasdy will not like this because Maramureş is in his possession now. The people of Szapolyai want to rein in Ferenc Bebek, but King Ferdinand I does not allow it. Now they can hope for a turn for the better because the Turks have withdrawn all their troops. 3. He lists what troops the Persian and the Turkish armies have. Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha is spending this year by amassing resources, then he plans to conquer Baghdad and Crimea, and to make his way to the Persian Gulf. The Sultan is spending the winter in Harrán, while the Uzbeks are occupying Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran, which is why the Turks hope they can win.

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Mirabitur forte Dominatio Vestra, quod ex Posonio nihil scripserim, sane eram tunc ea valetudine, ut parum essem ad scribendum idoneus. Laboravi enim vehementi morbo, quem contraxi ex motione curruum vestratum. Nam ex Belgrado Budam in  
5 quinque diebus perveni per chotzas<sup>1</sup> una cum Hyeronimo Lasky, qui me liberavit ex manibus Turcarum Belgradensium, qui adverso Danubio me cum tota classe mittere voluerant. Fui Budae apud Ioannem vaivodam,<sup>2</sup> cum quo habita verba non possum nunc scribere, praesens ea dicam, ut autem intelligat Dominatio Vestra, quo in statu res regni Hungariae sint, paucis accipiat.  
10 Gritum<sup>3</sup> venire cum bis mille equitibus et peditibus suis ad pacandum, ut ait, regnum Hungariae. Multa nobis promittit et mecum secretissime locutus est Constantinopoli. Quid praestiturus sit, non satis scio, tempus declarabit. Hungari varia agitant consilia et videntur non velle dividi, et iam fere omnes ad Ferdinandum regem parant deficere. Quod si fecerint, non est, quod de salute regni desperem. Griti omnibus et  
15 vaivodae etiam terrori est. Exhaustit Ioannem pecuniis, proventus Transsylvaniae in

500<sup>1</sup> In Hungarian *kocsi*, meaning 'carriage'. 500<sup>2</sup> King John I. The Habsburg loyalists never call him king. According to Paolo Giovio, King Ferdinand I first called Szapolyai king at the Treaty of Oradea (1538), see KASZA 2021, 47. 500<sup>3</sup> Lodovico Gritti.

ipsius sunt manibus, video fore, ut non tantum possit, quantum velit. Nam magno est odio, et iugi Turcici incipit pudere Hungaros. Quanto putas dolore ego affectus sum, cum viderem Budae et in omnium fluminum hostiis vagari impune albicaputiatos Turcas, sane hunc dolorem non dissimulavi, sed dixi libere Ioanni me videre regnum illud esse Turcarum et non Christianorum. Ad quod nihil respondit, nisi quod causam 20 retorquebat in eos, qui ad id necessitatis ipsum impulissent.

De rebus tuis desine sollicitus esse, nam video magnam mutationem fore. Neque in manibus Gryti nec vaivodae fore de eis tibi providere. Post quam mutationem non possum non ingens bonum et id brevi sperare. Nunquam maiorem aut meliorem occasionem habuit res Christiana non recuperandi solum id regnum, sed alia omnia. 25 Et non puta me temere loqui. Nam ego scio, quid possint Turcae et quid non possint. Spero etiam Carolum caesarem, ubi de rebus per me actis fuerit certior factus, in rem illius regni annisurum. Ego video omnium animos in maximam spem erectos. Non possum omnia scribere.

[2.] Brevi ero apud vos. Nam cum Grito nil superest agendum, nisi soli regi 30 Ferdinando, si modo velit. Caesar Turcarum bis ore proprio reconfirmavit dotem serenissimae reginae, iussitque Grito, ut eam restitueret. Superest solum, ut id exsequatur. Cum Nadasdun<sup>4</sup> male illi convenit: is habet Maromarusium, videndum, an cedere velit sponte, an vi potius cogendus est. Totum regnum est in motu, vaivodani volunt castigare Beybeck,<sup>5</sup> Ferdinandus rex non videtur ipsum esse dimissurus. Quid 35 securum sit, ipse coniecturare poteris. Mitto ad reginalem maiestatem litteras ab Aloisio Griti, quas rex Romanorum ignoranter tamen aperuit. Credo, quod se referat ad me. Nam multa pollicitus est et credo pro virili etiam praestitutum esse, sed sors istius regni non patitur praesentem statum rerum. Iterum dico me magnam et bonam spem concepissem fore, ne a Turcis amplius mendicemus. Ad quod ego pro mea virili 40 annisus sum et adhuc adnitar postpositis privatis respectibus. Omnes vires Turcarum ex Europa abductae sunt, cuius rei ego sum oculatus testis. Danda est opera, ne redeant, et spero datum iri. Pluram coram.

Commenda me omnibus dominis et amicis, qui istic sunt et dominabus illustribus, comiti de Salm,<sup>6</sup> dominae de Baillieul,<sup>7</sup> dominae Lucretiae<sup>8</sup> et si quae aliae ibi sunt. 45 Litteras ad uxorem<sup>9</sup> his annexas per fidelem nuntium transmittat.

[3.] Vires Sophy<sup>10</sup> sunt quinquaginta millia optimorum equitum. In quibus triginta millia sunt cataphractorum, ianitsarios, harchabusarios<sup>11</sup> habet quattuor millia, trecentas bombardas, vulgus aut ad aliquot centena millia. Exercitus Imbrahimi<sup>12</sup> bassae habet ad trecenta millia hominum. Caesaris autem Turcarum exercitus ex cismarinis 50 est supra ducentum mille. Transmarinorum ex Dyarbey,<sup>13</sup> Carahemith,<sup>14</sup> Egypto, Damasco, Syria, Mesopotamia, Halepo,<sup>15</sup> Caramania<sup>16</sup> et aliis supra quatercentum

500,30 agendum] *del. ex agendum nisi* 500,43 datum] *corr. ex datam*

500<sup>4</sup> Tamás Nádasdy. 500<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Bebek. 500<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth, Countess of Salm. 500<sup>7</sup> Madame Baillieul. 500<sup>8</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 500<sup>9</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 500<sup>10</sup> Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. 500<sup>11</sup> Probably a hapax legomenon. According to HOVEN 2006, 241: 'arquebusier', which was the most common form of cavalry. 500<sup>12</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 500<sup>13</sup> Djerba. 500<sup>14</sup> Diyarbakır. 500<sup>15</sup> Aleppo. 500<sup>16</sup> Karaman.

mille. Decies centena millia virorum, si convenerit caesar cum Imbrahimo, excedet  
numerus exercitus. Haec nostrates ridebunt, sed minus scribo, quam est. Et plures  
55 erant, commeatus autem habent abundantissime, totum enim hunc annum impendit  
Imbrahimus in coacervando commeatu. Intentio Othomanorum est capere et munire  
Bagdath<sup>17</sup> ad flumen Tigrim et occupare Thaurisum<sup>18</sup> Armeniae, et ad sinum Persicum  
sibi viam facere. Inde deturbare Portugalenses, qui litora illa occupant. Nondum  
60 pugnatum est, nisi per occasionem levibus praeliis. Hac hieme experietur Imbrahimus  
fortunam, si modo velit, nam semel detrectavit pugnam. Caesar Turcarum hiemabit  
apud Carras,<sup>19</sup> qui olim fuit limes Persici et Romani imperii, nunc est Othomanorum.  
Tartari, qui habitant Sogdianam<sup>20</sup> ad flumen Saxarten,<sup>21</sup> quod labitur in Caspium mare,  
unde ortus fuit Temerlenus sive Tamburlanes,<sup>22</sup> facessunt negotium ipsi Sophy. Quae  
res adducit Othomannos in spem certam victoriae, sed tamen pugnandum est illis cum  
65 multis incommoditatibus. Haec breviter. Et iterum vale.

Ex Praga XXX. Iulii anno Domini 1534.

<sup>492</sup>501

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Brussels, 1 August 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 500–501.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 519–520.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 308.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He has received Schepper's letter of 2 June. Since they have not heard from him for a long time, and an old wench filled Schepper's wife's head with having seen Schepper in her dream begging them to pray for his soul, the wife has sent Pieter Lauweijns to Oláh to ask him about Schepper. He has reassured her now, but Schepper should return home in one piece so they cannot say he has gone to Constantinople in vain twice. 2. As far as Oláh's affairs are concerned, he should already have understood a long time ago from the instructions what he needs to do. Oláh sends his greetings Johan Weze and says that the envoys sent to Denmark have returned home without having done what they went for; the Queen sent the German Tucher the other day, who will hopefully not turn back for fear.

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Scepperum responsio.

[1.] Litteras tuas ex Constantinopoli secunda Iunii datas<sup>1</sup> accepi nudiusquartus. Laetor ex animo te sanum esse et revertisse. Nam ex quibusdam aliis tuis intelleximus te XV. mensis praeteriti applicuisse Ponium. Uxor,<sup>2</sup> liberi, familia, fratres et amici  
5 sunt omnes sani. Cum nihil certi de te audire poteramus, domina miserat ad me  
XXIII. Iulii praeteriti Petrum<sup>3</sup> domini decani<sup>4</sup> sciscitatum de tuo statu. Quaedam anus

500<sup>17</sup> Baghdad. 500<sup>18</sup> Crimea or the Tauric Peninsula. 500<sup>19</sup> Harrán. 500<sup>20</sup> Sogdiana, an ancient country in Central Asia, located between Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, see HUXLEY 1985. 500<sup>21</sup> Tanais river, today: Don river. 500<sup>22</sup> The myghty emperor of the Tartars, see Herberstein's work: MAJOR 1852, 237. 501<sup>1</sup> Ep. 492. 501<sup>2</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 501<sup>3</sup> Pieter Lauwerijns was brother of Mark Lauweijns. 501<sup>4</sup> Mark Lauweijns.

mirum in modum eam conturbarat, dicens se vidisse in somnis te ter ad eam venisse et precatum, ut pro tua anima preces ad Deum funderentur; his anus verbis familia plurimum erat maesta, cum Petrum ad me misissent. Ego quantum potui fallacias eius vetulae detestatus sum, et iussi dominam et totam familiam bono esse animo, 10 nam propediem reversurus esses incolumis. Ex supputatione enim dierum discessus tui erat mihi spes te non tardituum. Sic Petro reverso in tempore advenerunt litterae tuae. Scripsi rursus denuo uxori tuae, credo eam nunc esse laetam. Nullas postea ab ea accepi litteras. Tu fac, ut confectis istic bene rebus redeas, fac tamen, ut possimus dicere te non frustra bis fuisse profectam Constantinopolim. Scribe huc certi aliquid, 15 rogo, et an sit spes aliqua pacis.

[2.] Meas autem res in quancumque partem res ceciderit, confice ex animi nostri nisi me iugulare volueris sententia. Ex instructione olim missa omnia intellexisti iampridem. Domino Lundensi<sup>5</sup> commenda me, et dic, quod oratores nostri reversi sunt ex Dania infecta re, immo non ausi ultra fines Holsatiae progredi. Nuper misit 20 regina rursus eo doctorem quendam Almanum<sup>6</sup> Thuucher,<sup>7</sup> nisi et ille metu revertatur, ut antea fecerat. Vale et habe cum domino Lundensi una mea negotia commendata.

Bruxellae prima Augusti 1534.

502

Miklós Oláh to János Szalay  
Ghent, 17 August 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 552.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 520.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*Nothing has happened in the last three years about which he could have written to Szalay. He sends his apologies if he is mistaken, in any case his attitude to Szalay has not changed: he hopes that both Szalay, István Majláth, and the rest of their friends are well. He is sending his regards to the man who has returned home to Buda from Rome, and he warns Szalay to be careful with the Turks, he should mind his head.*

Nicolai Olai ad Ioannem Zalay comitem Poseniensem.

Annis his tribus nihil fuit, de quo hic ad te scribere potuissem.<sup>1</sup> Si quid in hoc erravi, ignosce. Nam etiam tacens eo in te animo fui, quo antea semper. Cuperem et te et alios amicos nostros bene valere, et maxime Maylathum.<sup>2</sup> Hominem<sup>3</sup> illum nostrum, qui cum monacho olim ex Urbe Budam venerat, saluta meo nomine et roga 5

501,17 nostri] *O del. ex nostri cor* 501,18 sententia] *O add.* 501,20 ex] *O corr. ex e* 502,4 Hominem] *O corr. ex hominem*

501<sup>5</sup> Johan Weze. 501<sup>6</sup> Instead of Alemannus, i.e. German. 501<sup>7</sup> Lazarus Tucher (†1563) was a member of a merchant family from Nuremberg, see DE VOCHT 1961, 303. 502<sup>1</sup> The last time Oláh wrote a letter to Szalay that we know of was on 10 December, 1530. See Ep. 128. 502<sup>2</sup> István Majláth. 502<sup>3</sup> Probably István Brodarics. He worked in Rome as a diplomat between 1522 and 1525, then he returned home and settled down in Buda. His homecoming was connected to his appointment to Royal Chancellor, see KASZA 2015, 52–70.

dicque ei, ut caveat sibi ab albocapuciatis.<sup>4</sup> Nihil carius sibi esse ducat capite suo, quod mihi quoque nisi carum esset, haec non subirem. De aliis meis scribam postea, cum tempus dabitur. Vale et me habe commendatum.

Gandavi 17. Augusti 1534.

503

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 12 August 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 389–390.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 504–505.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Since count Maximilian's men have arrived to buy a gyrfalcon, Ghilino is taking the opportunity to write to Oláh. The Empress suffered a stillbirth, which has saddened everyone. The Pope is suffering from dysentery, and the physicians have given up on him, even if he is somewhat better now. Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha is said to be heading for Malta. They have learned from a letter from Sicily that King Francis I has sent Antonio Rincon to the Turks, and that the Sultan's envoy suffered a shipwreck on his way home and has been captured, but he has been ransomed. Lodovico Gritti has arrived to Belgrade to mediate between King Ferdinand I and Szapolyai, he wishes he was successful. He would like to hear about the English affairs.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Scripsi superioribus diebus ad te de omnibus rebus, quae hic circumferebantur et litteris tuis, quas ad me Candiano<sup>1</sup> dedisti, respondi.<sup>2</sup> Nunc venientibus istuc Maximiliani comitis familiaribus emptum hirifalcos<sup>3</sup> non falcones, officii mei esse censui haec  
5 paucula tibi exarare, quo meam sempiternam erga te observantiam facilius cognoscere  
posses. Augustae<sup>4</sup> abortus<sup>5</sup> nos omnes sollicitos reddidit. Utinam caesari in danda filiis  
opera melior ei fortuna arrideat, sed deos spero caesari, deo nostro<sup>6</sup> fore propitios.  
Pontifex<sup>7</sup> ex Urbanis litteris III. Nonarum Sextilis<sup>8</sup> disenteria gravissime laborabat,  
hominem medici in desperatis habebant, quamvis meliusculus esset factus.<sup>9</sup> Aenobar-  
10 bus<sup>10</sup> cum classe Turcica Zaznithum versus navigabat oppugnaturus Melitam<sup>11</sup> incerto  
tamen rumore. Ex Siculis litteris nobis nuntiatum est Gallum<sup>12</sup> misisse ad Turcas  
Rineonem<sup>13</sup> Hispanum. Item Turcae oratorem redeuntem ex Gallia naufragium fecisse  
in sirtibus minoribus captum et postea redemptum ad caesarem suum profectum.

502,6 albocapuciatis] *corr. ex albocupuciatis*

502<sup>4</sup> I.e. Turks, see KASZA 2012, 478. In October 1534, Brodarics traveled to Oradea to continue the peace talks between King Ferdinand I and King John I, see KASZA 2015, 96–103; and KASZA 2012, 431–432. 503<sup>1</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 503<sup>2</sup> Probably Ep. 490. and Ep. 491. 503<sup>3</sup> The gyrfalcon according to Hoven, i.e. the largest of the falcon species (*falco rusticolus*). See HOVEN 2006, 246. 503<sup>4</sup> Isabella of Portugal. 503<sup>5</sup> This son was stillborn. The Empress had seven pregnancies and suffered two miscarriages. 503<sup>6</sup> After this word, a word missing. 503<sup>7</sup> Pope Clement VII. 503<sup>8</sup> 3 August. 503<sup>9</sup> Indeed, he died soon, on 25 September. 503<sup>10</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 503<sup>11</sup> Malta. 503<sup>12</sup> King Francis I. 503<sup>13</sup> Antonio Rincon (†1541) was an envoy of King Francis I to Szapolyai, later to Sultan Suleiman I and he was sent to Constantinople between 1530 and 1541 several times, see SETTON 1984, *passim*; and KASZA 2015, 91–92 and 156.



Audivimus Gritteum<sup>14</sup> Albam Graecam<sup>15</sup> pervenisse pro componendis inter regem<sup>16</sup> nostrum et Ioannem<sup>17</sup> rebus. Utinam ex sententia nostra, quod reliquum est, succedat. 15 Ego de Anglicis rebus certior fieri cupio. Rimoldus<sup>18</sup> operam suam tibi praestabit, quo me possis rariora et constantissima docere. Salutabis meo nomine clarissimam Virginem Lucretiam.<sup>19</sup> Valere cupio Olaum meum et serenissimae dominae, dominae reginae, dominae nostrae clementissimae pedes deosculor. Vale, Amicorum Optime, et Bannisio<sup>20</sup> me commenda, cui et in primis tibi globum meum curae esse cupio. Si Rotterodamus noster in patriam rediit, fac, ex te intelligam.  
Mediolano pridie Idus Sextilis 1534.

504

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 19 August 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 385–386.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 520–521.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 217–218.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*A grim event took place the other day, not just for his family but also for the Leuven academy. One of his friends was transported to Vilvoorde and was jailed there. He is a young nobleman, and as far as Ressen can determine, the heresy he is accused of is far from him. The three doctors with whom he had lodged before Ressen also agree, but so does everyone else who knows him. His library was put together by those who did the Academy's library, so they know there are no heretic books in there. Since Oláh also knows Lucian's work on slander, he does not need to explain how easily even an innocent man can become its victim. The bearer of the letter will tell him how it had happened: Ressen refuses to put it to paper because he does not know it for certain. He is asking Oláh to help them.*

Ruthgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao secretario reginae Mariae salutem.

Accidit proximis diebus casus admodum luctuosus non tantum familiae meae, sed toti huic Lovanensi Academiae. Noctu quidam ex meis convictoribus hinc avectus est Viluortiam,<sup>1</sup> illicque in carcerem coniectus, iuvenis sane apprime nobilis, ac quantum convictores mei atque ego iudicare potuimus, alienissimus a crimine 5 haereseos, ob quod fertur comprehensus esse. Idem de eo asserunt tres doctores ac unus licentiatus, apud quos habitavit, priusquam in aedes meas migrarit. Praedicant et id ipsum alii, quibuscum hic consuetudinem ac conversationem habuit. Excusa est etiam eius bibliotheca ab eis, quibus hoc negotium ab Academia commissum erat: nullusque in ea est inventus liber de haeresi suspectus. Scio te legisse Luciani 10 commentarium περι τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεῦειν διαβολῆς,<sup>2</sup> idcirco non puto opus esse, ut exemplis illinc sumptis nitar ostendere, quam multi saepe innocentissimi in summum

503<sup>14</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 503<sup>15</sup> Belgrade. 503<sup>16</sup> King Ferdinand I. 503<sup>17</sup> King John I. 503<sup>18</sup> We do not know him more closely. 503<sup>19</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 503<sup>20</sup> Jakob Radich de Bannisis the Younger. 504<sup>1</sup> Vilvoorde. 504<sup>2</sup> 'Why shouldn't we readily believe slander?' The English title of the work is *On Calumny*.

periculum τῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβολῆ<sup>3</sup> pervenerunt. Quid autem sit, ob quod hic quidam  
mussitent hunc nimirum in suspicionem huius criminis incidisse, audies facile ex  
15 latoribus huius epistolae. Ego cum certi nihil habeam, non ausus sum multorum  
coniecturam meis litteris inserere. Oramur igitur te, quam possumus maxime, Domine  
Consiliarie Observandissime, ut adsis legatis universitatis nostrae, quo possint assequi  
a serenissima regina, ut hic reus tractetur iuxta consuetudinem et privilegium nostrae  
universitatis. Quae autem sit illa exponent ipsi legati. Bene vale, Olae Doctissime.  
20 Raptim.

Lovanii XIX. Augusti 1534.

505

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 27 August 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 391–392.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 521–522.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Candiano is moving to Belgium with his wife. Ghilino wishes the Queen's health would improve! The Turkish fleet keeps alternating between destroying the Adriatic cities and the kingdom of Naples, and it is unclear where and when they will continue; the Emperor's troops will be able to attack them with success if they head towards Africa. Ghilino is travelling to King Ferdinand I now; the bearer of the letter has told him that he can deliver the reply between them within 15 days, Oláh should also make sure that his happens. If Oláh's letter arrives in Ghilino's absence, his lord, Francesco II Sforza will open it.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Candianus<sup>1</sup> noster tandem in principis<sup>2</sup> nostri sententiam uxorem traxit, quam  
secum propediem ad vos in Belgas ducet.<sup>3</sup> Utinam reginae nostrae valetudo indies  
firmior fiat, ne medicorum ope amplius indigeat. Classis Turcica spelunca fundos et  
5 pleraque alia oppidula in litore maris Adriatici, tum regni Neapolitani depopulata est,  
nunc, quo cursum direxerit, ignoratur. Classis caesaris paratur, opportuneque eam  
invadet, si in Aphricam traiciet, superiorque omnino erit. Ego ad regem nostrum  
Romanum<sup>4</sup> quatriduo post proficiscar, cum illic ero, dabo operam, ut a me multa  
intelligas. Tabellarius, qui has tibi deferet, pollicetur se ex novo quodam collegio istic  
10 facto litteras vestras nostrasque ultro in quindecim diebus delaturum, te obtestor, ut  
me quamprimum moneas, quantum fidei isti praestare possimus. Ego si in tuarum  
litterarum adventu absens fuero, constitui, ut princeps ipse tuas aperiat, qui et te diligit  
et amat. Reginam nostram di ad vota felicitent, cui commodari valde cupio, et pedes  
deosculor. Virginem clarissimam Lucretiam<sup>5</sup> meo nomine salvere iubebis. Bannisium<sup>6</sup>

504,14 audies ] *O corr.* ex auctus 505,13 cui ] *O del.* ex cui ex te

504<sup>3</sup> 'due to slandering the enemy'. 505<sup>1</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 505<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 505<sup>3</sup> On the antecedents and this plan, see Ep. 490. Cap. 1. 505<sup>4</sup> I.e. Romanorum. 505<sup>5</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 505<sup>6</sup> Jakob Radich de Bannisis the Younger.

meum item tuum salutabis meis verbis, simulque dabit operam, ut globus meus 15  
conficiatur. Vale, Amicorum Optime, et me, ut facis, ama.  
Mediolano VI. Kalendas Septembris 1534.

506

Guilhelmus van den Steene to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 18 September 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 386–387.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 522–523.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He has gathered the courage to write to Oláh. He is ashamed anyway how arrogantly vacuous some of the monks are and how much they hate letters, but he has to obey the order to return from here – how unfair this will be for him, since there are no Erasmuses, Renssens or Wackerses. He is asking Oláh to help him. 2. Oláh says that van den Steene has promised to come to Brussels and wait for him there; it was easy for him to make such a promise because he desired his company, but then he concluded that he has nothing that would suit Oláh's expectations, so they should better postpone this meeting to a time when he is certain that he will not be a burden for Oláh any more. He has started to teach Johann Henckel Jr., he is a talented and excellent young man.

Guilhelmus Lapidanus monachus Nicolao Olao salutem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Tuus illibatus animi candor in tuis litteris<sup>2</sup> abunde relucens Reverendissimae Dominationi effecit, ut meas ad te litteras posthac audentius sim emissurus, praesertim cum praeclarum semper existimarim et in primis optandum summatibus placuisse 5 viris. Homuncio quidem sum infimae notae, sed quid tum? Si modo apud tuam dignitatem sim in aliquo numero, id sane in suprema portione felicitatis ducerem, atque inde (uti non dubito) ingens ἀγαθῶν σωρὸς<sup>3</sup> mihi accresceret. Non equidem magnopere facio immensas opes supra popularem facultatem, quas non ambire docuit me mea tenuitas, modo alicubi mihi prospectum esset praesidio bonorum virorum de honesta aliqua conditione, ubi daretur libere citra amusorum molestias vivere in 10 studio litterario, quo nihil mihi magis in votis.

Haec autem non existimes, Vir Doctissime, horsum spectare, tanquam mei instituti, nempe monastici (cui me consecravi perpetuo, cuius iugum fero ita lubens, ut quam lubentissime) me poeniteret, verum displicet mihi imperitia superba, et pertinax odium in litteras, praesertim eorum, qui tonsura et habitu monachismum 15 professi, nihil sincere religionis operibus exprimunt. Habito nunc demum cum venia domini mei primatis Lovanii in contubernio doctissimorum virorum, quorum non est istic infecundus proventus, sed postquam inde fiet mei revocatio<sup>4</sup> iussu superioris, cui obtemperandum est mihi in omnibus, di boni, quam inaequalis erit mihi haec

506,7 ἀγαθῶν] *corr. ex* Αγαθῶν

506<sup>1</sup> On this letter, see VERBEKE 2005. 506<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 506<sup>3</sup> 'the masses of the good'.

506<sup>4</sup> From Leuven to Sint-Winoksbergen (Bergues-St. Winoc).

20 commutatio! Non enim Erasmus, Budaeos, Goclenios, Rescios tum invenire dabitur. Itaque, mi Domine Observandissime, in tuum sinum ingenue effundo animi mei curas fretus nimirum tua iam e litteris perspecta humanitate, precor, summe tuam benevolentiam, si aliquando se offerat occasio promovendi Lapidanum (nam apud dominationem illustrissimam scio plurimum valere tuam auctoritatem) velis tum  
25 redire in mei memoriam, measque partes agere, idque in studiorum gratiam, quorum ut tu inter magnates unicum lumen es, ita et ego inter tirones haud minimus sum, non dico cultor, sed admirator.

[2.] Quod scribit Tua Dominatio me iampridem expectatum Bruxellis, quemadmodum Deo dato fidem dederam me venturum, hoc facis Hercle ex ingenita quadam  
30 ergo studiosos, tametsi de facie ignotos, propensione. Leviter id quidem sponderam, nimirum tractus tam cari mei domini desiderio, sed ut mihi voluptati erat istud polliceri, ita rursus mihi displicui, pennasque demisi, ubi succurrebat, nihil esse in me, quod tuae expectationi respondeat. Hinc distuli, donec cognovissem id tibi gratum fore, nam se impudenter ingerere colloquio, potissimum magnorum virorum  
35 hoc semper indecorum et agreste sum arbitratus. Veniam itaque propediem ob id, quia persuasum habeo nihil mea hac audacia te offensum iri; tum de omnibus latius colloquemur.

Dominum Ioannem, ni fallor, cognomine Henckel<sup>5</sup> suavissimae indolis ac optimae spei adolescentem iam in meam disciplinam recepi, spero me in erudiendo eo non  
40 lusurum operam, tam dextri est ingenii, tam ad litteras accommodi. Bene valeat Tua Dominatio, cui me velim semper commendatum. Raptim scriptum.

Lovanii XVIII. Septembris 1534.

507

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Brugge, 19 September 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 503–504.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 523–524.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 309.

*Notes:* Copy.

*After Oláh had left, his right cheek hurt very much and was swollen, then the abscess burst, and he has been well since then. He is preparing for the trip, he will leave within 5-6 days. He is sorry to hear that Oláh does not tolerate sea air well: these territories are certainly quite exposed to the north-northwestern winds. If there is anything worth mentioning, he should write to him and send it to him through Roland.*

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506,31 voluptati ] *O corr. ex voluptatis* 506,34 ingerere ] *O del. ex ingerere in* 506,42 ] *O corr. ex* 1533

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506<sup>5</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger.

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Post abitionem Dominationis Vestrae magno dolore laboravi ex tumefactione et inflatione malae dextrae. Nunc tandem erupit ulcus sanieque eiecta restitutor meliori convalescentiae.

Meque ad iter paro, quod intra quinque aut sex dies sum auspicaturus Deo volente. 5  
Graviter autem fero, quod audio aërem marinum nonnihil obfuisse valetudini et incolumitati Dominationis Vestrae, sed et hanc spero brevi restitutum iri, praesertim cum veneritis in aërem Arthesiensem. Sane regio illa nostra maritima inter infelices meretur recenseri. Tantum est illic perpetui frigoris, quod cauro boreae aquilonibus tota sit exposita, nullisque aut montibus aut silvis arceatur frigidissimus ille spiritus, 10  
quin plenis, quod aiunt, buccis in ipsam erumpat. Rerum novarum nihil apud nos est; si quid istic est scitu dignum, scribat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra litteras, quas det domino Rolando secretario Gallico, qui eas facile ad me est missurus. Et bene valeat, meque dominis et amicis omnibus plurimum commendet.

Ex Brugis die XIX. Septembris 1534.

15

508

Miklós Oláh to Honor Grenville  
Saint-Omer, 25 September 1534

*Manuscript used:* BL, Cotton MS Galba B X, fol. 50rv.

*Published:* SZILÁGYI 2016, 32–33.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature. Seal has broken down.

*He thanks her for the kindness and affability with which the Lord has received him, and he has done what she has asked, i.e. to recommend her to the Queen; the Queen received her graciously and ensured her of her benevolence towards them.*

Illustris Domina,<sup>1</sup> Domina Observandissima, servitiorum meorum commendationem.

[1.] De humanitate, benevolentia et vultu benigno, quo illustris dominus meus, dominus maritus<sup>2</sup> Dominae Vestrae Illustris me nuper in prandio accipere dignatum fuit, habeo eidem gratias cumulatas. Quod, si quando dabitur occasio, mihi que manda- 5  
verit, omnibus meis obsequiis tam ab illustri domino marito Dominae Vestrae, quam ab eadem promereri curabo. Mandaverat praeterea mihi Domina Vestra Illustris, ut serenissimae maiestati reginali Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. ac gubernatrici locumque tenenti sacrae caesareae maiestatis in Gallia Belgica etc., dominae meae clementis-

507,7 restitutum] *corr. ex restitutam* 507,11 Rerum] *O del. ex Rerum mearum*

508<sup>1</sup> Honor Grenville, Viscountess Lisle (ca. 1493–1566) was one of the ladies who accompanied Anne Boleyn when she travelled to Calais in 1532. She first married Sir John Basset, after whose death she married Arthur Plantagenet. See BRODIE 1896. 508<sup>2</sup> Arthur Plantagenet, first Viscount Lisle (before 1472–1542) was a natural son of King Edward IV, and an uncle of King Henry VIII. He was Lord Deputy of Calais between 1533 and 1540. For more, see BRODIE 1896, 399–401; and GRUMMITT 2004, 521–524.

10 simae obsequia commendarem. Id ego mox, cum ad suam maiestatem reversus sum, feci diligenter. Maiestas sua, ut erga omnes, quos in se scit esse propensos, utitur omni benevolentia, ita Dominae Vestrae Illustris commendationem grato animo audivit, et suam benevolentiam ac clementiam vicissim obtulit.

Haec igitur volui Dominae Vestrae Illustri litteris significare, ne me mandati sui 15 immemorem esse putaret. Quae si etiam alias aliquid mihi mandaverit, pro meo honore et posse libenter sum exsecuturus. Illustrem Dominam Vestram feliciter valere opto, quae velit servitia mea domino et marito suo carissimo unice commendare.

Ex S. Audomaro XXV. Septembris anno MDXXXIII.

Eiusdem Dominae Vestrae servitor

20 Nicolaus Olahus secretarius et consiliarius reginalis maiestatis

[On the outer side:] Illustri dominae nobili coniugi carissimae illustris domini Lyl debitis gubernatoris et supremi praefecti oppidi Cales<sup>3</sup> serenissimi Angliae regis consiliarii etc. dominae mihi observandissimae.

509<sub>512</sub>

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Cambrai, 4 October 1534

Manuscript used: MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 504–507.

Published: IPOLYI 1875, 524–526.

Notes: Copy.

1. He wrote to Oláh before he left, but he has not received a response either to that or to the letter to the Queen, only Jean II Carondelet has replied. Now he is writing to the Queen briefly, emphasizing two things: on the one hand, he is on his way and has not received a letter from her; on the other hand, she should order the financiers to pay his wages both retrospectively and in advance. He is not greedy, he is not motivated by money like many other people, but he does not wish to look nonchalant, and so far they have not really made an effort to pay him. He has written about this to Wolfgang Haller as well. 2. Briefly about the Hungarian affairs. He has heard that Lodovico Gritti conquered Mediaş after killing Imre Czibak, then he fled to Belgrade, having lost his sons and others. Schepper's opinion about this is that Szapolyai should subjugate himself to King Ferdinand I, otherwise he will not be able to deal with Gritti. The Hungarians do have something to fear while Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha is alive, but now there is an opportunity to change this. The King will either choose one of the two or neither of them. If he wants to keep the peace with the Turks, Gritti already thirsts for Hungarians' blood. If he sides with the voivode and the Hungarians, he may win: the voivode should first receive his just punishment, then he should receive him back in his good graces; Schepper will recommend the same to the Queen. He is openly saying this to Oláh because there were some who participated in the negotiation but only looked after their own interests, not those of the state. Schepper will not spare time or effort to act in the state's interest and asks Oláh to help him.

508,19 Eiusdem ... servitor ] O add. 508,20 Nicolaus ... maiestatis ] O add.

508<sup>3</sup> Calais.

142

Idem Nicolao Olao suo.

[1.] Ex Brugis ante dies quattuordecim scripsi<sup>1</sup> ad Dominationem Vestram de abitu meo, quem conieci fore in brevi. Ad eas litteras, quas tum scripsi ad reginalem maiestatem, nihil dum mihi responsum fuit per eandem, nec per Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram, solus Panormitanus<sup>2</sup> id fecit, quod exspectabam, quodque se 5 facturum receperat, hoc est, rescripsit. Quia tamen ex ipsius litteris deprehendi fore, ut reginalis maiestas nonnulla ad me perscriberet, speravi una cum ipsius maiestatis litteris tuas quoque adfuturas; quod non accidit. Iterum nunc scribo ad maiestatem ipsius breviter, duo insinuans: alterum, quod iam sim in itinere et nihil invenerim litterarum; alterum, quod ab ipsius maiestate peto, ut istis financiariis iubeat mihi 10 persolvi stipendium ordinatum ex officio consilarii pro tempore absentiae praeterito et futuro, eo scilicet quo sum vacaturus, sicut vacavi in negotiis caesareae maiestatis, in quo non sum importunus. Tantum habeatur mei ratio sicut aliorum, prout vult caesar. Neque ex pecunia dependeo, sed ne penitus meis rebus desim, neve illi sibi iussum ab ipsius reginali maiestate non putent. Ego, sicut ille Deus testis est, qui 15 in excelsis habitat, neque periculis, neque laboribus, neque fortunis, neque vitae meae peperi in rebus dominorum meorum, neque adhuc parcam, si modo sit ex usu reipublicae. Temere autem nunquam me amplius obiiciam sicut fieri, neque verbis inductus, neque minis. Nam ut poeta<sup>3</sup> optime ait:

Mi natura dedit leges ex sanguine ductas, 20  
ut melior nequeam iudicis esse metu.

Tantum abest, ut ullius fortunae metu inducar, neque admodum moveor cupiditatibus, quae fere illudunt magnae parti hominum. Docuit enim me studium philosophiae ab huiusmodi rebus alienum esse. Neque tamen incurius<sup>4</sup> aut negligens omnino videri cuperem. Quare privatarum rerum eo libentius iniicio memoriam, et ut ostendam me 25 Dominationi Vestrae nihil non maximum minimum fidere. Quare citra molestiam ubi tempus erit, Dominatio Vestra poterit admonere reginalem maiestatem, ut aerariis istis iubeat mei absentis rationem haberi. Nam etsi hoc fiat, adhuc satis indiligentes erunt in solvendo. Sufficit autem, ut intelligant maiestatis ipsius hanc esse voluntatem. Sequatur, quicquid potest. Scripsi de hac re ad Wolfgangum Haller. 30

[2.] De rebus Hungariae breviter dicam, quid sentiam. Intellexi Gritum<sup>5</sup> post patratam caedem Emerici Cybach<sup>6</sup> obsessum in oppido Mitbisch<sup>7</sup> et inde aufugisse Bellogradum amisso filio et aliis. Ea de re quid sentiam, hoc est. Ioannem Scepusiensem<sup>8</sup> et Hungaros omnes in extremam redactos esse necessitatem submittendi se Ferdinando regi, sine cuius auxiliis Grito pares esse non poterunt ex limitibus 35

509,1 Olao ] *del. ex Olao Olao*

509,20–21 Mi ... metu ] Prop. IV,11,47–18: “mi natura dedit leges a sanguine ductas, / nec possis melior iudicis esse metu.”

509<sup>1</sup> Ep. 507. 509<sup>2</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 509<sup>3</sup> Sextus Propertius. 509<sup>4</sup> ‘carefree’, see HOVEN 2006, 274. 509<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 509<sup>6</sup> In Gritti’s absence, Imre Czibak plotted against him and became Deputy Voivode of Transylvania. Gritti later captured and beheaded him (12 August, 1534), as a result of which an uprising erupted against Gritti. 509<sup>7</sup> Mediaș. 509<sup>8</sup> King John I.

Turcorum adducturo quicquid illic est virium. Nam iussi sunt illi subesse sanchsachi omnes et efferate, tam ob acceptam ignominiam, quam ob Griti iunioris caedem, filii, cui parabat praeter episcopatum Agriensem dominium Transsylvaniae. Si bene meministi verborum inter nos habitorem, facile intelliges, quorsum res spectent.

40 Est et vivente Imbrahimo<sup>9</sup> bassa timendum Hungaris a Thurcis, nisi inveniant rationem sese tutandi adversus illorum violentiam. Et nunc tempus est, quale nunquam erit, neque de Maio praeterito aliquid aliud arbitrare, fuit enim ille causa secluratum et secluratum rerum nostrarum, quales nosti.

Omnino habet rex duo, e quibus potest alterum desumere aut neutrum. Nam si 45 servare vult pacem cum Turcis et permittere Gritum, qui iam laena amisso catulo severior, inhiabit sanguini Hungarorum, quibus poterit modis, in eosdem exercere impotentem iram, de qua nosti, erunt et Hungarorum et Turcarum vires longe minores. Conficient enim se invicem, et poterit tertius insurgere utrasque vires confecturus. Si se Turcis iungat, actum de Hungaris; si se vaivodae et Hungaris, dominabitur.

50 Vaivoda, quas debet, poenas dabit, aut recipietur in gratiam, quod magis laudo. Et ut regina id consilium non aspernetur, etiam atque etiam admoneo. Ad te libere scribo, fuere homines quidam in causa, quominus plurima sint transacta, quae transigi in summum decus potuere. Hi solo studio rerum sunt privatarum ducti, quasi non illi ex salute publica dependerent, qua sine neque privatae securae esse possunt, sed ea

55 fuit obcaecatio non vestra modo Hungarorum, sed et alibi adhuc eas iecit radices, ut difficilis sit exstirpatu. Nunc tandem tempus per me non stabit, neque huic corpori, quod semel devovi reipublicae atque utinam pro ea dignus essem, aut mori, aut vivere, sum parciturus. Vos modo, qui estis apud principem prudentia et cognitione rerum praeditam, et quod ad prudentiam maxime attinet, experientia adversarum rerum iam 60 induratum, agitote, ut meminerit generis sui et auctoritatis, quantumque in ipsius est maiestate, auctoritate et iudicio non desit fratribus suis. Deesse autem posset, si non consuleret in medium, quae optima quaeque convenientissima. Nemo enim fratrum pace maiestatum ipsorum dixerim, tamdiu versatus est in Hungaria, neque melius novit res gentis illius. Haec ad te optimo animo scripsi. Res sunt in summo. 65 Neque temere vaticinamur de malae gentis exterminio. Bene spera et vale. Ego summo mane abeo, si quid rescriptum voles, scribe in Hispanias. Vale iterum, Amice et Frater plusquam Dilecte.

Ex Cameraco 4. Octobris 1534.

<sup>499</sup>510

Elek Thurzó to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 8 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 402–404.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 526–528.

*Notes:* Copy.

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509,46 modis ] *corr. ex maedis*

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509<sup>9</sup> Ibrahim Pargali Pasha.



1. He repeats that in these turbulent times the old benevolence cannot be expressed every day. He feels that he has not fared better since King Louis II died; what is more, during the last few years devastation has become commonplace, and he cannot recover Oláh's possessions either through the King's or his own authority. He has tried to influence him in private, but he does not allow anything to be returned; what is more, he will strive even more to have royal permission to possess what he has now. 2. He thanks him for the information; he only has news of dubious origins. Schepper is said to have claimed that the Sultan is arranging everything through Lodovico Gritti. Gritti has killed Imre Czibak with the help of János Dóczy and Orbán Batthyány, which has all of Transylvania in uproar; following this Gritti is besieging Mediaș. Thurzó does not think there is much hope for peace, and although not everything is looking grim, he is indeed anxious day and night.

Alexius Turzo comes locumtenens regis Ferdinandi in Hungaria etc. Olao.

[1.] Reverende Domine, Amice Honorande, salutem plurimam. Scribit<sup>1</sup> Dominatio Vestra recreatam se, quod visis litteris nostris cognoverit non mutatam esse nostram in se benevolentiam veterem. Nos tamen et nuper scripsimus<sup>2</sup> et modo repetimus temporum malignitatem esse in causa, quod quotidianis eam experimentis non videt 5 declarari. Nam ut breviter multa comprehendamus, nihilo fere meliori condicione sumus, quam cum statim post serenissimi piae memoriae regis Ludovici<sup>3</sup> mortem fueramus, nisi quod non ita sedulo ultro citroque caedibus incumbitur, raptu tamen et violentia, quibus isti strenuitatem, ut ita dicamus, sitam putant, omnia fervent. Si non est fervere, mordicus tenere, quod et ante aliquot annos et quotidie occupata sunt 10 et usurpantur. Videbamus nihil neque regia, neque nostra autoritate effici posse in negotio bonorum Dominationis Vestrae. Tamen privatim inter familiaria colloquia tentavimus hominis animum, cuius responsum nequaquam ab instituto et eius ordinis professione abhorret, primum et alios hoc agere, ne quid remittant, deinde si remissum per eum esset, periculum fore, ne deterior e vestigio occuparet, cum nemo non bonis 15 inhiaret. Addidit, quo niteretur solidius permissum esse regia annuentia, ut quoad opinor aliqua provisio ex regia liberalitate fieri posset, omnia, quae haberet, pacifice possideret, nihilominus si quid desideratae lucis illucescet, vel si qua occasio rebus Dominationis Vestrae serviens se offeret, non est dubitandum, quin statim rursus hominem omnibus quibus licebit modis aggrediamur. 20

[2.] Quod novarum, quae in partibus illis sunt, nos reddiderit participes, habemus illi gratiam. Nos hinc nihil praeter incertum fortunae eventum scribere possumus. Quandoquidem de Corneli<sup>4</sup> adventu, de quo et Dominatio Vestra scribit, nihil aliud haurire potuimus praeterquam, quod populari fama circumfertur dixisse, scilicet illum Turcarum tyrannum omnia per Grittium<sup>5</sup> esse transacturum, sed diu ille exspectatus 25 (quod quidem et partibus illis iam pridem notum esse arbitramur) Transsilvaniam attigit, Ioanni imprimis, et proceribus illius necem machinaturus; et primum evocatum officii nomine in occursum suum Emericum Cibak,<sup>6</sup> Ioanne Doczy<sup>7</sup> et Urbano Batthya-

510<sup>1</sup> Ep. 499. 510<sup>2</sup> Ep. 480. Cap. 1. 510<sup>3</sup> King Loius II. 510<sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 510<sup>5</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 510<sup>6</sup> Imre Czibak. 510<sup>7</sup> János Dóczy (†1534) was Royal Chamberlain from 1515. After Mohács, he first accompanied King John I, later taking Gritti's side. He was executed together with Gritti on 29 September, 1534 in Mediaș.

ny<sup>8</sup> sceleris ducibus, addita Turcarum manu noctu aggressum trucidavit, ob id tota ea  
30 regio Transsylvania, cum amore viri, tum libertatis in illum concitata convenit. Illum  
in oppidum Meggies<sup>9</sup> conclusum obsedit obstinato animo. Intelligimus et modo premi  
illum obsidione. Quid futurum sit, evadatne aliqua calliditate deceptis obsidentibus  
aut delinitis eorum animis, an istic vitae finem sortiatur, incertum est. Ita illius opera  
35 veteranus hostis in perniciem nostram abuti instituerat. Quis enim ab exortu tyran-  
nidis illius audivit provinciam aliquam armis contritam alteri cuiquam tradere, quam  
sibi reservare Turcas maluisse. De tranquillitate futura propterea nihil certi divinare  
licet, quod alia exspectantur illo huc adveniente, si captivitatem et mortem evadat,  
alia item ab illius obitu, quae omnia in incerto posita sunt. Ita cum nondum ullum  
40 profecto inter cetera, si maiestas reginalis, domina nostra gratiosissima huc aliquando  
maiestatem regiam fratrem, bona denique et servitores suos nos inviseret. Cui, ut  
Dominatio Vestra nostra servitia sedulo commendet, rogamus, et valeat feliciter.

Ex Vienna VIII. die Octobris anno Domini 1534.

511

Francesco II Sforza to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 10 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 392.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 528.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-FIRU 1968, 224.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He was happy to read Oláh's letter to Ghilino, at the end of which Oláh added that he sends his regards. Oláh should write to him as frequently as he can about everything, especially the English affairs.*

Franciscus Sforciae dux Mediolani Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende Amice Carissime! Quae de rebus publicis Gilino<sup>1</sup> secretario nostro  
scripsisti,<sup>2</sup> et libenter legimus et nobis grata fuerunt, verum longe gratissima, quae in  
calce epistolae tuae adiunxisti, salutem scilicet et sinceram voluntatem tuam, quam  
5 in rebus nostris omnibus obtulisti. Fac tibi persuadeas, Olahe, pro huius tuae erga nos  
benevolentiae hostimento, nos ad omnia, quae tua vel amicorum tuorum interesse  
intelligemus, semper paratos fore. Interea ad nos quam saepissime de omnibus rebus  
et praesertim Anglicis diligenter perscribas. In hoc certe nobis rem ex sententia  
facturus. Vale et nos, ut facis, ama.

10 Mediolani VI. Idus Octobris 1534.

510<sup>8</sup> Orbán Baththyány (†1547) studied on the University of Padua, and became Royal Secretary in 1523. After Mohács, he changed sides many times. First he was an adherent of King Ferdinand I, then of King John I, followed Lodovico Gritti until Gritti's death, and finally was an adherent of Queen Isabella Jagiellon, except for a short time when he was appointed Captain of Szeged (1541–1542). See KASZA 2012, 522. 510<sup>9</sup> Mediaș. 511<sup>1</sup> Camillo Ghilino. 511<sup>2</sup> Ep. 479.

509<sup>512</sup>

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis de Schepper  
Arras, 11 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 507–511.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 528–531.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 309–314.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Schepper complained in his latest letter that neither the Queen nor he has written to him – but they did not even know where to send the letter, and the Queen was busy, and anyway, what does Oláh have to do with a letter that he does not know and is written in French in any case? 2. He has talked to the Queen about his payment: she is taking care of it, as soon as she sees the financiers; but the financiers have dispersed, and the ones that are here are hunting rather than working. He knows that Schepper is not attached to his money, he knows his character, that he cannot be scared away, nor does he do what he does to benefit himself, but for the sake of public affairs, Christianity, and the rulers. Oláh has always seen what injustice befalls those who would otherwise deserve good, but thanks to their familiarity with philosophy, they can take this with equanimity, too. 3. Talking about the Hungarian affairs, the leaders should come to their senses in connection with Imre Czibak's murder: standing by as this people annihilates itself, tertius gaudens – what kind of Christianity is this? 4. He has now written to Johan Weze what they have been discussing for a long time. There is no point in him trying to persuade the Queen when there are people who do not obey her because they are looking out for their own interests – they should go to hell. Schepper should watch out, warn, and encourage, as is needed. He has also heard that all the Hungarians want to side with King Ferdinand I, and Szapolyai has sent to King Ferdinand I for a *salvus conductus*.

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Sceptero suo salutem.

[1.] Septima huius accepi litteras tuas,<sup>1</sup> quas ex Cameraco<sup>2</sup> quarto huius ipsius ad me dederas. Conquereris nec reginam, nec me ad te rescripsisse ad priores tuas,<sup>3</sup> quas Brugis dederas. A me propterea rescriptum nihil fuit, quia arbitratus eram meas te neque Brugis neque in itinere reperturas. Scripseras enim te post quadriduum datarum 5 litterarum itineri commissurum. Quae mihi redditae fuerunt et quidem aperte per reginam post septimum diem reginae taciturnitatem boni consule. Nosti principes, quales sint. Regina a me sollicitari non potuit ad rescribendum, quandoquidem de ea re nec ad me scripseras, nec scivi, quid agendum mihi apud eam fuisset de rebus mihi ignotis et Gallice scriptis. Ex se principes omnes nostri, quam sint iusto negligentiores 10 in rebus omnibus, si non urgeantur, non te multis iam ex rebus fugit. Attamen acceptis his postremis tuis litteris, questus sum ei de negligentia. Eam adscripsit quotidianae nostrae itinerationi.

[2.] De stipendio tuo exsolvendo, financiariis monendis, ut id faciant, maiestatem suam allocutus sum, dixit se id facturam, fiet autem, cum primum Bruxellas rever- 15 teremur, vel financiarii alibi reginam convenient. Nam ordo hic quaestorius finan-

512,8 sint] *O del. ex* sint neque nec reginae non 512,8 Regina] *O add.* 512,8 non] *O add.*

512<sup>1</sup> Ep. 509. 512<sup>2</sup> Cambrai. 512<sup>3</sup> Ep. 507.

ciariusque nunc dispersus est. Minor illorum pars curiam sequitur et haec quoque venationi potius, quam hoc quaestuario lucro est dedita. Ego aut Bruxellis, aut ubi tempus erit, rem tuam cum Haller<sup>4</sup> curae habebō. Scribam ad tuas Brugas,<sup>5</sup> exemplum diplomatis tui ad me mittant, ut sciamus diem, ad quem primum solutio tibi debeatur. Importunus, ut scribis, esse non debes, neque ex pecuniis pendere, sed facturus esse videreris tu tibi ipse iniuriam, si rem tuam, quam magnis laboribus demeritus es, incaute negligeres. Te nec rebus, nec fortunae, nec periculis, nec vitae, si ita casus tulisset, in rebus principum nostrorum pepercisse non magna persuasione adducor, ut credam. Nam naturam tuam novi, ingenium non alteri rei, quam fidei erga principes et integritati deditum, quae tuae virtutes facile te stimulent, ut ea faceres, quae fecisti, non privatarum rerum aut commodi causa, sed publicarum, sed Christianarum rerum, sed principum. Te nullis aut gloriae cupiditatibus, quae certe vanae sunt ac mundanae, aut metu aut minis induci deinceps posse, ut temere te tuosque periculis opponas, et gaudeo et laetor et praeterea consulo. Nam infidelitatem gentis illius, apud quam egisti societatem, quis magis te ipso novit? Postrema profectio, Dei auxilio utcumque evasisse videris illorum artes et venena. Si te deinceps de rebus eorum omnibus, quod ipsi sagacissimi optime norunt, instructum edoctumque in eorum contubernium apprehenderint. Quid tibi restare poterit, quod Deus longe repellat, quam periculum? Non tibi plus, quam amantissimae coniugi,<sup>6</sup> liberis nociturum. Etsi enim studio philosophiae iam a puero edoctus amore reipublicae omnia et adversa et prospera aequo ferre posses animo. Quid tamen aetas imbecilla tuorum faceret? Quomodo te satisfecisse putares caritati proximorum, dum eos in periculum coniiceres? Res suas tractare possunt principes, ut volunt. Tu vel ego non tenemur in rebus quibuslibet ultra id, quod honestum est et possumus servire. Si virtutis ullum esset nostra aetate praemium vel saltem umbra praemii, liceret bonis aliquid agere, nunc cum nullum sit, quid est, quod agere debemus? Nisi velimus immemores philosophiae praeceptorum ingratitude principum plusquam nunc cruciari et exedi. Quare haec ad te, ut tu ad me, sincero animo scribo. Nec puta me quoque hac temporum ingratitudine in initio non moveri, quotidie sole ipso clarius intuentem, quam immerito multis indignis benefaciant nostri, et dignis iniuste sint ingrati. Tamen cum omnia haec usus eadem, qua tu philosophia, fortunae ludibria et instabilia et caduca et vitiorum praemia existimem, non virtutum, quae non temporalibus, sed perpetuis remunerari possunt. Animo profecto strenuo eadem contemno, et ut tibi in porticu horti tui Brugensis dixeram, quamvis multae et magnae sint promissiones mihi factae, eas tamen si observabuntur, non ultra, quam honestum est, aestimo, si negligentur, quod conscientiae et veridicentiae principum non convenit, non me hominem esse obliviscar, et eum, qui philosophiam ipsam his omnibus facile praeponam.

512,17 curiam] *O corr. ex curam* 512,19 Brugas] *O corr. ex Brugam ut* 512,20 diplomatis] *O corr. ex diplomarum* 512,24 adducor] *O corr. ex adducit* 512,30 infidelitatem] *corr. ex infidia* 512,31 quam] *corr. ex quas* 512,31 novit] *O corr. ex monuit* 512,32 utcumque] *O del. ex utcumque occasione* 512,41 praemii] *corr. ex paemii* 512,43 exedi] *O corr. ex expedi* 512,45 non] *O corr. ex me*

512<sup>4</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 512<sup>5</sup> Brugge. 512<sup>6</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

[3.] In rebus Hungariae, quae ad me scribis,<sup>7</sup> intelligo Czyback<sup>8</sup> cum suis truncatum. Nothum<sup>9</sup> Griti trucidatum, patrem<sup>10</sup> obsessum ante tuas litteras audiveramus. Et 55 praeterea regina dixit eum evasisse et Taurinum<sup>11</sup> profectum, postremo intelleximus Constantinopolim. Memor sum illorum omnium, quae inter nos commenti sumus. Multa sunt principibus nostris, postquam res ita cecidit, cogitanda, sed nihil magis ac diligentius, quam si expergiscerentur. Pati hoc, ut misera illa nostra gens in viscera sua saeviat et sese exedat, dum tertius adveniat. Quod officium est Christianum? Cavere 60 illi, ne pereat, ne sanguine patrio ad internitionem usque madeat, magis est generosi Christianique animi. Omnino illud alterum, quod dicis in gratiam admittendo etc. ab initio mihi summe placuit.

[4.] Qua de re et tecum saepius, si meministi, sum locutus, et antequam tuae litterae hae postremae ad me venirent, ut antea saepe, sic et nuper ad nostrum 65 Lundensem<sup>12</sup> scripseram. Locutus sum, ut mones, reginae, sed ei et iudicio suo, etiam si quod proferret, non valde parent, vel ut obtemperetur, non sinunt suis privatis ducti cupiditatibus et rebus. Quae velim in Tartarum imum cum anchoribus deiicerentur. Quorum quidem si ratio hactenus non fuisset habita, iamdudum omnis mali fomes cessasset, iamdudum quieti essemus, iamdudum Hungaria unita esset, qua unita 70 hostium rabies non tam effrena esset, ut non frenari posset. Praeterea cave putes et illam generis et sexus sui oblitam, non multae reperiuntur Semiramides. Maii praeteriti praesagia saepius versantur in animo, quae utinam futura sint vera. Puto illum esse causam rerum futurarum ex voto contingentium, si occasio praeterierit, si dormiemus, ut solemus, si tineis, quicquid est opum, devorandum congesserimus. 75 Calva est occasio, non comprehendetur fugiens. Astra et alia, quae ab illis vel potius a Deo dependent, praeterita occasione mutari possunt. Quo magis est tibi insudandum, ne monendo, hortando obdormiscas, ne bene coeptis rebus male desis. Gloria ea demum erit tua firma, si qua duci poteris, cum officio tuo non defueris, haec amico et libero animo scribo. Novi te, tu quoque, ut credo, me nosti. 80

Ultra ea, quae scripsisti, accepimus post Griti mortem Hungaros omnes convenisse etiam Ioannissequaceis velle subesse regi nostro Ferdinando. Ioannem misisse ad regem pro salvo conducto, ut aliquem<sup>13</sup> ex suis mittat tractandi gratia. Quae credo vera esse, nam illi eadem moventur scutica. Dominus Lundensis, ut mihi scribit, negotium Bavaricum<sup>14</sup> ex regio voto totum confecit. Scribe ad me certa de his, de 85

512,55 Nothum] *O corr. ex Notum* 512,55 Griti] *O corr. ex Griticum* 512,57 commenti] *O corr. ex commemorati* 512,59 Pati] *O corr. ex Fari* 512,60 exedat] *O corr. ex expedat* 512,66 ei] *O corr. ex illi* 512,67 obtemperetur] *O corr. ex optemperetur* 512,68 cum anchoribus] *O corr. ex Tithanibus* 512,79 demum] *O corr. ex dein* 512,81 mortem] *O corr. ex fortunam* 512,82 sequaceis] *O corr. ex sequacis* 512,84 vera] *O corr. ex verba* 512,84 scutica] *O corr. ex sententia*

512,76 Calva ... occasio] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 670. LVII,70. Nosce tempus. "Fronte capillata, post haec Occasio calva." MYNORS 1989, 108.

512<sup>7</sup> Ep. 509. Cap. 2. 512<sup>8</sup> Imre Czibak was executed on 12 August, 1534. 512<sup>9</sup> Lodovico Gritti was Andrea Gritti's illegitimate son. 512<sup>10</sup> Andrea Gritti. 512<sup>11</sup> Belgrade. 512<sup>12</sup> Johan Weze. 512<sup>13</sup> Probably, István Brodarics. 512<sup>14</sup> The treaty of Linz was concluded by Weze in 1534, signed between the Bavarian princes and the Habsburgs, and most importantly, King Ferdinand I.

quibus aliquando commentati sumus. Vale, Amantissime Cornelii mei non Immemor,  
et scribe! Hinc proficiscemur Valencenas et illinc in Hannoniam, postremo Bruxellas.  
Atrebatu XI. Octobris 1534.

513

Léon Le Plaisant to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 12 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* Manuscript has been lost.

*Published:* PLACENTIVS 1535, b. iiiii–v; TOURNOY 2020.

*Jakob Jespersen, with whom they have been friends for five years, visited him last summer, and he sang Oláh's praise, and it seems he was quite right. So now that he has finished his work titled Lucianus Aulicus, he will publish it with Oláh's approval. If Oláh enjoys it and defends it, he will dedicate further works of his to Oláh.*

Clarissimo viro domino Nicolao Olao, Albensi ecclesiae regni Hungariae custodi,  
serenissimae reginae Mariae et Romanorum regi a secretis Placentius<sup>1</sup> salutem dicit.

Iacobus Arrhusius<sup>2</sup> adulescens, Graece iuxta ac Latine doctissimus, familiaris tuus,  
Clarissime Vir, quicum summa mihi necessitudo iam inde a quinquennio intercessit,  
5 cum me superiore aestate inviseret, Olaum herum suum sedulo apud me depraedicans  
unice desiderare argumentum litteratum e Musaeo Placentiano inter cetera recense-  
bat.

Cuius verbis ut nihil verius unquam comperi, perinde serio definire coepi, quod  
tandem ex omnibus tibi arrideret animumque oblectaret.

10 Itaque cum Phaleucio carmine<sup>3</sup> *Lucianum Aulicum*<sup>4</sup> absolvissem, tuque regiae au-  
lae unicum sis columen ac rarum quoddam monile – nam illic studia ac mores  
philosophicos solus tueris – iure optimo fabulam tuo auspicio in publicum emergere  
passus sum.

Quam tu pro tua humanitate gratus excipies exceptamque ingenue defensabis,  
15 faciesque officio tuo, ut lucubrationes alias, quas plurimas apud me retinei, Olao  
posthac nuncupem. Vale.

Antoverpiae quartus Idus Octobres anno salutis 1534.

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513<sup>1</sup> Léon Le Plaisant (†1548) was a Dominican monk and poet. He wrote various scholarly works and poems in Latin and Greek, see TOURNOY 2020. 513<sup>2</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 513<sup>3</sup> A “kind of verse is named Phalaecium, Phalaecum, or Phaleucium carmen. This verse is hendecasyllabic, consisting of a spondee, a dactyl, and three trochees”, see: *Phalaecus* in LEWIS–SHORT 1984<sup>2</sup>, 1366–1367. 513<sup>4</sup> On this fabula, see TOURNOY 2020, 13.

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 12 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 393–394.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 532–534.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He did not write because he was supposed to travel to King Ferdinand I. He is happy to hear that the Queen is feeling better, and Ambrogio Candiano will already be there in case she gets ill again. 2. Will he briefly summarize what is going on with everyone? With Francesco II Sforza, Christina of Denmark, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and King Christian II. They have heard that King Henry VIII is still living with his mistress, but she is said to be discontented, wanting to instigate the King to great vileness. The death of More and Fisher would be a great loss for Christianity. He asks him to inform him about the Münster affair, the reason Philip II, Count of Nassau-Wiesbaden has left, and when his globe is going to be ready. 3. As far as the Italian affair is concerned: Pope Clement VII died on 25 September, following a long illness; the Cardinals have arrived, and they entered the conclave on the day before the ides of October – if only they elected a good pope! 4. Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha has crossed over to Africa and occupied Tunis. A monster was born in Veroli on 21 September. The Italian fleet is getting ready; if the Veneti side with us, there will be a clash with Barbarossa. Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha is said to have been driven out by the King of Persia, and he has lost 30,000 of his men. Lodovico Gritti has had Imre Czibak killed, and he is attacking a castle in Transylvania – if only he was brought to justice!

Camillus Gilinus secretarius ducis Mediolani Nicolao Olao secretario etc. salutem.

[1.] Accepi uberrimas litteras tuas XXI. Septembris datas,<sup>1</sup> officii humanitatis plenissimas, quibus iamdiu testatam singularem tuam erga me benevolentiam novo mihi scribendi genere confirmas. Non est, Olahe Honoratissime, quod mecum taciturnitatem multorum dierum excutes. Nos, inquam, nos in causa fuimus, qui me 5 brevi in Germaniam ad serenissimum regem profecturum tot litteris testati sumus.<sup>2</sup> Laetor reginam nostram rarissimam et cum illa antiquitate clarissima conferendam bene valere, nec est, quod autumnum timeas, in tempore enim Candianum<sup>3</sup> habebitis, si quid sinistri impenderet, sed puto deos omnia nostra fortunaturos. Non possum non permulta maiestati suae debere, quae clementia sua me nihili hominem compre- 10 hendat. Ego pro hac re ne ingratus videar, ut soleo, istius animi magnitudinem et in omnibus rebus excellentissimam virtutem admirari non desistam, hoc certe consilio, ut pro eius servitio caput meum semper exponam.

[2.] Dux meus maiestatem suam, ut vere servum decet, suspicit et admiratur, et lectione tuarum litterarum valde delectatur.<sup>4</sup> Dux illustrissima Christina,<sup>5</sup> ne istic 15 negligentiae arguatur, crebrius scribet. Roterodamus noster, quem summe observo propter illam ingenii vim et singularem doctrinam, et famae et vitae suae consuluit, dum Friburgi, quod reliquum est, consumere in animo habet. Mihi crede, nunquam

514,1 secretarius ... Mediolani] *O add.*

514<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 514<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 505. 514<sup>3</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 514<sup>4</sup> Ep. 511. 514<sup>5</sup> Christina of Denmark, Duchess-consort of Milan.

nebulones isti vestri censores pulpitarii,<sup>6</sup> qui in patinarum contemplatione non Christi  
20 vitae, in ventrem et nates creverunt, ut cucurbitae, a maledictis abstinuissent, adipi  
et ventri suo nati. Quae de Christerno<sup>7</sup> rege nobis scripsisti, duces mei aequissimis  
auribus et libentissime audivere. Di faciant, si in caesaris rem est, ut reliquae votis  
nostris res pendeat, idque ut ex litteris tuis intelligamus, operam diligenter dabis.

Regem Anglum<sup>8</sup> cum paelice<sup>9</sup> adhuc vivere relicta coniugis<sup>10</sup> suae consuetudine  
25 audiebamus, verum ex Gallia incerto quodam rumore ferebatur, paelicem non bene de  
rege contentam, et ipsum regem facinoris tanti conscientia frigide paelice auscultare;  
hoc si verum est, ex te scire optamus. Magnum certe naufragium respublica Chri-  
stiana fecisset ex morte Roffensis,<sup>11</sup> item Mori,<sup>12</sup> quorum integritatem et doctrinam  
omnes boni in caelum ferunt. Monasteriensis<sup>13</sup> expeditionis exitum fac ex tuis litteris  
30 intelligamus. Item quid afferat dominus a Nassau<sup>14</sup> et abitionis eius a caesare causam,  
et num globus meus ad umbilicem pervenerit.<sup>15</sup>

[3.] Res Itala in hoc statu est: pontifex Clemens VII<sup>16</sup> moritur XXV. Septembris  
ex longa aegritudine, parentalia ei decernuntur more antiquo. Gallici cardinales VII  
Romam ingressi sunt VI. Kalendas Octobris. Salzpurgensis,<sup>17</sup> item Tridentinus<sup>18</sup> sunt  
35 in itinere. Urbani ad electionem futuri pontificis non parum factioni caesaris prode-  
runt. Utinam Hispani adessent, melior quippe res nostra foret. Candidati pontificatus  
sunt Firnesius Hipporediensis,<sup>19</sup> Campeius,<sup>20</sup> Senensis,<sup>21</sup> Sanctoseverinus,<sup>22</sup> Savonen-  
sis camerarius,<sup>23</sup> Franciscus Sanctae Crucis Hispanus,<sup>24</sup> Ciko Genuensis.<sup>25</sup> Romae  
satis tranquille agitur. Ascanius Columna<sup>26</sup> rebus urbanis moderatur et pacatam  
40 civitatem habet. In conclavi cardinales omnes pridie Iduum Octobris<sup>27</sup> intrabunt,  
utinam nobis pontificem designent bonum, cuius arbitratu et autoritate respublica  
meliorem statum sortiatur.

[4.] Aenobarbus cum classe in Aphricam traiecit, et Tunetum<sup>28</sup> occupavit. Regu-  
lus<sup>29</sup> in arce satis debili adhuc se continet, nec caesaris auxilio frustrabitur. Verulis<sup>30</sup> ab  
45 Urbe Roma per XXXX lapidem distantibus natum est monstrum, ad hoc exemplum,  
XXI. Septembris. Quod reginae ostendes, item Lucretiae Virgini.<sup>31</sup> Classis in regnis

514,24 paelice ] *corr. ex pollice* 514,25 paelicem ] *corr. ex pollicem* 514,26 paelice ] *corr. ex pollici*  
514,40 intrabunt ] *corr. ex intrabant*

514<sup>6</sup> "Liber, ut videtur, continens quae ad pulpitem cantantur, vel recitantur." See DU CANGE 1883.  
514<sup>7</sup> Probably, Christian II of Denmark, the father of Christina. 514<sup>8</sup> King Henry VIII. 514<sup>9</sup> Anne  
Boleyn. 514<sup>10</sup> Catherine of Aragon. 514<sup>11</sup> John Fisher. 514<sup>12</sup> Thomas More. 514<sup>13</sup> Münster.  
514<sup>14</sup> Philip II, Count of Nassau-Wiesbaden (1515–1566). 514<sup>15</sup> 'to reach the end, to be finished', see  
HOVEN 2006, 593. 514<sup>16</sup> Pope Clement VII. 514<sup>17</sup> Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg. 514<sup>18</sup> Bernhard  
von Cles. 514<sup>19</sup> Alessandro Farnese, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia e Velletri, who became Pope Paul III. On  
his election and his reign, see REBECCHINI 2007. 514<sup>20</sup> Lorenzo Campeggio. 514<sup>21</sup> Probably Giovanni  
Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena between 1503 and 1529. He became a Cardinal in 1517. 514<sup>22</sup> Antonio  
Sanseverino. 514<sup>23</sup> Agostino Spinola, Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church and Administrator of  
Savona. 514<sup>24</sup> Francisco de Quiñones, Cardinal-Priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. 514<sup>25</sup> Innocenzo  
Cibo, Archbishop of Genoa. 514<sup>26</sup> Ascanio I Colonna (1500–1557) was Duke of Urbino, recognized by  
Emperor Charles V as Grand Contestable of the Kingdom of Naples in 1520. For more, see PETRUCCI 1982.  
514<sup>27</sup> Ghilino was wrong: the election ended on the following day (13 October), not on 14 October. The  
election only lasted three days, from 11 to 13 October, see REBECCHINI 2007, 157. 514<sup>28</sup> Tunis. 514<sup>29</sup> Abu  
Abdallah Muhammad V al-Hasa (1526–1543). 514<sup>30</sup> Veroli. 514<sup>31</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross).



Neapolis et Siciliae LXXX triremum nomine caesaris, item Genuae et in Hispaniis paratur, quae proximo vere exhibit adversum Turcicam. Si Veneti nobiscum sentiunt, actum certe esset de Aenobarbo. Fama nos tenet Imbraimum<sup>32</sup> a rege Persarum<sup>33</sup> penitus profligatum et in eo proelio ad XXX millia equitum Turcarum desiderata. Si 50 quid ulterius certe audiemus, dabo operam, ut scias. Gritteus,<sup>34</sup> cuius iussu Cibak<sup>35</sup> in Transsilvania trucidatus fuit, in arce quadam<sup>36</sup> obsidetur intercepta maiori suorum parte a Transsilvanis. Utinam suae temeritatis poenas luat. Dux<sup>37</sup> meus te valde diligit, tum virtute tua, tum ob servitium erga maiestatem reginae fidelem tuum. Serenissimae dominae reginae, dominae nostrae clementissimae, item illustrissimae 55 Dorotheae<sup>38</sup> et Virgini Lucretiae me multum commendabis. Item omnibus amicis. Vale, Amicorum Optime!

Mediolano III. Iduum Octobris 1534.

515

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 13 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 392.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 534.

*Notes:* Copy.

*A courier has arrived from Genoa, and he says that the ruler of Tunis, along with his family, was executed by the citizens after he had relinquished Tunis to Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha, and that a Jewish pirate is in charge of the Turkish fleet instead of Barbarossa, and they are plundering Corsica and Sardinia. Andrea Doria is still in Sicily; if he suffers any damage, he will go on a huge rampage. He has also heard that the Turks have been ordered not to hurt the Veneti and the Gall.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Alteris litteris meis scriptis ecce tabellarius ex Genua. Is enim nobis pro certo confirmavit regulum Tuneti,<sup>1</sup> Tuneto per deditionem Aenobarbo<sup>2</sup> tradita, ab oppidanis una cum liberis et coniuge trucidatum. Idem Iudeum pyratam pro Aenobarbo in classe Turcica vicariam operam agere et propter insulam Corsicam cum bene magna 5 parte classis esse, et maritimam omnem Sardiniae oram populatum. Princeps Auria<sup>3</sup> durissimis tempestatibus adhuc in Sicilia retinetur. Si in illum incidet, di boni, quas strages edet. Accepimus eundem a Turca in mandatis habere, ut Venetis et Gallis omnino parcent, reliqua nosti. Vale.

Mediolano III. Idus Octobris 1534.

10

514 <sup>32</sup> Ibrahim Pargalı Pasha. 514 <sup>33</sup> Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. 514 <sup>34</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 514 <sup>35</sup> Imre Czibak. 514 <sup>36</sup> Mediaş. 514 <sup>37</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 514 <sup>38</sup> Dorothea of Denmark. 515 <sup>1</sup> Abu Abdallah Muhammad V al-Hasa. 515 <sup>2</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 515 <sup>3</sup> Andrea Doria (D'Oria) was usually called Admiral Doria, although he also became Prince of Melfi in 1531.

## 516

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 18 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 395–396.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 534.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*The bearer of the letter did not wait for him to send a letter when they received news that the new Pope has been elected: it is Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Lodovico Gritti is rumoured to have been killed by his Romanian (Dacian) compatriots from Transylvania. If only they knew what the Sultan was planning regarding the Hungarian affairs; the French, the Veneti, and the Pope only know some details. Cristoforo Doria has gone to Syria with two boats and occupied Tyre, then he went over to Palestine; it is known exactly how big a devastation he has inflicted on the Turkish forces.*

Camillus Gilinus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Commodum tabellarius recesserat, cum nobis allatum fuit cardinalem Farnesium<sup>1</sup> pontificem designatum esse, omniaque Romae pacata. Fama nos tenet Griteum<sup>2</sup> Turcae a Dacis tuis civibus interfectum.

5 Utinam prius caesaris Turcarum sententiam super rebus Hungaricis perscrutati essent, multa certe ex eo de Gallis et fortasse de Venetis et pontifice ad rem nostram cognovissent, sed Deus optimus maximus operam dabit, ut aequi et iniqui intelligant, caesarum nostrorum illustrissimam domum sibi oppido curae esse. Christophorus Auria,<sup>3</sup> principis Auriae<sup>4</sup> nepos ex sorore, qui pyraticam faciebat, in Syriam cum  
10 duabus actuariis navibus descendit et capta Tyro<sup>5</sup> depopulata et incensa transmittēbat in Palestinam, certum habemus illum in hac expeditione IIII triremes et fustes V Turcos interceptisse, et magnis divitiis auctum. Vale et me Virgini Lucretiae<sup>6</sup> plurimum commenda.

Mediolano XV. Kalendas Novembris anno Domini 1534.

## 517

Christian Kellenaeer to Miklós Oláh  
Veurne, 19 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 55–57.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 535–537.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

516,8 illustrissimam] *O corr. ex illustrissimarum* 516,12 Turcos] *corr. ex Turcis*

516<sup>1</sup> Alessandro Farnese (1468–1549) was elected on 13 October, 1534 and became Pope Paul III. On the election see Ghilino's previous letter: Ep. 514. 516<sup>2</sup> Lodovico Gritti was killed on 29 September, 1534. 516<sup>3</sup> Cristoforo Doria. 516<sup>4</sup> Andrea Doria. 516<sup>5</sup> Tyre. 516<sup>6</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross).

1. It was difficult for him to decide that he can write to Oláh, who is busy with important public affairs, and he did not want to seem ungrateful either, especially not with Oláh – there are very few supporters of his among the adherents of the Christian religion who can support others with such zeal. 2. He has learnt that Oláh has also treated others with such magnanimity, and when he turned to Oláh for help, he did not reject him or send him away, instead he welcomed him to his family, put him up as a guest, to the extent that he felt that only the gods live like this. For this he will always be grateful, so it took him a while to take up a pen because he did not want to tarnish the beacon that had fallen on him. 3. As far as his affair is concerned, he will write about it another time because it will be a long story. In any case, he wants to let Oláh know that it was difficult for him that this winter they did not deepen their study of Greek together; he does not know what to think about this change, but he is certain that it can be explained. He asks him to support him and take him in when he is in Flanders next time.

Christianus Sacheus<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao servitium.

[1.] Diu dubius anxiusque steti, veluti in trivio haerens, num Dominationem Tuam meis litteris interpellarem, necne, alio enim recenti adhuc acceptorum beneficiorum stimulante memoria, quae sine summa ingratitude nota et nefario scelere me praeterire non posse colligebam, alio repellente pudore, cum verebar importunis meis 5 neniis Tuae Dominationi maximis gravissimisque reipublicae muneribus occupatissimo obstrepere, amaram tamen hanc animi contentionem tandem discidi et quasi vim huic pudori intuli, vicitque gratitudo. Nam in alteram partem audaciam, scilicet vel in ingratitude peccandum erat, huic cedens victoriae palmam, in illam certe 10 impingere malui, quod cum honestius mihi visum est et aequius, satiusque esse duxi importunus magis, quam minus gratus videri. Quis enim tam obtuso, inepto et stupido pectore possit, ut a tanto praesule adeo magnifica insperata et omnino necessaria accepta beneficia non agnosceret? Quis tantum virum non tam genere clarum, quam virtute, eruditione, summa rerum prudentia, singulari quoque et rara quadam eloquentia, nobilem cum primis et insignem non admiraretur, suspiceret, 15 observaret, nisi a cote natus, vel a tigride enutritus. Non enim quicumque auribus tuis datum iri putes, te obsecro, si quod res est, ipsa urget, libere dixerō, rarissimas sane esse inter Christianae religionis professores seu cultores divini tui ingenii aves, tanta caritatis flamma accensi, tam attente rebus omnibus laudatissimis et maxime expetendis studiosi, tam candide et clementer omnia interpretantis, tanto studio, 20 ardore adjuvandis (quos favore omni et auxilio destitutos cernis) inflammatis, quod nuper evidentissimo argumento erga me declarasti.

[2.] Accepimus interdum et legimus quosdam beneficos et liberales in alios exstis-  
tisse, verum ab his officio prius vel obsequio fuisse provocatos. Tu vero me ignobilem  
prorsus et vel ipso Iro pauperiorem ad haec ferocitate fortunae, ut numero, quod 25

517,11 duxi ] *O del. ex duxi in amore*

517,16 nisi ... enutritus ] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Francis Cassander on 6 March, 1531, see ALLEN 1938, 156: "possem e cotibus prognatus, a tigride enutritus videri." 517,25 Iro pauperiorem ] Proverb, see Erasm. *Adag.* 576. I,VI,76. Iro, Codro pauperior. MYNORS 1989, 51.

517<sup>1</sup> Christian Kellenaer, Chrétien Kelders, or Christianus Cellarius taught Greek and Latin in the Pedagogy the Lily, then by 1530, he taught Greek at the Collegium Trilingue. For more on his life, see DE VOCHT 1954, 291–296 and passim; and POLET 1936, 255–256.

res est, dicam, ad stipem fere redactum, non ut iam vulgo fieri consuevit, operam  
tuam subsidiumque ambientem protinus contorto collo es aspernatus. Non torvo vultu  
reverberasti, non diris verbis reiecisti, sed hunc extremae sortis homunculum antea  
visum, nunquam nescio, quo fato, aut quo agitatus numine omnino certe praeter  
30 meritum et expectationem benignissime in tuam familiam recepisti, nec ut vulgare  
aliquod mancipium quemadmodum, tamen fortuna postulabat mea, me tractasti,  
verum bonum bono accumulans, ut familiarem omnino et collegam, neque te mihi  
communem aulicum, sed vere Christianum exhibuisti, cum vili huic corpusculo tanta  
calamitate oppresso, mensam tecum cum deliciis cupedisque instructissimam, tum  
35 piis doctis honestisque colloquiis suavissimum gratissimumque convivium facere tua  
celsitudo dignata sit. Deorum equidem me vitam vivere existimabam prodigiosam,  
mehercule, in tanto rerum fastigio, comitatem illam et humanitatem quoties recordor,  
recordor autem quotidie, penitus obstupesco, nec potius quicquam in votis habeo,  
quoniam referendi beneficii nunquam mihi potestatem futuram scio, quam non a  
40 Mercurio, sed a Deo optimo maximo dignam heroinis tuis et multifariam animi  
virtutibus, quibus te exornatum et quasi coruscantem conspexi, commode exacteque  
concipiendis describendisque facultatem suppeditari, quo propensam saltem erga te  
meam voluntatem declararem.

At nunc, cum huic muneri rude meum ingeniolum multis partibus impar esse  
45 cognosco, manum reprimo, ne ebur atramento candefacere studens excellentissimas  
tui animi dotes, luce ipsa meridiana magis perspicuas, et nullis non admirandam  
tuam dignitatem meisnebulis obfuscem verius, quam illustrem. Hoc unum tamen  
dignitatem tuam minime latere volo, nempe me ei debere omnia meque ipsum, atque  
adeo esse obaeratum, ut dum vixero, nunquam meum nomen ex eius aere delere  
50 queam. Quare me uti deditissimo mancipio, uti licebit quando, quando volet, nequic-  
quam enim imperare poterit, ubi non statim promptum et ad manum suum habebit  
Christianum, si modo quicquam esse possit, in quo illius tenuitas ipsi usui esse possit.

[3.] Ceterum de statu rerum mearum scribam, quamprimum nactus fuero op-  
portunitatem. Nam longior foret fabula, nec nunc tempus patitur, siquidem tot in-  
55 volvor, immo obruor negotiorum undis, et componendis domini mei litteris huc  
illuc transmittendis adeo occupor, ut vix aliquid mei meis habeam, et difficillime  
hanc unam extorserim epistolam. Hoc tamen imprimis te scire velim magnopere me  
dolere tuis non paruisse consiliis et quod ultro magnifica oblata liberalitate fruens,  
honestissimo Graecarum litterarum studio hanc tecum hiemem non transegerim,  
60 rectius profecto multo et consultius, tum meis moribus, tum studiis (nolo tamen  
male mihi ominari), sed ut protasin video, timeo catastrophen, fuisset prospectum,  
at nescio, quo pacto quasi a natura nobis innato vitio plerique omnes in re nostra  
caecutimus, et non nisi icti sentimus. Nam ut verbo dicam uno omnia, hic non nisi  
genialiter, asotice et bacchice vivitur, rarissima sunt sacra Minervae, ut interim sileam,

517,47 meis] *O del. ex meis imbris* 517,47 nebulis] *corr. ex nebulisque* 517,53 mearum] *O del. ex mearum domi tuae* 517,61 video] *O corr. ex videam*

517,27 torvo vultu] Cf. Ovid. *Met.* XIII,3–4; Tac. *Ann.* XV,72.

si non exosos, saltem risui esse doctos et studiosos. Nequaquam enim amaracum 65  
sus sustinet, molestissimo, ita me Musae bene ament, animo fero, diram hanc et  
iniquam metamorphosim. Sed de his fusius aliquando, tua, rogo, dignitas congestum  
hoc tumultuarie et confuse chaos, planeque, quod dici solet scopas dissolutas, benigne,  
ut omnia solet, interpretetur. Siquidem effusum ex tempore idque alta nocte, in mediis  
quoque negotiorum undis proxime scripturus ordine, rerumque dignitatem pro captus 70  
nostri imbecillitate et agresti nostra Musa sane observare curabimus.

Postremo te etiam atque etiam rogo et obsecro, ut, si quid sit, in quo Christiano  
tuo commodare poteris, ne graveris pii hominis, ut hactenus ultro et non lacessitus  
fecisti, praestare officium. Nam transactis his hibernis mensibus rursus in Flandriam,  
vel quo facta ferant, sum me recepturus. Vale. 75

Ex arce Furnensi in curia illustrissimi archiepiscopi Bremensis Octobris die unde-  
vigesimo 1534.

518

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 20 October 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 394–395.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 537–538.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He recommends Ambrogio Candiano wholeheartedly, and he asks the gods to help with the Queen's health problems. He will hear about the public affairs from Candiano. He entrusts his globe to Oláh, he should let him know when it is ready.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Cadianum<sup>1</sup> medicum, quem istuc ad vos dux<sup>2</sup> meus mittit, sibi summopere  
commendo, vir certe est tua amicitia dignus, meique amantissimus. Deos rogo, ut  
istius adventus reginae nostrae salutaris sit. De rebus publicis non est, quod scribam,  
ex eo enim omnia intelliges. Globum meum tibi curae esse scio, cum ad umbilicum 5  
pervenerit,<sup>3</sup> ex te fac, ut cognoscam. Bannisum<sup>4</sup> salutabis. Item secretarium Ioannem<sup>5</sup>  
et Panormitanum.<sup>6</sup> Scepperum<sup>7</sup> si istic est, salvere iubebis et lectissimam eius coniu-  
gem.<sup>8</sup> Vale, Olahe Carissime, Gilini Tui Memor.

Mediolano XX. Octobris 1534.

517,65–66 amaracum ... sustinet] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 338. I,IV,38: "Denique amaracinum fugitat sus".  
MYNORS 1982, 347. 517,68 scopas dissolutas] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 495. IV,95. Scopae dissolutae. Scopas  
dissolvere. MYNORS 1982, 466.

518<sup>1</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 518<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 518<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 514. Cap. 2. 518<sup>4</sup> Jakob Radich de  
Bannis the Younger. 518<sup>5</sup> Probably Johan Weze. 518<sup>6</sup> Jean II Carondelet. 518<sup>7</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.  
518<sup>8</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

## 519

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 6 November 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 060–061.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 538.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 218–219.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He did not want to miss the opportunity to greet him, and he would have recommended the bearer of the letter, Guilhelmus van den Steene, to Oláh's attention, if he did not know that Oláh already knows him. He is an excellent man, educated and virtuous, he will make a worthy abbot. He is sending Epitome to Oláh through him. The Homer edition is not ready yet due to a lack of paper, but he will send a copy as soon as it is done.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Nactus opportunum tabellarium, dominum Lapidanum<sup>1</sup> nolui committere, quin te vel paucis salutarem, Domine Consiliari Observande, quem virum tibi commendarem, nisi scirem eum iam tibi esse commendatissimum. Est profecto vir talibus praeditus ingenii dotibus et eruditione ac morum probitate, ut dignissimus sit, qui aliquando fiat abbas sui coenobii. Mitto Dominationi Tuae per illum *Epitomen quoddam rerum Romanarum*.<sup>2</sup> Homerum<sup>3</sup> nondum absolvimus propter papyri inopiam, quia eius formae, qua incepimus illum excudere, Antverpiae venalem invenire nonpossumus, speramus tamen brevi illic allatum iri. Quamprimum absolutus fuerit, ilico ad te transvolabit.

10 Bene vale, Patrone Unice Colende. Raptim.  
Lovanii VI. Novembris anno MDXXXIII.

## 520

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 9 November 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 395.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 538.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He will keep it brief because the bearer of the letter is hurrying him. The Pope's death has helped the Emperor's affairs a lot, the new Pope will not be against him. Lodovico Gritti has deserved his punishment, if only King Francis I met the same fate. Lucretia Caballis will report on the Bey of Tunis and Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Breviorem me facit tabellarii festinatio, quam institueram, quare, mihi ignoscas, velim. Clementis<sup>1</sup> interitus, di boni, quantum rebus caesaris Dei nostri conduxit, mira

519,3 Consiliari ] *corr.* ex Consiliarie

519<sup>1</sup> Guilhelmus van den Steene. 519<sup>2</sup> The little synopsis of Roman history, written by John Warsenius of Huy, was printed in September 1534. See DE VOCHT, 1954, 116. 519<sup>3</sup> Ressen's Homer edition was completed in 1535, see DE VOCHT 1954, 117. 520<sup>1</sup> Pope Clement VII died on 25 September, 1534.

certe cum Gallo<sup>2</sup> sempiterno hoste nostro in conventu illo Massaliensi fabricaverat, quae brevi exhibunt. Novus pontifex<sup>3</sup> caesari haud adversabitur, nobisque aequus erit 5 omnium consensu et opinione. Griteus<sup>4</sup> sceleratus poenas meritas a Dacis suis luit, utinam et Gallus omnium regum, qui sunt et qui fuerunt, pessimus, cum Turca suo illud idem committat. Quod de regulo Tuneti,<sup>5</sup> item Aenobarbi classe habemus, de Lucretia Virgine<sup>6</sup> rarissima intelliges. Istae enim exempla quaedam litterarum duci<sup>7</sup> meo transmissa exaravi. Vale et Bannisium<sup>8</sup> nostrum salutabis et, quid actum fuerit 10 de globo meo aliquando, scribe.

Mediolano IX. Novembris 1534.

521

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 20 November 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 395.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 539.

*Notes:* Copy.

*When his globe is ready, Giacomo Fagnano should hand it over to Jakob Radich de Bannis, who will get it to him quickly. Lodovico Gritti has been lost, along with his brother and son.*

Idem Nicolao Olao summe suo salutem.

Globus meus si perfectus est, Iacobo Fagnano<sup>1</sup> negotiatori Mediolanensi, qui Antverpiae agit, fac, per Bannisium<sup>2</sup> tradatur. Is enim a me in mandatis habet, ut quamprimum eundem ad me mittat. Gritteus<sup>3</sup> cum fratre et filio periit.<sup>4</sup> Utinam regi nostro omnia feliciter et ex sententia succedant, magnum certe adversarium fortuna 5 ei intercepti. Vale et amicos omnes iubebis ex me salvere.

Mediolano XX. Novembris 1534.

522

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 1534

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 391.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 522.

*Notes:* Copy.

520,9 Lucretia Virgine ] *corr. ex* Lucretiae Virgine

520<sup>2</sup> King Francis I. 520<sup>3</sup> Pope Paul III, born Alessandro Farnese. 520<sup>4</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 520<sup>5</sup> Abu Abdallah Muhammad V al-Hasa. 520<sup>6</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 520<sup>7</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 520<sup>8</sup> Jakob Radich de Bannis the Younger. 521<sup>1</sup> Giacomo Fagnano. 521<sup>2</sup> Jakob Radich de Bannis the Younger. 521<sup>3</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 521<sup>4</sup> Gritti was killed along with his two sons on 29 September, 1534, during the siege of Mediaș.

*Christina, Duchess of Milan, is in the countryside. If the Queen and Dorothea, Electress Palatine, are not receiving any letters from her, it is because the bearer of the letter was in a hurry.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Dux mea illustrissima<sup>1</sup> rusticator.<sup>2</sup> Quare si serenissima regina et excellentissima domina Dorothea<sup>3</sup> litteras ab ea non habebunt, in causa est, quod tabellarius valde festinabat. Vale et te salvum cupio.

5 Mediolano 1534.

523

Guilhelmus van den Steene to Miklós Oláh  
Bergues, 6 January 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 135–136.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 439–441.

*Notes:* Copy.

*1. He is glad to be writing to Oláh, but it is rare that someone can take the letter. If it was up to him, he would stay in Leuven forever in the friendly company of educated men, but he has been relocated to the stone mine, which he finds difficult to take. Oláh and the Bishop of Brescia keep sowing the seeds of science even during wintertime; if only van den Steene had the opportunity to live among such people, who are nauseated by things beyond virtue and erudition – which others appreciate. The church Oláh is erecting is rock solid, the wind cannot touch it, and wilted, even dead studies are coming alive in it again. 2. Oláh wrote to van den Steene's lord the other day to ask to transfer him, but his lord pretended not to understand Oláh's words. So he asks him to write to him again and put in a good word for him by recommending him to the Queen's service, but he should not mention that he has asked him to do so. He will not be ungrateful; Oláh will soon receive van den Steene's latest book with a dedication to him.*

Guilhelmus Lapidanus monachus Nicolao Olao salutem.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Gestii iam dudum animus, Magnifice Domine, ad Magnificentiam Tuam litteras transmittere, sed huius animi mei desiderium, velut repagulis quibusdam coercuit, quo minus sese exprompserit in opus rarus tabellionum proventus, qui ad vos con-  
5 volent. Itaque cum mihi sors iam demum obiecit nuntium opportunum, nolui sane praetermittere, quin ad te meum unicum maecenatem transcriberem. Velim, ita me di bene ament, me perpetuum, licet non familiarem sodalem, saltem clientulum apud te futurum, nimirum qui iam ex corona consortioque doctissimorum virorum, quos Lovanium non sine fenore peperit, ac in dies parturit, relegatus sum ad lapidicinam,<sup>2</sup>  
10 aut si quid molestius est, ineptissimorum hominum abhorrentium ab omni morum civilitate ac pietate vitae praeseferentium, tamen ipso vestitu, ac tonso capillitio,

523,9 lapidicinam ] *corr. ex lapidicinam*

522<sup>1</sup> Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan. 522<sup>2</sup> "Hunting-parties were held for Christina's amusement both in Vigevano and in Count Massimiliano's woods in Cussago." CARTWRIGHT 1913, 99. 522<sup>3</sup> Dorothea of Denmark and Norway (1520–1580), Electress Palatine was Christina of Denmark's sister. 523<sup>1</sup> On this letter, see VERBEKE 2005. 523<sup>2</sup> Paronomasia with Steene's name.

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miram sanctimoniam personam, si haec liceat illis in os dicere citra omnem invidiam notam, sed veritatis comes simultas est.

Apud te autem et reverendissimum dominum episcopum Brixinensem,<sup>3</sup> absit adulatio, quid aliud etiam in saevissima bruma vernat, floret et maturescit, quam 15 uberrima omnium bonorum studiorum seges? Deum immortalem, quanta nuper apud vos relucebat eruditio, quanta facundiae adulatio, quam regiae immo plusquam regiae dotes, adeo ut ipse stupefactus nescierim me vel hominibus terrenis, vel dis immortalibus adiunctum, utinam Lapidano concederent aliquando superi in eiusmodi virorum coetu vivere, quibus praeter unicam virtutem ac eruditionem cetera in 20 rebus humanis, quantumvis magnifica vilescent, atque in nauseam vertuntur. Tuae tamen Dominationi, mi Patrone Unice, integrum est tuum Lapidanum subrigere in aedificium ecclesiasticum,<sup>4</sup> non quod ambiam in summo culmine collocari tumidus, ac expositus omnibus superbiae ventis ac tempestatibus, sed ut vel exigua saltem mihi oblata esset materia virtutis exercendae, quam nec mihi arrogo, nec omnino 25 a me alienam affirmo. Tum apud nos bona studia, iam flaccida, aut potius emortua reviviscerent. Tum monasterium non lapidibus terreis, sed vivis construeretur, tum vera religio refloresceret, ac tacentibus graculis cygni canerent.

[2.] Scripsisti<sup>5</sup> nuper mea causa, cuius rei gratia gratiam habeo immortalem, ut me promoveret dominus<sup>6</sup> meus praelatus, sed is apertiore requirit scripturam, ut 30 qui ex litteris nequiverit intelligere, quorsum tenderet tuus sermo. Itaque etiam atque etiam rogo et obtestor, ut si quando permittant tuae occupationes, non graveris rursus transcribere ad meum dominum abbatem,<sup>7</sup> nullam mei faciens mentionem, quod Dominationem Tuam sollicitaverim ad id negotii, utpote ab ipso expascens, ut me dignetur in beneficium coadiutoriae promovere, promittens etiam ad hoc apud 35 illustrissimam reginam tuum studium et operam. Nam, Observande mi Domine, non ausim ipse haec meo domino ob oculos ponere, neque aliqua ex parte praesens significare. Quaeso, sis mihi in hac re fautor et patronus, in te uno tota spes mea est fixa, non deero, si res fluat mihi feliciter, ingratus erga tua in me benemerita, sed quid tanta contentione verborum haec a tam candido tamque prompto domino expostulo, 40 perinde quasi diffusus videar tua humanitate. Bene vale, mi Observande Domine, cui me totum despondeo devoveoque. De impresso meo opusculo<sup>8</sup> tuo nomini dedicando spero te propediem resciturum.

Ex monasterio divi Quinoci<sup>9</sup> ipso Epiphaniae anno 1534.<sup>10</sup>

523,28 tacentibus ... canerent ] Proverb., see Erasm. *Adag.* 2297. III,III,97. Tunc canent cygni, cum tacebunt graculi. MYNORS 1992, 314.

523<sup>3</sup> George of Austria. 523<sup>4</sup> Van den Steene plays with his name and alluds Mt16, 18: "Et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam". 523<sup>5</sup> We do not know this letter. 523<sup>6</sup> According to van den Steene's dedication in his book *De non timenda morte*, he was Franciscus Oudegherstius, i.e. François d'Oudegherste, the Abbot of the Abbey of St. Winnoc. See also VERBEKE 2005, 176. 523<sup>7</sup> François d'Oudegherste. 523<sup>8</sup> *De non timenda morte* was printed in Leuven in 1533. 523<sup>9</sup> Benedictine Abbey of St. Winoc. 523<sup>10</sup> The author used the so-called Easter Style, meaning 1535, see TOURNOY 2019, 173. Note 43.

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Brussels, 10 January 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 552–554.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 539–540.

*In Hungarian:* V. Kovács 1971, 678–680.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Unless they do something, their homeland will be consumed in this civil war. If Miklós Gerendi had marched to Transylvania with 3,000 soldiers immediately after Lodovico Gritti's death, that territory would already obey the King. Now that the Turks are fighting the Persians, now is the time to take back Hungary. 2. The islands in the New World, which have recently been discovered, are full of golden mountains. The other day a Spanish legate reported that a pearl the size of a hen's egg was found on one of the islands. Although it is true that nothing from this will reach them because transportation is cumbersome and the empire will devour any amount of treasure, it fills him with hope. 3. Well, not concerning his own affairs because there are twelve Hungarian bishoprics, but even if there were one hundred, he would unlikely have a bigger chance to obtain one of them. Although it has already been confirmed in four royal letters, these are not obeyed, so his only hope is that Tamás Szalaházy and Gerendi will speak up for him.

Nicolai Olai ad Nicolaum Gerendi episcopum Transsylvaniensem.

[1.] Accepi tuas litteras.<sup>1</sup> Non possum litteris explicare, quantum et ego tecum una doleam patriae nostrae ruinam, quae nisi aut vi adversarius eiiciatur, aut concordia res transigatur, in hac factione paulatim ipsa se consumet. Si statim post necatum  
5 Gritti<sup>2</sup> missi fuissent saltem tria millia externorum militum tecum in Transsylvaniam, credo tua et tuorum opera omnis ea regio nunc regi pareret, et nec Maylath<sup>3</sup> esset vaivoda, nec Ioannes<sup>4</sup> Transsylvaniae incubaret. Ex qua etiam ea Hungariae pars, quae trans Tibiscum est ad oboedientiam praestandam facile cogi potuisset, sed quot, mi Domine, occasiones commodissimae, quot res rebus regiis faventes, sive fato, sive  
10 negligentia, vel τῆ πενείᾳ μᾶλλον<sup>5</sup> hactenus sunt praetermissae, si nunc, cum Turca omnes suas vires ex Europa ad bellum illud Persicum eduxit, et cum paucos habeamus obvios, si modo cum modicis viribus progredieremur, nostri nihil facient. Quae postea spes erit recuperandae Hungariae Turca reversuro? Credo et certo scio, ut scribis, Hungaros iam fractos esse. Idque ob acceptam iam novem annorum fere calamitatem,  
15 minime miror, sed hoc potius demiror, quod veteris decoris et fortitudinis nationis suae immemores, tot mala, tot utrinque captivitates, caedes, direptiones tam diu perferre potuerint. Serenissima regina facere posset, sine dubio faceret τὰ χρήματα, περὶ ὧν ἔγραψας;<sup>6</sup> quae fieri poterunt, non longe absunt ab illis locis, modo aliquid certi incipiant. Ingens ubique telum est necessitas.

20 [2.] Insulae illae orientales novi mundi, quae nostra aetate repertae sunt, plenae esse dicuntur aureis montibus. Nudiusquartus venit huc ex Hispaniis nuntius, qui

524,10 πενείᾳ ] *corr. ex πενείᾳ* 524,10 sunt ] *O add.*

524<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 524<sup>2</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 524<sup>3</sup> István Majláth. 524<sup>4</sup> King John I. 524<sup>5</sup> 'or rather due to the lack of money'. 524<sup>6</sup> 'the things about which you have written'.

retulit nunc rursus unam insulam repertam, in qua uniones in quantitate unius ovi  
gallinacei reperiantur. Infinitus est igitur istic thesaurus, sed ob maris tempestatem  
minimam eorum partem ad Hesperiam advehi videmus. Et quae etiam advehitur,  
latum regnum magnum consumit thesaurum, ex quo vix aliquid in nostrum usum 25  
pervenire potest. Nihilominus si unquam aliquid speravi, nunc maxime spero, maxime  
usque ad aetatis futurae exitum.

[3.] Dico autem me sperare non in meis privatis, sed publicis rebus Hungariae.  
Quid enim de meis sperare possum? Duodecim sunt episcopatus in Hungaria, si  
essent centum vel eo plures et vacarent omnes, sive id regis voluntate, sive aliorum 30  
procuracione, quod magis credo, fiat, nescio, an magna spes esset mihi locanda. In  
quaternis litteris regiis, quae mihi ante eos, qui mihi praeponuntur, tam firmatae sunt  
datae, ut firmiores dari non potuerint, si usquam salva est fides, ex alia parte etiam  
meis per eos, quibus rex et non adversarius praeest, vi privor. Non, inquires, parent  
mandatis regiis; at in Iaurino,<sup>7</sup> in Nitria remittenda parent, parent etiam in aliis, in 35  
quibus expressum habet mandatum, in meis tantum rebus non parent, videoque me  
in ea calamitate versari, de qua Hesiodus conqueritur:

ἕτερος δ' ἑτέρου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει·  
οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὐδέ δικαίου  
οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα καὶ ὕβριν 40  
ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι· δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ· καὶ αἰδῶς  
οὐκ ἔσται, βλάψει δ' ὁ κακὸς τὸν ἀρείονα φῶτα.

Ob haec igitur sequetur his hominibus, quod idem Hesiodus dicit:

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

Summa mea est in te spes et in episcopo Agriensi,<sup>8</sup> si vos non praestabitis vestrum 45  
favorem et auxilium me absente in utraque re mea, ne scilicet contra regis promissum  
negligar semper, sed ut regia promissa mihi serventur, et ne meis, quae habui, tam  
indigne spolier, nescio in quo ultra sperare possim. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Ianuarii 1535.

524,23 reperiantur ] *O corr. ex reperiantur* 524,31 fiat ] *O corr. ex fiet* 524,38 ἐξαλαπάξει· ] *corr. ex*  
δὲ ἐξαλαπάξει 524,39 οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὐδέ ] *corr. ex οὐδὲ εὐόρχου χάρις οὐδ'* 524,40  
οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ] *corr. ex οὐτ' ἀγαθοῦ μᾶλλον δ'* 524,41 χερσὶ· καὶ αἰδῶς ] *corr. ex χερσι αἰδὸς*  
524,42 ἔσται ] *corr. ex ἔστε* 524,44 δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο ] *corr. ex δὲ ὀλέσει τουτω*

524,38–42 ἕτερος ... φῶτα ] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 189–193. 524,44 Ζεὺς ... ἀνθρώπων ] Hesiod, *Works*  
*and Days* 180.

524<sup>7</sup> Győr. 524<sup>8</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 21 January 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 126–128.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 541–542.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. They are hopeful that the news that King Christian II has been freed is true. He is happy to hear that the Queen is healthy, and Ambrogio Candiano's presence will be of use for them. Francesco II Sforza thanks Oláh that he informed them about the English and Gallic affairs. 2. Ghilino summarizes what they have heard about the Turkish fleet and the Persian war. The imperial envoy, Aloysius Avila has reported to them about the Spanish affairs; if he told the truth, they have nothing to fear. King Francis I is ailing, and if Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg and Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse take action against the Emperor, they will get what they deserve. The Pope is suffering because Urbino's lord has taken Camerino from him, and because the emperor is of no help to him in this, he is conducting separate confidential negotiations with the French.

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

[1.] Quae mihi superioribus litteris tuis<sup>1</sup> significasti de Christerni<sup>2</sup> Danorum regis salute, principibus meis valde grata fuerunt, utinam illius libertati certissima spes, quam nobis pollicens, si in rem caesaris est, in nervum haud erumpat. De Britanno  
5 rege<sup>3</sup> longe peiora circumferuntur, mihi crede, haec omnia fieri, ut tandem caesar Deus noster totius orbis imperio potiatur.

Laetamur reginam bene valere, et ad istius bonae valetudinis praesidia Candianum<sup>4</sup> medicum maximo vobis usui fore. Vir certe probus est et in medendi ratione experiens et fortunatus. In Scipionis morte maximum dux meus naufragium fecit. Iste  
10 ab se secundus erat, cui maxime confideret. Princeps noster<sup>5</sup> maximas tibi gratias agit, quod in scriptione tua me de Anglicis et Cimbricis rebus prolixè monueris. Illarum auditione mecum ducitur, quare si me tantum amas, quantum me a te amari sentio, operam dabis, ut quam aliunde intelligere posset, ex litteris tuis intelligat, hoc certe mihi nec gratius quicquam hoc tempore, nec iucundius erit.

15 [2.] Turca, ut fertur, in Parthica expeditione adhuc detinetur. Persarum imperator<sup>6</sup> cum tercentum millibus hominum VII castris ab exercitu Turcico aberat, si certabitur omnibus utrinque viribus, res Christiana nequaquam periclitari poterit, nisi cruenta esse, et victor in ipsa victoria cadet. A Persa ad Turcam defecit unus ex suis ducibus cum tribus millibus sclopetariorum.<sup>7</sup> Duo oratores Persici ad Turcam missi, alter secu-  
20 ri caesaris iussu percussus est, alter praecisis auribus et naso ad Persam remissus, haec sunt, quae ex Bizantio nuper accepimus. Aenobarbus<sup>8</sup> Constantinam in deditionem accepit et tota regni Tuneti ditione nunc potitur, classem habet divisam et a remigibus et militibus flagitiose rumor est XI triremes in Galliam designasse, ne orator Turca,

525,19 sclopetariorum] *corr. ex selopottaniorum*

525<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 525<sup>2</sup> King Christian II of Denmark. 525<sup>3</sup> King Henry VIII. 525<sup>4</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 525<sup>5</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 525<sup>6</sup> Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. 525<sup>7</sup> 'an arquebusier', see HOVEN 2006, 496. 525<sup>8</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha.

qui apud illum regem Christianissimum vestrum sororium de foedere egit, in Doriae principis<sup>9</sup> potestatem veniat. Rex pulsus apud uxoris suae fratrem est, qui maxima cum 25 Arabis amicitia iuncti sunt, quorum et caesaris patrocínio brevi in antiquas sedes suas restituetur. Ex Hispaniis nuper Aloysius Avila<sup>10</sup> a cubiculo caesaris ad nos venit. Is refert praeter LXXX triremes et naves onerarias LXX et myoparones<sup>11</sup> anfractusque multos caesarem XXV millia peditum Germanorum, Italorum, item Hispanorum in classe habiturum, hoc si praestiterit, quid est, quod timeamus, Gallus<sup>12</sup> si non ad 30 sanitatem redibit, saltem in visceribus regni sui continebitur. Ab Helvetiis nihil cura: si Virtembergensis<sup>13</sup> et Landgravius<sup>14</sup> aliquid fortasse gravius adversus caesarem molientur, meritas poenas luent. Hic de eis nihil certi habemus. Tu, qui in specula es, fac nos de singulis rebus certiores, refert multum haec scire. Pontifex<sup>15</sup> torquetur sibi ab Urbini<sup>16</sup> duce<sup>17</sup> Camerinum<sup>18</sup> esse ereptum, et caesarem in hac re sibi parum 35 faustum, secreta cum Gallis colloquia habet, non tantum, ut a caesare deficiat, sed ut tali obtrectatione illum in partes suas compellat, sed bonus senex gnarus virium caesaris in portu se continebit, in Petri naviculum iamdiu fluctibus agitatam omnino naufragium facere velit, quae de eo certi habuerimus, curabo, ut intelligas. Duces nostri bene valent et tibi plurimam salutem dicunt, me serenissimae reginae, item 40 Lucretiae Virgini,<sup>19</sup> omnibusque amicis communibus multum commendabis. Vale, Olae Suavissime, et me mutuo, ut facis, ama.

Ex Mediolano XXI. Ianuarii anno Domini MDXXXV.

526

Miklós Oláh to Jodocus Hoetfilter  
Brussels, 25 January 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 555–556.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 542–543.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*Their mutual friend, Johannes Stanshardus has shown him Hoetfilter's letter, according to which Hoetfilter is looking after Oláh's affairs – although Oláh has not even asked him to do so. This is a sign of true friendship, and he hopes that he will be able to return the favor one day. As to Oláh's possessions, he hopes that if Hungary is not completely destroyed, he will get them back one day, but not due to fear but because he fulfilled his duties at the court.*

Nicolai Olai ad Iodocum Hothfelther<sup>1</sup> dominum dominum praepositum Lubicensis et ad gradus Moguntinenses, secretarium cardinalis Campegii.<sup>2</sup>

525<sup>9</sup> Andrea Doria. 525<sup>10</sup> Aloysius Avila was an orator of Emperor Charles V to Pope Julius III at the Council of Trent, see SFORZA PALLAVICINO 1673, Pars II. Cc 2. v. 525<sup>11</sup> From the Ancient Greek *μυοπάρων*, meaning 'small pirate galley'. 525<sup>12</sup> King Francis I. 525<sup>13</sup> Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg. 525<sup>14</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. 525<sup>15</sup> Pope Paul III. 525<sup>16</sup> Urbino. 525<sup>17</sup> Francesco Maria I della Rovere (1490–1538) became Duke of Urbino in 1521. 525<sup>18</sup> Camerino. 525<sup>19</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 526<sup>1</sup> Jodocus Hoetfilter or Jodokus Hoetfilter (1500–1551) was Provost of Lübeck from 1533 and became Bishop of Lübeck in 1548. He graduated from Cologne and became Secretary of Lorenzo Campeggio during his journey through Germany. For more on his life, see ILLIGENS 1896, 9–10; KÖTTER 1993, 334. 526<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Campeggio.

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- Iohannes Stanshardus<sup>3</sup> utriusque nostrum amicus ostendit mihi litteras tuas ad eum datas,<sup>4</sup> in quibus scripsisti te meam rem curae habere et cupere mihi gratificari.
- 5 Habeo tibi gratias cumulatas, qui nullo a me officio amicitiae provocatus, tam humane operam tuam mihi pollicearis. Ea semper est verae humanitatis laus, ut etiam eorum, quos licet non norimus, tamen nosse velimus, nobis cordi sint negotia. Si quid vicissim esset, in quo animi mei erga te grati argumentum declarare possem, nihil hoc facerem libentius., in quibus scripsisti te meam rem curae habere et cupere mihi gratificari.
- 10 Habeo tibi gratias cumulatas, qui nullo a me officio amicitiae provocatus, tam humane operam tuam mihi pollicearis. Ea semper est verae humanitatis laus, ut etiam eorum, quos licet non norimus, tamen nosse velimus, nobis cordi sint negotia. Si quid vicissim esset, in quo animi mei erga te grati argumentum declarare possem, nihil hoc facerem libentius.
- 15 In rebus meis etsi nunc profligatis et in hostium manus devolutis, tamen ut spes mihi est, si tota Hungaria non peribit, aliquando redituris suam sententiam perscribet idem Stanshardus; quas, si fieri poterit, in futurum rerum eventum cuperem expeditas fore. Non ob conscientiae, de quo scribis, scrupulum aut timorem rei alicuius, ubi non sit timor (haec enim Italiae mores et religio me non pluris, quam re ipsa sintferenda esse edocuerunt), sed ut curiae nostrae Romanae legibus videar satisfacisse, et nostros Hungaros, qui nunc ob Turcae vicinitatem non magnopere talia curant, hac re vicisse. Vale feliciter et me habe commendatum.

Bruxellae 25. Ianuarii 1535.

527

Miklós Oláh to Miklós Gerendi  
Brussels, 30 January 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 554–555.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 543–545.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He repeats his letter of 10 January in more detail. He mourns for Hungary together with Miklós Gerendi. If they had sent 3–4,000 soldiers to Transylvania right after Lodovico Gritti's death, this territory would also already obey the King. The problem is the delay with which they are squandering the opportunities. Sibiu cannot continue to resist the attack. He is not surprised that the Hungarians are shattered, they have already been chasing a false hope for nine years. Gerendi says that now is a good time to get the country back; the Queen will do what she can. 2. He knows that large empires have large expenses, but they should not always expect others to help them – they should learn from Aesop's fable on the lark, which they read together with Gerendi in the school in Oradea. As far as his own affairs are concerned, he can only write about it with pain: that this is what he deserves from the King despite his long and loyal service, that despite the mandates he

526,16 redituris ] *O corr. ex rediturus* 526,19 sint ] *corr. ex sunt* 526,19–20 ferenda esse ] *O add.* 526,20 nostrae ] *O del. ex nostrae quantumvis*

526<sup>3</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 375. Note 9. 526<sup>4</sup> We do not know this letter.

is not receiving his dues; he does not even dream of a promotion, and people who swore loyalty to the King later than he did are overtaking him. He only hopes that Tamás Szalaházy and Gerendi will further his cause. He should not apologize for rarely being able to send letters, they too only have someone to take letters every eight days. What he writes, he should give to Johan Weze, letters arrive more frequently from there. War is coming here, and all his neighbors are against the Emperor. If István Brodarics has been able to make progress on anything, Gerendi should let him know.

Nicolai Olai ad eundem Gherendi in eodem argumento.<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Litteras tuas<sup>2</sup> diebus superioribus accepi, ad quas quod tardius respondeo, causa fuit tabellariorum mora. Patriae nostrae casum et ego non possum tecum una non lugere, cuius scilicet calamitatem, ruinam, desolationem et miserias iam a novem fere annis experimur. Et nescio an eius adhuc in hoc ordine et provisione, quam 5 habemus, nisi Deus ex alto prospiciat, futurus sit brevi finis. Si statim post Grithi<sup>3</sup> necem saltem tria aut quatuor millia peditum fuissent in Transsylvaniam nostram missa, illa iam tota proculdubio esset in potestate regis nostri tua et aliorum amicorum opera. Ex qua reliqua Hungariae pars in oboedientiam non magno labore reduci potuisset; nec nunc Maylath<sup>4</sup> esset istic vaivoda, nec Ioannesilli incubaret, sed o 10 negligentia, tarditas, occasionis omnis bonae sive fato sive necessitate praetermissio, in quod periculum Hungariam miseram reducis! Cibinium<sup>5</sup> non ultra durabit, quam adversarii prohibuerint colonorum egressum. Non miror Hungaros nostros, ut scribis, multum esse fractos. Quis enim etiam fortissimus tanta malorum omnium tolerantia 15 non debilitari potest? Illud potius miror, quod ab eis novem aut circiter annis vana spe fieri, tantae patientes fuerint, servitutis, veteris suae libertatis, virtutis fortitudinis et gloriae immemores. Et non cogitarint modum, ne perpetuo essent miseri aliisque nationibus ludibrio. Maximam scribis nunc esse occasionem, ut Turca absente principes nostri aliquid faciant pro Hungaria recuperanda. Praeterierunt etiam antea plurimae bonae occasiones. Cuperem a Deo, ne haec quoque, ut aliae, praeteriret. 20 Quicquid regina aliquando potuerit, non dubium est, quin faciet τὰ χρήματα περι ὧν ἔγραψας,<sup>6</sup> non longe illinc absunt. Quae fieri potuerunt, modo aliquid firmi incipiatur. Non desunt ubique urgentes necessitates.

[2.] Magna et lata imperia multa absumunt, ut nesciam, an exterae res providere semper possint. Dum una olim Varadini<sup>7</sup> litteris operam daremus, memini me legisse τὸν ἀπολογὸν τοῦ Αἰσώπου<sup>8</sup> de cassita, de qua et Aulus Gellius mentionem facit.<sup>9</sup> Non inutilem rem faceremus, immo Hungariae proficuum, si illam sequeremur. Nam αἰεὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τὰ χρήματα<sup>10</sup> expectare non secus est, quam implere τὸν πίθον ἀνεὺ<sup>11</sup> fundo. De bonis meis nihil aliud prae dolore scribere possum, quam me vehementer mirari, me a rege hoc esse pro veteribus servitiis fidelibusque meritum, ut passus sit 30

527,7 tria] *O del. ex tria milia* 527,10 illi] *O add.* 527,16 fieri] *O corr. ex freti* 527,16 virtutis] *O del. ex virtutis ne regi si viderent mandatum serenissimi? Nisi* 527,26 Αἰσώπου] *corr. ex ἡσόπου* 527,26 cassita] *O corr. ex cassida*

527<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 524. 527<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 527<sup>3</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 527<sup>4</sup> István Majláth. 527<sup>5</sup> Sibiu. 527<sup>6</sup> 'the things about which you have written'. 527<sup>7</sup> Oradea. 527<sup>8</sup> 'Aesop's fable on the lark'. 527<sup>9</sup> Gell. *Noct. Att.* II,29,1 and 3. 527<sup>10</sup> 'always [expecting] things/money from others'. 527<sup>11</sup> 'bottomless barrel'.

tam diu et patiatur me meis per eos, qui subditi ei sunt violenter privari. At nostri nunc non curant regium mandatum. In meis non curant, Iaurini et Nittriae remissionem curant, praeterea Hyeronimus<sup>12</sup> et alii resisterent, si serium regis viderint mandatum. Nisi me fides erga regem et reginam iam pridem suscepta retinisset, uti bonum  
35 virum, non credo et alibi mihi defuisse honorificas condiciones. Praeterea spes promotionis meae quando habebit finem? Quae data est quatuor vel pluribus diplomatis regiis tam firmis, ut unicum sufficere possit ad regnum consequendum. Promoventur alii, qui post me iura habent, ego negligor, ut sperem perpetuo, verum non tantum moveor infula, quam scio, quanti sit et oneris et periculi ferre, si hi volumus esse,  
40 qui debemus, sed contemptu. In quibus utrisque rebus summa est mihi spes in te et Agriensi,<sup>13</sup> quos facturos non dubito, ut et mea bona iam tandem rehabeam et non negligar perpetuo. Non est, cur tabellariorum raritatem accuses. Veniunt huc singulis octo diebus veredarii et abeunt. Litteras, quas dare ad me volueris, da saltem ad manus domini Lundensis,<sup>14</sup> oratoris caesarei, si adhuc ibi est, vel magistri postharum. Eorum  
45 opera litterae frequenter huc veniunt.

Nova hic pauca, res spectare videtur ad bellum. Undequaque malos caesar vicinos habet, plus nequitiae et malae practicae, quam veri bonique amantes. Si Brodericus<sup>15</sup> aliquid boni concluderit, fac me certiolem. Periculi nostrae Hungariae caput fuit discordia et dissensio, hoc non nisi concordia et unanimitate extinguere reformarique  
50 potest. Turca apud regem Galliae<sup>16</sup> nunc habet oratorem, qui illi amicus est, nobis inimicus. Nisi Maius aut Aprilis futurus aliquid boni ferat Hungariae, res postea erit durior. Vale et oro mea servitia dominis Agriensi et Strigioniensi<sup>17</sup> commendari.

Bruxellae paenultima Ianuarii 1535.

528

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 9 February 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 128–129.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 546–547.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He is happy that the Queen is well. Francesco II Sforza was happy to see Oláh's report on the affairs in England and Münster, and because Ghilino has promised him more detailed information later, Oláh should not bring shame on him. They have received a letter from the Veneti that Ibrahim Pargali Pasha has been captured by the Persians, and the Sultan is in Syria. It is rumored that Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha has been shipwrecked, and the plague has almost completely devoured his fleet. They are expecting German infantrymen throughout*

527,32 Iaurini ] *O corr. ex Iaurinis* 527,32 Nittriae ] *O corr. ex Nittrii* 527,33 Hyeronimus ] *O corr. ex Ieronimus* 527,33 resisterent ] *O corr. ex resisterant* 527,33 si ... mandatum ] *O add.* 527,34 suscepta ] *O corr. ex susceptas* 527,38 negligor ] *O corr. ex negliger* 527,39 infula ] *O corr. ex infidia*

527<sup>12</sup> Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő. 527<sup>13</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. 527<sup>14</sup> Johan Weze. 527<sup>15</sup> István Brodarics. 527<sup>16</sup> King Francis I. 527<sup>17</sup> Pál Várday.



*this month, who will unite with the Spanish and the Italians and fix the mistakes the French have made. He writes about the agreement between the Pope and King Francis I; that the Veneti and the rest of the Italians have stayed on the side of true faith and that the leader of the Sicambri has switched to the French side. The sword, which Ghilino is sending him as a gift, will be given to him by Madame de Souvastre.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Hodie accepi litteras tuas, quas XXIII. Ianuarii ad me dedisti.<sup>1</sup> Ex his facile cognovi, quo in statu serenissimae reginae nostrae valetudo sit, utinam Candianum<sup>2</sup> audiat, cuius praeceptis si obtemperabit, non est, quod vereamur. Princeps meus<sup>3</sup> litteras tuas libentissime legit et tibi gratias agit, quod ex te solo Anglicas res et 5 Monasterienses intellexit, et in hac re frequentissimam operam tuam ei pollicitus sum. Quare invigilabis, ne me mendacem dicat, quod ut facias te etiam atque etiam obtestor. Nunc primum ex Venetis litteris accepimus Imbrahimum<sup>4</sup> cum exercitu Turcico a Persa interceptum, et Turcarum imperatorem in Syria esse ad continendos in fide 10 populos. Id ipsum Genuenses attestantur litterae, si quid certius intelligam, curabo, 10 ut scias. Rumor est in maioribus syrtibus XXX triremes Aenobarbi<sup>5</sup> naufragium fecisse, et remiges ferme omnes pestilentia absumptos, classis caesaris erit omnino CC navium, triremes LXXX reliquae onerariae, et iam ferme omnis aedificata est et instructa. Exspectamus Germanos pedites per totum hunc mensem, qui una cum 15 Hispano et Italo peditatu conscendent, velim, putes res nostras, id est caesaris Dei 15 nostri in portu navigare, et nos stolidorum Gallorum levitates et nugas haud multum curare; sentient profecto, si descendent cum viris, se negotium habituros. Pontifex<sup>6</sup> noster, si dis placet, regi Gallo<sup>7</sup> duas decimas concessit, per causam instruent XXX triremes, quas eius auspiciis navigaturas pollicentur; si caesar voluerit et iste nebulo 20 senex deliquerit, debitas poenas luet. Veneti in fide permanebunt et reliqui Italiae 20 proceres. Audivimus ducem Sicambrium<sup>8</sup> ad Gallos defecisse fide labefactata. Tu, si ita est, fac me per litteras certiozem. Ensem, quem cupis in reditu dominae Soatriae,<sup>9</sup> quae brevissime ad vos festinabit, habebis et fabrefactum et amorem nostrum augeri, tum sentiam, quando opera tui Gilini, Olae, uteris. Omnes amicos nostros et praesertim 25 Dupplicium<sup>10</sup> nostrum salvere iubeo. Vale, Amice Optime.

Mediolano VIII. Februarii anno MDXXXV.

529

Miklós Oláh to [Anonymous]  
Brussels, 13 February 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 556–557.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 547.

*Notes:* Copy.

528<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 528<sup>2</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 528<sup>3</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 528<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim Pargali Pasha. 528<sup>5</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 528<sup>6</sup> Pope Paul III. 528<sup>7</sup> King Francis I. 528<sup>8</sup> According to the ancient historians, Sicambria was an area on the Lower Rhine inhabited by the Sicambers. For more, see ECKHARDT 1927; and ECKHARDT 1927–1928. 528<sup>9</sup> Madame de Souvastre. 528<sup>10</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.

*He cannot stop wondering about people's deceitfulness and villainy; they keep changing everything as it benefits them; there is no true friendship, faith, goodness, or respect between them. He only complains about this to him because he has already gotten to know his solid and untainted character.*

Nicolai Olai ad.

Non possum non mirari hominum nostrorum perfidiam et latrocinium, qui plus quam Prothei<sup>1</sup> in nullis rebus discrimen bonorum ac malorum habent. Omnia quaecumve contingunt aut contingere possunt inter homines, et prospera et adversa, 5 immutant. Nec unquam ullius boni rationem habent, sed omnia, quaecumque volunt, in suam utilitatem trahunt, plus sui, quam aliorum amantes. Neque ulla inter eos est vera amicitia, non fides, non caritas, nec ullus boni respectus. Omnia in perniciem aliorum et moliuntur et machinantur. Nec ullam rem unquam praetermittunt, in qua quidem arbitrantur aliquid inesse commodi, quam non ad usum ac utilitatem suam 10 trahant, adeo sui sunt potius, quam aliorum amantes.

Non igitur possum sortem ac conditionem nostram non lamentari, qui in haec tempora periculosa devenimus, quibus nihil videtur esse boni et nullius veritatis amor. Has cur apud te, Amicorum Optime, faciam querelas, noli mirari, nam novi tuum ingenium, novi constantiam animi tui, novi integritatem. Quam nisi in multis rebus 15 fuissem iam a plurimis expertus temporibus, non tam libere ad te scriberem, neque te meis litteris continuis gravarem. Boni igitur meas litteras consule, et non malo animo ad te profectas existimato. Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

Bruxellae 13. Februarii 1535.

530

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Szalaházy  
Brussels, 10 March 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 557–558.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 547–548.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*King Francis I has not given up on the secret intrigue against their Emperor; together with King Henry VIII they want to weaken the Austrian rule, but it will come back to haunt them. The imperial fleet will be ready to set sail by the end of the month, God grant them good wind, and he wishes the pledge came true this year. The Queen has not written because she was ailing as well as busy, but she has written now; and Oláh did not allow her to forget about Tamás Szalaházy, either. The Protestants are like the hydra: they cut one head off, and several new ones sprout in its place. The Queen wishes to know more about the Hungarian affairs. As for Oláh's affairs and promotion, his only faith is in Szalaházy.*

Nicolai Olai ad Thomam episcopum Agriensem.

Nova hic non multa sunt, de quibus ad te scribere possem. Quae tamen sunt, nolui reticere, usus meo in te officio serviendi. Rex Galliae<sup>1</sup> non desistit clanculariis insidiis

530,3 reticere] *O corr. ex ceticere*

529<sup>1</sup> In Greek mythology, Proteus is a god of the sea who constantly changes his shape and form and foretells the future. 530<sup>1</sup> King Francis I.

principum nostrorum auctoritatem ac imperium, si quid posset, impetere. Cum rege  
Angliae,<sup>2</sup> ut antea semper, ita et nunc coniunctus est, qui et ipse nihil magis cogitat, 5  
quam Austriacae principum nostrorum domus debilitationem. Id tamen superi neutris  
admittent, sed omnino brevi futurum arbitrator, ut malo fine uterque terminetur, ac  
suam tam diuturni temporis malitiam pernicie sua diluat, lunamque in suum malum  
e caelo deducat, ut est in proverbio. Nam hinc quoque non imparati sunt, si quid aperte  
notum fuerit. 10

Classis caesaris ad finem huius mensis velificationi se committet, triginta millibus  
militum instruenda ultra remiges. Non parvi haec est res momenti, vix nostro et  
superiore aevo talis parata fuit classis, cuius ventum Deus obsecundet et voto potiatur  
nostra hac aetate. Serenissima mea regina, non quod immemor tui fuerit, non scripsit  
a multis temporibus ad te, sed quod male valuit, et multis caesaris occupata negotiis, 15  
nunc tamen scripsit, quatenus otium habere potuit. Nec ego commisi, ut memoria  
tui e mente ipsius excideret, sed dum tempus fuit et occasio, feci et facio semper,  
quod facere debeo. Lutherani, Anabaptistae et hic et in Gallia Celtica passim sine  
misericordia puniuntur, sed Hydrae<sup>3</sup> sunt, uno capite abscisso renascuntur plures;  
doctrina magis exstingui possent. 20

De rebus Hungariae et Ioannis<sup>4</sup> tractatibus nihil huc certi scribitur. Regina cupida  
esset ea intelligere, quae certa istic aguntur, verum pendere omnia arbitrator ex rebus  
caesaris. In meis rebus et promotione omnis mea spes est in te et semper fuit posita,  
ubi sim et, in quo nunc statu Hungarico, nec solus scio. Et tamen spem in te habeo  
constantem, ut aliquando mei sis memor. Memor autem fieri potes, si tua auctoritate 25  
mea indigne et praeter promissionem regis occupata bona aliquando remitti curaveris,  
atque etiam, si apud maiestatem regiam me, meumque statum promoveris, ne tot  
promissiones, quae factae mihi fuerunt, semper negligantur. Vale.

Bruxellae 10. Martii 1535.

531

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 11 March 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 129.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 548–549.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He has just received Oláh's letters. Francesco II Sforza thanks him for the thorough report. They have heard that the Anabaptist plague is spreading in Antwerp. Friedrich II, Elector Palatine of the Rhine is marrying Dorothea of Denmark. The Emperor is planning to go to Italy, and Andrea Doria is about to set out for Baradino at his*

530,8–9 lunamque ... deducat] Proverb, cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 2102. III,II,2. In tuum ipsius malum lunam deduces. MYNORS 1992, 225.

530<sup>2</sup> King Henry VIII. 530<sup>3</sup> The Lernaean Hydra was a monster and one of Hercules' twelve labours. It had many heads, and if someone tried to cut them off, two more heads would grow out. 530<sup>4</sup> King John I.

*order. The Pope tends to side with the French, but this does not matter. The prince has written to the Queen in detail about what they have heard about Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha, and the events that have taken place in Rome and Spain. The Italian sword Oláh is getting is, simply put, a masterpiece.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Quae XXI. item XXII. praeteriti exarasti, pridie accepi.<sup>1</sup> Princeps<sup>2</sup> meus tibi gratias agit, quod tam diligenter operam tuam in scriptione praestes et te rogat, ut in ea assidue verseris. Audivimus Antverpienses laborare pestilentia Anabaptistica; si verum est, fac, ut sciam. Dux Fridericus<sup>3</sup> uxorem ducet illustrissimam Dorotheam,<sup>4</sup> hoc enim ex litteris caesaris ad principem meum iamdiu audivimus. Caesar transmittet in Italia, classis paratur. Princeps Auria<sup>5</sup> cum XV triremibus brevi profecturus est Baradino, nam caesare ita iubente. Pontifex in Gallicas partes inclinatur, sed parum de eo timendum est, non enim hiscere audebit. Quae de Aenobarbo<sup>6</sup> nuper intelleximus, 10 item urbana nova et Hispanica, dux serenissimae reginae uberrime scribit. Ensem Italicum<sup>7</sup> habebis brevi affabre factum. Haec scripsi temporibus exclusus, tu veniam mihi dabis, si longiori epistola non utar. Vale et Scepperum<sup>8</sup> saluta meo nomine.

Mediolano XI. Martii anno MDXXXV.

532

Christiern Winther [?] to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 24 March 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 136–137.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 549–550.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Oláh is toiling every day to make sure he supports as many people as possible; he has people within his household who want to reciprocate Oláh's good deeds with their diligence and tirelessness. It is no wonder that the Queen entrusts her secrets to such an excellent person, the dignity of whose mind is solid and unflinching.*

Christiernus Umbra Cymber<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Quamquam praeclari ingenii tui dexteritas mira quadam morum maturitate unita, tum aetas, quae et ipsa iam quoque maturuit, palam arguunt et perspicue, te viri consummati, ita circulum absolvisse, ut nulla aut vix ulla iam amplius quaeat fieri 5 accessio, nihilominus adeo otium non amplecteris, quin honestissimis studiis intentus, contendas quotidie te ipsum, si fieri possit, superare, tanquam Neoptolemus<sup>2</sup> quispiam Martis et militiae ignarus, arma manibus diurnis nocturnisque vigilans versare solet, ne rudis in harena cum hoste congregiatur turpiter succubiturus. Quae res vel hoc

532,8 congregiatur ] *corr. ex congregiatur*

531<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 531<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 531<sup>3</sup> Frederick II, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. 531<sup>4</sup> Dorothea of Denmark married Friedrich II, Elector Palatine of the Rhine in Brussels on 18 May, 1535. 531<sup>5</sup> Andrea Doria. 531<sup>6</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 531<sup>7</sup> See Ep. 528. 531<sup>8</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 532<sup>1</sup> Probably Christiern Winther, see TOURNOY 2015, 527; and CHRISTIANSEN 2002, 82. 532<sup>2</sup> He was Achilles' son.

argumento abunde claret, Vir virtute Ornatissime, quod intra parietes domesticos a latere habeas ac foveas, qui quaeunt sua vigilantia atque industria, tuas dotes alioqui 10 ditissimas ditiores reddere, pro quorum salute exacto anno, ut audio, non parum sollicitus sudasti, quo nomine ex professo famulum me tibi invenias devinctiorem. Tum usus et litteratorum necessitudo accedit, quam huic negotio impense conferre, vel talpae appareat. In primis Cornelii Sceperi,<sup>3</sup> viri et singularis prudentiae et doctri- 15 nae undevis exquisitissimae, qui haud dubie divino ingenio donatus, tum facundiae flumine iuxta praeditus, omnium de se opinione aut est superior, aut genius parum propitius, nobis tenebras ob oculos offuderit, unde indicitum caliginem contraxerit. Ad hoc mare felicitatis, tamquam quaedam auctaria, adfluunt felicissimae dotes, quas in ista generosa mente deprehendi, quae ulla oblivione e mea memoria non poterunt facile intercipi. Nempe candor, ingenii canities, humanitas, venustas, gravitas, 20 quae te heroi affinem facit, quibus omnibus veluti anteambulonibus et pedissequis quibusdam uteris familiariter, ut minime mirum sit, si princeps illustrissima talem sibi delegerit, ac sua arcana concredierit sapientissime. Huiusmodi viatica, patria viduata ab hostibus, tecum hospes absportas, quem quamvis hostilis tyrannus violenta manu bonorum fortuitorum bona parte dispoliarit, tuae tamen mentis sublimitas eis 25 fortunae fluctibus manet semper inconcussa atque immersabilis, nec unquam labascit, aut victa infringitur nihilomagens, quam Marpesia cautes, undis undique insultantibus quassa commovetur.

Has tu reliquias retines a caede tuorum,  
 quas non saeva manus, non mille hostilia tela 30  
 Turcarumve cohors adimit tibi, turba cruenta,  
 nec fortuna potens, potis est auferre beatus  
 quo minus eis ducibus divos confisus adibus  
 famaue post fatum non interitura manebis.

Vale, Nicolae Generosissime, nec credas Colacem<sup>4</sup> quempiam adulari, ut ventri pro- 35 spectum sit. Nam ταύτην τὴν γραφήν σου<sup>5</sup> a viris multo emunctissimae naris accipi. Dominum Cornelium Sceperum, quo cum per otium etiam litteris nugabor, ex me saluta et nostra nugamenta boni consule. Iterum vale.

Lovanii ex aedibus Rutgeri Rescii<sup>6</sup> XXIII. Martii anno MDXXXV.

532,19 mente] *corr.* ex monte 532,36 ταύτην τὴν] *corr.* ex ταύτην τὴν

532,14 talpae appareat] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 255. I,III,55. Talpa caecior; and 3571. IV,VI,71. Loquax talpa. 532,27 quam ... cautes] Verg. *Aen.* VI,471. 532,29–34 Has ... manebis] It is probably a poem by Winther, but it has not been confirmed.

532<sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 532<sup>4</sup> Colax was the title of pieces written by Ennius and Plautus. The name means 'flatterer'. 532<sup>5</sup> 'this writing of yours'. 532<sup>6</sup> Rutger Ressen.

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
[Rome?], 2 April 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 130.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 550–551.

*Notes:* Copy.

*They are happy to hear that the Queen is better, Ambrogio Candiano is an excellent specialist. German infantrymen are boarding ships at Portofino, in four days Andrea Doria will take them to Hispania at the Emperor's order. There is nothing to fear regarding Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha either, he will get his just punishment. Oláh also already knows that the Sultan has been beaten by the Persians, he has lost all his military equipment, and his money is also gone, so the Emperor may soon become the ruler of the entire world. The Pope tends to side with the French, but he does not dare show it openly; the Veneti are loyal to the Emperor. The Prince of Ferrara laughs at the Italian alliance; and a feud has erupted among the Helvetians.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Unas tuas litteras VII. Martii datas<sup>1</sup> proxime accepi, quibus me mones de omni statu rerum nostrarum, quod mirum in modum et principi<sup>2</sup> meo et mihi gratum fuit. Reginae<sup>3</sup> valetudinem indies fieri meliorem laetamur, utinam per aliquot saltem dies medici dicto audiens esset, non enim vererer, quod pristinas vires brevi recuperatura esset. In Candiano<sup>4</sup> fidem aut diligentiam non desiderabitis, vir certe probus est, et in re medica experientissimus. Germani pedites inter portum Delphini<sup>5</sup> et Lunae<sup>6</sup> conscendere, quatruiduo post Andreas Auria cum XV triremibus suis transmittet in Hispaniam caesaris iussu. Is nunc primum Barchinonae<sup>7</sup> agit, classis eius cum Luctatii<sup>8</sup> classe omnino conferenda est et numero navium et militum et remigum experientia, cuius adventus in Aphricam summe a Tuneti regulo<sup>9</sup> et illius clitelis exspectatur. Quare fac, bono animo sis. Nec Aenobarbi<sup>10</sup> vires pertimescendae sunt, dabit enim poenas sceleratissimus reipublicae Christianae hostis illatorum nobis damnorum. Eum pro certo habemus et a pecunia et militibus flagitiose imparatum esse, et si Gallo suasere classem nostram opperietur, quos risus brevi edet? Credo te iam intellexisse caesaris Turcarum copias a Persa labefactatas fuisse, bellicis tormentis omnibus amissis, et pecunia intercepta, quae tunc ei expeditissima erat, haec cum nobis quotidie per certissimos homines confirmantur, nos monent veriora esse veris, et Deum nostrum caesarem omnino totius orbis imperio brevi potiturum. Pontifex<sup>11</sup> edentulus in Gallionis partes propensior est, sed tamen hiscere non audebit, Veneta respublica non deseret caesarem. Dux Ferrariae<sup>12</sup> foedus Italicum irrisit, quando cum

533,5 medici ] *corr. ex medicis*

533<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 533<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 533<sup>3</sup> Queen Mary of Hungary. 533<sup>4</sup> Ambrogio Candiano. 533<sup>5</sup> Portofino. "Pliny; a port on the coast of Liguria. Now Porto Fino, and fifteen miles to the east, of Genoa", see MACBEAN 1773. 533<sup>6</sup> Lunae portus: "Strabo; a very extensive port, or more truly a bay of Liguria, between Portus Veneris and Portus Ericis, twenty miles compass", see MACBEAN 1773. 533<sup>7</sup> Barcelona. 533<sup>8</sup> Probably Lucca, but it is not clear. 533<sup>9</sup> Abu Abdallah Muhammad V al-Hasa. 533<sup>10</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 533<sup>11</sup> Pope Paul III. 533<sup>12</sup> Ercole II d'Este (1508–1559) was Duke of Ferrara from 1534.

reliquos Italiae proceribus consentire noluit, spero deos illi fore iratos. Helvetii nuper inter se dissidere coeperunt. Credo ob Genevae defectionem<sup>13</sup> a duce Allobrogensi<sup>14</sup> utrinque tamen ab armis abstinetur. Sceperum<sup>15</sup> nostrum meo nomine salutabis, item reliquos omnes amicos meos et praesertim lectissimam Virginem Lucretiam 25 Caballam,<sup>16</sup> et Gilini tui memor semper esto. Vale.

Ex vico Iovis<sup>17</sup> VI. Nonas Aprilis MDXXXV.

534

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
[Rome?], 11 April 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 129–130.

*Published:* IPOLVI 1875, 551–552.

*Notes:* Copy.

*The Marquess of Vasti has gone to Naples with cargo and fleet, while Andrea Doria will sail to the Emperor with his fleet at the Emperor's order. There are some who think that the Emperor wants to move the whole navy to Africa – Ghilino indeed does not understand this. The news came from Rome that the Pope, having heard about the destruction of the Turkish armed forces, immediately had a more favorable opinion of the Emperor; what is more, he convened the Cardinals and gave a splendid talk on the expedition against the Turks, in which he even promised to go against the Turks in person and said other childish things with which Ghilino does not want to burden Oláh's digestion. Francesco II Sforza is looking forward to news from England, and Oláh's sword is waiting for someone to take it to him.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem dicit.

Marchio Vasti<sup>1</sup> cum classe oneraria et XXV triremibus in regnum Neapolitanum transmisit, secum habet militem Germanum et Italum. Princeps Auria<sup>2</sup> hodie navigaturus erat cum XVII triremibus ad caesarem, ille ut commeatum et quod reliquum est Italici militis, secum comportet, Sardiniam versus, iste ut caesaris imperium exsequatur. Sunt, qui putent caesarem omnino cum hac classe in Aphricam transfretaturum, nos certe, quid ipse facturus sit, non intelligimus. Ex Urbe audivimus pontificem<sup>3</sup> cognita Turcarum regis exercitus profligatione, meliora de Deo nostro caesare et loqui et statuere, tanquam in illo edentulo sene et loquaci aliquid sit, quod ab eo pendeat. Coegit nuperrime cardinalium senatum, apud quem orationem dicunt habuisse satis luculentam de expeditione Turcica, pollicitusque est, si ita e republica esse iudicatum erit se iturum adversus Turcam, multaque puerilia addidit, quae ne tibi stomachum faciant, omitto. Res Anglicas item Monasterii<sup>4</sup> a te princeps<sup>5</sup> meus exspectat, qui te salutatur et nostrum Sceperum.<sup>6</sup> Gladius tuus vectorem<sup>7</sup> exspectat, qui eum ex commodo

533 <sup>13</sup> I.e. Calvinism. 533 <sup>14</sup> Charles III of Savoy (1486–1553), Duke of Savoy. The Allobroges were a Gallic people living below the river Rhine and the Alps during the Roman period. 533 <sup>15</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 533 <sup>16</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 533 <sup>17</sup> Vicus Iovis Fagutalis was a street on the Esquiline Hill in Rome. 534 <sup>1</sup> Alfonso d'Avalos, IV Marquis of Pescara and II Marquis of Vasto (1502–1546), was an Italian condottiero serving Emperor Charles V. For more on his life, see DE CARO 1962. 534 <sup>2</sup> Andrea Doria. 534 <sup>3</sup> Pope Paul III. 534 <sup>4</sup> Münster. 534 <sup>5</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 534 <sup>6</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 534 <sup>7</sup> See Ep. 528.

15 et sine ipsius mora in tuam potestatem comportet bonus certe est et affabre factus.  
Vale, Amicorum Optime, et me ama.  
Ex vico<sup>8</sup> Iovis XI. Aprilis MDXXXV.

535

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
[Rome?], 21 April 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 133.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 552.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He was happy to receive Oláh's letter, from which he learned that his letter on the Roman, Hispanic, and African issues has also arrived. Francesco II Sforza has written about the rest to the Queen, he can learn about all the details from her. He has given the sword Oláh requested to a merchant from Milan called Carolus. He hopes that he will like it, and he will soon get a hilt and additional decorative elements to go with it, as well as a sheath made of gold-threaded silk. They are expecting news on the Gall.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Gratissimae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae, quas VIII. Aprilis ad me dedisti,<sup>1</sup> ex his cognovi meas ad vos incolumes pervenisse cum Urbanis, Hispanis et Africanis rebus. Reliquae, quae post ad principem<sup>2</sup> meum pervenerunt, reginae serenissimae  
5 dominae nostrae per eundem uberrime scribuntur, tu de ista intelliges. Ensem, quem  
efflagitasti, Carolo<sup>3</sup> negotiatori Mediolanensi, qui mercaturam Antverpiae facit, dedi. Is, ut spero, tibi arridebit, et propediem habebis capulum et reliqua, ornamenta inaurata opere striato sunt et theca ex serico viloso cum gladiolis inauratis. Principes  
10 Amicorum Optime, et me, ut facis, ama. Sceperum<sup>4</sup> et reliquos amicos ex me iubebis salvere. Iterum vale.

Ex vico Iovis<sup>5</sup> XXI. Aprilis MDXXXV.

536

Maciej Przybyło to Miklós Oláh  
Wrocław, 15 May 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 064–065.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 553–554.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

534,17 vico ] *corr.* ex via 535,10 iubebis ] *corr.* ex iubis

534<sup>8</sup> Corrected after dating Ep. 535. 535<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 535<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 535<sup>3</sup> We do not know him more closely. In a previous letter, Ghilino mentioned another merchant from Milan negotiating in Antwerp, called Giacomo Fagnano, see Ep. 490. He also said that Madame Souvastre would take the sword to Oláh, see Ep. 528. 535<sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 535<sup>5</sup> See Ep. 533.



1. Oláh reminded him to write more frequently; he did want to write, but there was nobody to take the letter. Now, however, he will make an effort: the present bearer of the letter, Hieronymus Kromeier, is a member of the Wrocław council and the brother-in-law of Przybyło, and he will stay in Antwerp for a while. After he leaves, his nephew will take his place, who is the son of Mikołaj Nipszyc; so now they will have an opportunity to exchange letters more frequently. He recommends Hieronymus to his attention, he can support Oláh with his advice and service. 2. They have received news from Krakow that a large Turkish army is leaving for Hungary, but they do not know what is planned. King Sigismund I the Old is fighting the Romanians; Johann Henckel is active as a priest in Košice, and he is having a better time in his homeland than in Poland.

Mathias Auctus physicus Vratislaviensis Nicolao Olao suo.

[1.] Admonebar diligenter tuis ad me datis litteris,<sup>1</sup> ut frequens ad te in scribendo forem. Certo id persuasum habeas me ex animo et saepius voluisse ad te scribere, modo talium aliquem fidum latorem habuissem. Tabellionum itaque defectus omnem excusationum sarcinam in se cumulabit. Iam vero si frequentior, quam antea, non 5 agnoscar facile negligentiae meae et oscitacioni ad scribendum veniet. Dabo autem operam sedulo, ut minime talibus a te notabor. Nam praesentium exhibitor, dominus Ieronimus cognomine Kromer,<sup>2</sup> civis ac homo ordinis senatorii Vratislaviensis affinisque meus carissimus (duas namque sorores in coniuges habemus), vir integrae 10 fidei et undequaque honestus, Antverpiae per longum est mansurus. Et tandem post suum inde discessum Ioannem Schebitz,<sup>3</sup> filium ex sorore ipsius, patre vero Nicolao Schebicz<sup>4</sup> capitaneo moderno Vratislaviensi ortum illic in locum sui est relicturus, ut occasio et opportunitas ad longum nobis nedum dandarum, sed etiam reddendarum utrinque litterarum dabitur.

Hunc autem dominum Ieronimum ita apud te commendatum iri peto atque fra- 15 trem mihi amantissimum, sibique consilio et opera (si illi necessum contra malitiam aliquorum fuerit) adesse velim. Et quicquid officiorum ac benevolentiae illi exhibueris, id totum mihi perinde gratum sit futurum ac si mihi ipsi exhiberes, inde agnoscat amicitiam nostram et consuetudinem antiquam, non nisi firmissimam adhuc inter nos exstare, ut alter alterius gratia, etiam in longa locorum distantia vel amicis officium 20 suum praebat.

[2.] Ex Cracovia nuper accepi Turcarum sat numerosum exercitum Hungariam venire. Quid autem constituere se facturos, nondum certo scio. Quidam illos Moraviam, alii Slesiam, reliqui Cepusium<sup>5</sup> petitueros asserunt. Ioannes vaida<sup>6</sup> cum suis gentibus illis iungitur. Rex Poloniae<sup>7</sup> cum Valacho iterum bellum habet. Cum Moschis pax exstat 25 nulla. Cristas Galli per sacratissimam caesaream maiestatem speramus gratia Domini deposituras. Doctor Henckelus<sup>8</sup> Cassoviae concionatorem agit, meliusque illic, ut in solo paterno, quam hic valet. Reginali maiestati servitia mea per opportunitatem

536,7 te] O corr. ex me 536,17 velim] corr. ex velit

536<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 536<sup>2</sup> Probably Georg Hieronymus Kromeier (†1551), who was councilor and Chamberlain of the city of Wrocław, see KNESCHKE 1864, 296. 536<sup>3</sup> Jan Nipszyc. 536<sup>4</sup> Mikołaj Nipszyc. 536<sup>5</sup> I.e. Scepusium. 536<sup>6</sup> King John I. 536<sup>7</sup> King Sigismund I the Old. 536<sup>8</sup> Johann Henckel.

30 aliquando offeras, feliciter et longum te valere cupio. Auctum tibi deditissimum, ut consuevisti, ama.

Vratislaviae XV. Maii MXV<sup>c</sup>XXXV.

537

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 30 May 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 131.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 554.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He is not getting any letters from Oláh these days, although there is someone to take the letters, he thinks this must be due to Oláh's nonchalance. They have received a letter from Rome, according to which the Pope has appointed six new Cardinals, including John Fisher, whom King Henry VIII is holding in jail. The rest, except for Caspare Contareno, who is above reproach, does not differ from the usual congregation of Cardinals. He voted for the Lutheran bishop from Paris to favor the French, he knows the rest. The imperial fleet consists of 330 boats, and Lucretia Caballis will tell him about the Turkish affairs.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Iam aliquot dies sunt, ex quo nullas tuas litteras accepimus, quod puto negligentia tua factum esse. Nam tu, qui in otio es, quid est, quod omnes ferme tabellarios ab hinc duos menses ad nos venientes praeteristi sine litteris tuis. Noli, amabo, Olae  
5 Carissime, hac mecum taciturnitate uti, et de rebus vestris fac me et de statu rerum tuarum frequenter certiozem. Ex litteris Urbanis intelleximus pontificem<sup>1</sup> VI cardinales designasse,<sup>2</sup> inter quos habetis episcopum Ruffensem,<sup>3</sup> quem rex Anglus<sup>4</sup> virum sane bonum et intelligentem in carceribus habet.<sup>5</sup> Reliqui, excepto Contareno patricio Veneto<sup>6</sup> philosopho et theologo, vitae integritate cum paucis conferendo, ab consueto  
10 cardinalium coetu non degenerant. In Gallorum gratia elegit episcopum Parisiensem<sup>7</sup> Lutheranum, cetera nosti. Classis caesaris CCCXXX navium erit, apparatus ingens. Res Turcicas intelliges de Lucretia<sup>8</sup> nostra. Tu vale et Sceppero<sup>9</sup> nostro me commenda.  
Mediolano XXX. Maii MDXXXV.

537,7-8 virum sane bonum et intelligentem ] corr. ex vir sane bonus et intelligens

537<sup>1</sup> Pope Paul III. 537<sup>2</sup> In the second Consistory for the promotion of cardinals, Pope Paul III created seven cardinals: Nicolaus Schönberg, Hieronymus de Ginutiis, Jacobus Simoneta, Johannes Fisher, Johannes de Bellayo, Gasparus Contareno and Marinus Ascanius de Carraciolis. See VAN GULIK-EUBEL 1923, 23-24; and DE VOCHT 1961, 241. 537<sup>3</sup> John Fisher. 537<sup>4</sup> King Henry VIII. 537<sup>5</sup> He was executed not much later, on 22 June, 1535, at the order of King Henry VIII. 537<sup>6</sup> Caspare Contareno or Gasparo Contarini (†1542) was Apostolic Legat and Cardinal, and he wrote the book *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque* (Veneto, 1551), see DE VOCHT 1961, 241, 267-268. 537<sup>7</sup> Jean du Bellay (1492-1560) was Bishop of Paris from 1532. 537<sup>8</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 537<sup>9</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.

## 538

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
[Milan], 31 May 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 131.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 554–555.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*The merchant from Milan has finally brought his globe, but he destroyed the small wheels (circulos minutulos) on the way. He hopes he will find someone to fix it. Reinerszoon promised to send a book of his together with the globe, which is a kind of instruction manual. He is asking Oláh to help him obtain the book and the wheels. He wrote about everything else in his letter yesterday, except that the Emperor will be joined by 70 knights, as well as many other Princes, Counts, and Marquesses.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem dicit.

Tandem aliquando negotiator iste Mediolanensis<sup>1</sup> globum mihi reddidit affabre quidem factum, sed dum vector commodo suo magis studuit, circulos quosdam minutulos confregit, sed spero hic aliquem me inventurum, qui omnia in pristinam faciem restituat. Gemma Phrisius<sup>2</sup> mihi istinc recedenti pollicitus est una cum globo missurum libellum suum docentem, quopacto utendus sit globus. Te etiam atque etiam rogo, des operam, ut quamprimum rationem istam Gemmae et sic anulorum habeam. Credo iam excussos typis libellos esse.

De rebus publicis non est, quod addere possim hesternis litteris meis, praeterquam quod ex curia caesaris intelleximus in praesenti expeditione ad septingentos nobiles equestri ordinis Hispanos caesarem secuturos Marte suo. Addunt praeterea duces, comites, marchiones VII et multos comites. Vale, Olahe Amantissime, et Scepero<sup>3</sup> nostro item eius coniugi<sup>4</sup> me plurimum commenda. Electissimam Virginem Lucretiam<sup>5</sup> salvebis meo nomine.

Ultima Maii XXXV.

15

## 539

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 14 June 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 133.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 555.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Lucretia Caballis will tell him what they have heard about the Turks. All of Syria, Egypt, and Greece is trembling with fear. If it is true that the Emperor has defeated Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha and conquered Tunis, he will focus all his might on these locations.*

538,9 hesternis ] *O corr. ex externis*

538<sup>1</sup> Giacomo Fagnano, see Ep. 490. 538<sup>2</sup> Jemme Reinerszoon. 538<sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 538<sup>4</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 538<sup>5</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross).

179

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Quae a Turcis, Aenobarbo<sup>1</sup> et caesaris classe habemus, de Lucretia Virgine<sup>2</sup> electissima intelliges, nos id audivimus Syriam, Aegiptum et Graeciam fere omnem tremere. Quod si verum est, debellato Aenobarbo et capto Tuneto<sup>3</sup> caesar vires suas in eas  
5 partes convertet, et omnia in suam potestatem brevi redactus est, quod postea succedit, curabo, ut scias. Tu vero interea valebis et Sceperum<sup>4</sup> nostrum et eius coniugem<sup>5</sup> meo nomine salutabis. Iterum vale, Amicorum Optime.

Mediolano XIII. Iunii MDXXXV.

540

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 30 June 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 134.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 555–556.

*Notes:* Copy.

*The other day he heard that the Emperor docked on Sardinia on the 11<sup>th</sup>, and he crossed over to Africa the day after. The Pope has announced a three-day vigil and fast for the well-being of the Emperor and his troops, and the will also pardon all those misguided who make a confession and pray for the Emperor. Giovanni Battista Cibo has conspired against his relative, Alessandro de' Medici, but he was found out; it is rumored that Ippolito de' Medici was the mastermind behind the conspiracy. Lucretia Caballis will tell the rest.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Apud nos recte est, idem de vobis optamus. Nuper audivimus caesarem nostrum cum classe in Sardiniam applicuisse XI. die et inde XII. in Aphricam transmisisse, praeterea nihil aliud certi habemus, verum optime ab omnibus de exitu rerum Aphricanarum existimatur. Pontifex<sup>1</sup> publico edicto indixit III dierum vigiliis et ieiunium pro caesaris et eius exercitus incolumitate. Item omnium errorum remissionem promittit eis, qui confitebuntur et pro caesare preces ad Deum effundent. Quid, quaeris? Caelum, maria ac terras pro Deo nostro nonne pugnare vides? Fac igitur, bono animo sis, fortunabit enim immortalis rector huius machinae iustissima incepta  
10 caesaris, et ad imperium eius Asiam non Aphricam adiunget. Episcopus Massiliensis,<sup>2</sup> cardinalis Cibo<sup>3</sup> frater et ducis Florentiae<sup>4</sup> consobrinus in consobrinum ducem conspiravit, et nescio, quo pacto patefactis insidiis captus est, credimus illum brevi poenas daturum. Fama nos tenet, haec perpetrasse authore cardinalis Medices.<sup>5</sup> Reliqua de

540,11 consobrinum] *corr. ex consobrinam*

539<sup>1</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha. 539<sup>2</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 539<sup>3</sup> Tunis. 539<sup>4</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 539<sup>5</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 540<sup>1</sup> Pope Paul III. 540<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Battista Cibo (1503–1550), Cardinal Cibo's brother, was Bishop of Marseille from 1530, see VAN GULIK–EUBEL 1923, 238. 540<sup>3</sup> Innocenzo Cibo acquired the rights of administration of the Episcopal See of Marseille in 1517. 540<sup>4</sup> Alessandro de' Medici. 540<sup>5</sup> Ippolito de' Medici (1511–1535) acted as Florentine ambassador to Emperor Charles V at this time. For more on this case and his life, see V. THOMSEN 1986.

Lucretia<sup>6</sup> nostra intelliges, cuius litteris exempla multarum litterarum ad principem meum addidi. Tu vale et saepissime ad nos scribe de statu vestro et peregrinis novis. 15 Cornelium Sceperum et coniugem<sup>7</sup> salutabis mihi plurimum. Iterum vale et me, ut facis, ama.

Mediolano pridie Kalendarum Iulias anno Domini MDXXXV.

541

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 4 July 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 133–134.

*Published:* IPOLVI 1875, 556.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Ghilino has received two of Oláh's letters today, which Francesco II Sforza is very happy about, since he wanted to learn what the English and the French King is up to, they expect him to send news regarding Münster and the Netherlands. Everyone is really looking forward to the end of the African expedition. The Turks are at the end of their tether, every letter points to this. He thanks him for sending Jemme Reinerszoon's book and the manual for the globe.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem dicit.

Hodie bene mane binas tuas litteras accepi:<sup>1</sup> alteras XIII., alteras XX. Iunii datas, ex quibus princeps<sup>2</sup> meus valde laetatus est, cupiebat enim summe intelligere, quid istic Gallus et Anglus molirentur. Item res Cymbricas et Monasteriensem<sup>3</sup> famem, quod a te exspectabant, optime absolvesti, reliquum est, ut in hac consueta scriptione 5 perseveres, quippe et principibus meis et mihi rem maxime gratam facturus es. Exitum rerum Aphricanarum brevi exspectamus, qui caesari nostro non homine, sed Deo felicissimus erit. Res Turcica in summo naufragio est, quod ex quibusdam exemplis litterarum nuper nobis allatis intelliges, ea serenissimae reginae mittuntur. De libello Gemmae<sup>4</sup> tibi gratias ago, et cum globi canones habueris, operam dabis, ut 10 quamprimum habeam. Duces te resalutant et te diligunt, tu meis verbis Scepero<sup>5</sup> et eius uxori<sup>6</sup> plurimam salutem adscribes. Vale, Optime Olae, et me, ut facis, ama.

Mediolano IIII. Nonarum Iulias anno MDXXXV.

540,15 meum] corr. ex meam

540<sup>6</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 540<sup>7</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche. 541<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 541<sup>2</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 541<sup>3</sup> Münster. 541<sup>4</sup> Jemme Reinerszoon. 541<sup>5</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 541<sup>6</sup> Anna Isabella (Elizabeth) Donche.

542

Cornelis de Schepper to Miklós Oláh  
Brussels, 4 July 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 138.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 556–557.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 314.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He is sending Ghilino's speech or letter for Oláh to read and then show to the Queen. Camillo Ghilino does not want to make a big deal of it, and he would not have written about it either, had he not been encouraged to do so by Antonio de Leyva. According to Schepper, no book can be so bad that it would be of no use, so Oláh should make sure that the work does not disappear after the Queen has read it, and he should write him what she thinks about it. Ulrich von Eytzing has arrived, and Johan Weze writes that he will send Schepper's clothes and other things in a chest; Oláh should ask him what he knows about the clothes and recommend Schepper to him. He wishes the bride and groom much happiness.*

Cornelius Scepperus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Mitto ad Magnificentiam Vestram orationem seu epistolam cuius illius Mediolanensis,<sup>1</sup> ut illum legat, et postea ostendat reginali maiestati, ad quam de eadem epistola scribo. Vult illum occultam esse, neque refert magnopere, ut edatur, nisi  
5 quod arbitrator instinctu et admonitionibus domini Antonii de Layna<sup>2</sup> marchionis  
Modoeciae<sup>3</sup> ipsum inductum, ut scriberet. In summa nullus liber tam malus quin  
prosit, vide tamen, ne, cum regina eum legerit, perdatur. Iudicium siquidem ea de  
re meum ad ipsum sum auctorem transcripturus. Et quia dominus Ulricus Eytzinger<sup>4</sup>  
advenit, et reverendissimus Lundensis<sup>5</sup> ad me scripsit se quasdam vestes meas in illius  
10 archam locasse huc ferendas una cum ipsius supellectile, quaeret ab eo Magnificentia  
Vestra, an de illis eisdem vestibus aliquid sciat, et me eidam commendabit. Novis  
sponsis<sup>6</sup> precor felicitatem. Bene vale.

Bruxellae IIII. Iulii XV<sup>c</sup>XXXV.

543

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Brussels, 16 July 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 558–560.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 557–559.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

542,1 salutem ] *O add.*

542<sup>1</sup> Camillo Ghilino, see DE VOCHT 1961, 245. 542<sup>2</sup> Antonio de Leyva. 542<sup>3</sup> He was Marquis of Pescara and Commander-in-chief of the imperial army in the Duchy of Milan from 1525. After Francesco II Sforza's death (2 November, 1535), Emperor Charles V appointed him Governor of Milan. 542<sup>4</sup> Ulrich von Eytzing (1499–1561), a courtier of Queen Mary. According to De Vocht, it "seems to be merely a wrong spelling", and he was Ulric Ehinger, an international financial agent but he is wrong. See DE VOCHT 1961, 245. 542<sup>5</sup> Johan Weze. 542<sup>6</sup> Probably Christina of Denmark and Francesco II Sforza.

1. Ulrich von Eytzing handed over Újlaki's letter to him a few days ago, from which Oláh has learned that Újlaki has the same benevolence towards him as before. He rarely receives letters from his old friends because they have forgotten about him, and he finds it difficult to answer, too, although he often exchanges letters with strangers. That it has been a long time since he last wrote to Újlaki is not because he forgot about it or due to a lack of benevolence, but because there was nothing to write about, and many matters distract him from writing. 2. He is exasperated by the misery of the homeland; if everyone stopped prioritizing their own interests instead of the common good, it would have been possible to come to an agreement a long time ago, but the Hungarians are already blind to this and cannot come around. István Brodarics and István Werbőczy will be returning now, he should write to him what they have accomplished. 3. He mostly wants to go home to see his loved ones and friends. As for Oláh's affairs, Bálint Török, Pál Bakics, András Chorón, and Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő have split his Székesfehérvár custodia into four parts, and the Miskolctapolca abbey has been taken over by Ferenc Bebek. The Komárom archdiocese is governed by the archbishop of Esztergom, who is followed by Marcus. Oláh is being exploited everywhere, even by those whom he had supported, and who had promised to protect him.

Nicolai Olai ad Franciscum Wilaki Iauriensem electum.

[1.] Ulricus Eizingerus<sup>1</sup> tuas mihi nudiustertius reddidit litteras,<sup>2</sup> ex quibus tuum illum erga me veterem amorem ac benevolentiam singularem firmam adhuc et constantem esse cognovi; quae non hoc solum nomine, quod per se magnum est, sed etiam quod de rebus Hungaricis, quo illae nunc sint in statu, me certiores fecerunt, mihi 5 fuerunt gratissimae praecipuoque me affecerunt gaudio. Raro enim iam a veteribus meis amicis, etiam a me aliquot meis litteris provocatis accipio litteras, adeo absentis amici sunt obliti, et iam molestum eis est aliis respondere. Alienorum consolor frequentius litteris, quibus cum non tanta mihi fuit amoris et consuetudinis necessitudo.

Quod a longo tempore ego nihil scripserim, non oblivione certe mei in te officii 10 aut benevolentiae, quae perpetuo, dum spiravero, manebit, factum est, sed quod argumentum scribendi defuerit. Externas inter has nationes agenti, quod aliquid tibi afferre potuisset voluptatis, nisi voluissem te de consuetis hominum huius provinciae moribus certiores facere. Qui etiam sine scriptione omnibus sunt satis cogniti. Quod vero tu non scripseris, arbitror hoc quoque non mei contemptui contigisse, sed ex rerum, quae istic aguntur varietate et multitudine, quae avocare hominem a scribendo plerumque solent. Hanc igitur utriusque nostram cessationem, non diminutioni amoris ac benevolentiae nostrae mutuae, ab adolescentia observatae tribuo, sed casui cuidam, qui aliquando hominibus etiam invitis incidit.

[2.] Patriae nostrae calamitas, quam scribis eandem adhuc esse, quae prius fuerat, 20 non possum scribere, quam mihi sit molesta, cuius utinam iam sit finis, sed neutra parte alteri cedere volente quis bonus sequi poterit? Quae in dissensione alienisque animis concordia fieri poterit? Si ambitio, privati commodi amor non regnaret apud omnes plus quam salutis publicae et communis utilitatis respectus, iam diu omnium

543,5 fecerunt] O corr. ex fecit 543,6 gratissimae] O del. ex gratissimae ac 543,7 provocatis] O corr. ex provocatas 543,8 iam] O corr. ex tam 543,14 etiam] O corr. ex utinam 543,14 sunt] O corr. ex sint 543,15 hoc] O corr. ex hic 543,22 cedere] O corr. ex credere

543<sup>1</sup> Ulrich von Eytzing. 543<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter.

25 rerum habuissemus finem, sed adeo obcaecati sumus, ut nec Dei, nec mortis, quae paulo post omnes aequa sorte, ut nostros multos dominos, fratres et amicos, qui nuper ante nos vitam obiverunt, raptura est, consideratione ducamur. Miror, quod tot diebus commissarii nihil concluderint. Arbitror eos magis studere temporis protractioni, et ut bona quaeque occasio nobis data praetereat, quam ut aliquid finire velint, verum  
 30 fortasse in hunc diem Brodericus<sup>3</sup> et Verleczy<sup>4</sup> redierunt, aliquidque iam finiverunt. Quod si factum est, rogo, fac, ut scribis, me certiosem ante alios. Nulla res me maiore gaudio afficiet, quam si pacem bonam firmamque factam esse audiero. Non propter me, qui iam utramque fortunam, quaecumque venerit, aequo animo ferre consuevi, sed ob patriae amorem et quietem publicam.

35 [3.] Quod me facta pace dies et noctes te domum exspectaturum scribis, declaras in hoc tuum in me sincerum animum amore fraterno plenum, devincisque me iam antea tibi satis devinctum ad omnia tua obsequia obeunda. Non alia me magis res ad redeundum sollicitat, quam dominorum et amicorum meorum revisendorum desiderium, quod tunc, cum eos videro, satiari poterit. De rebus privatis meis quid  
 40 scribam, nescio, possem dicere, quod est in Evangelio, missam esse sortem in vestem meam. Custodiam quadrifariam partiti sunt Valentinus Theuurek,<sup>5</sup> Bakyth,<sup>6</sup> Andreas Chnom,<sup>7</sup> Hyeronimus Wasony,<sup>8</sup> abbatiam de Thapolcza Bebek<sup>9</sup> occupat. Archidiaconatus Comariensis dominus reverendissimus Strigoniensis<sup>10</sup> est officialis, post quem Marcus<sup>11</sup> noster. Omnibus praedae sum expositus, etiam eis, de quibus ob servitia mea  
 45 essem benemeritus, hi, qui me defendere fuerant polliciti, refrixerunt, vel quod non possunt, vel quod aliena non curant. Deum igitur ipsum invoco, cuius fiat voluntas et illud Homericum<sup>12</sup> insidet mihi cordi:

ἦ οὐ γινώσκεις ὃ τοι ἐκ Διὸς οὐχ ἔπειτ' ἀλκή;  
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει  
 50 σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε καὶ ἡμῖν, αἶ κ' ἐθέλησι,  
 δώσει· ἀνήρ δέ κεν οὔ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρύσσαιτο  
 οὐδὲ μάλ' ἴφθιμος, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι.

543,25 habuissemus] *O corr. ex factus esset* 543,25 finem] *O corr. ex finis* 543,27 obiverunt] *O corr. ex coluerunt* 543,31 fac] *O add.* 543,31 scribis] *O del. ex scribis fac* 543,42 occupat] *O corr. ex occupari* 543,43 quem] *O del. ex quem Marcius* 543,44 Marcus] *corr. ex Marcis* 543,44 sum] *O add.* 543,46 possunt] *O corr. ex possent* 543,48 ἦ οὐ γινώσκεις ὃ τοι ἐκ Διὸς οὐχ ἔπειτ'] *corr. ex ἦ γινώσκεις ὅτι διὸς ἔπειτε* 543,49 κῦδος] *corr. ex κῆδος* 543,50 σήμερον·] *corr. ex σύμερον* 543,50 ἐθέλησι] *corr. ex ἐθέλει* 543,51 δώσει· ἀνήρ δέ] *corr. ex σώσει ἀνήρ δε* 543,51 εἰρύσσαιτο] *corr. ex εἰρύσαιτο* 543,52 οὐδὲ μάλ'] *corr. ex οὐδ' μάλα* 543,52 ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι.] *corr. ex ἐπειη πολὺ φερτατος*

543,40–41 missam ... meam] Cf. Ps21, 19, Mt27, 35: "et super vestem meam miserunt sortem"; J19, 24: "et in vestem meam miserunt sortem". 543,48–52 ἦ ... ἐστι] Hom. *Il.* VIII,140–144.

543<sup>3</sup> István Brodarics. 543<sup>4</sup> István Werbőczy. 543<sup>5</sup> Bálint Török. 543<sup>6</sup> Pál Bakics or Pavle Bakić. 543<sup>7</sup> András Choron. 543<sup>8</sup> Jeromos Horváth of Vásonkő. 543<sup>9</sup> Ferenc Bebek. 543<sup>10</sup> Pál Várday. 543<sup>11</sup> We do not know him more closely. 543<sup>12</sup> Oláh was reading the *Iliad* around this time. He finished reading it on 31 December, 1535, see CSONTOSI 1883, 66: "finivi Bruxelle vltima Decembris Anno 1535".



Omnia igitur relinquo arbitrio Dei, qui et me enutriet, Nestoreos vix iam victurum in annos, quem precor, ut te sanum incolumemque conservet. Mea servitia regiae maiestati commenda, rogo. Vale felicissime. 55  
Bruxellae 16. Iulii anno Domini 1535.

544<sup>545</sup>

Cornelis De Schrijver to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 27 July 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 137–138.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 559.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 154–155.

*Notes:* Copy.

*When he left Brussels the other day, where he had been Oláh's guest, he swore to return as soon as possible, but because public affairs are delaying him, he now at least seeks Oláh out through a letter. He is sending Topographia to him, which they have talked about; even if he has not been able to see Rome in person yet, he should at least see it this way. He asks Oláh to recommend him to his friends, especially Schepper and Wolfgang Haller.*

Cornelius Graphaeus Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Cum nuper Bruxella discederem tua ibidem iunctissima usus familiaritate, Vir imprimis Candide, statui eo me perbrevis redire tui nimirum reliquorumque amicorum visendorum gratia, verum obstitere hactenus cum publica, tum privata, quae me varie afficiunt, negotia. Quare, quod possum, facio, in viso te per epistolam. Mitto tibi dono hunc lepidissimum sane libellum de *Topographia veteris Romae*,<sup>1</sup> de quo inter nos Bruxellae fuit sermo, ut si eam urbem orbis olim dominam praesens non videris, nunc absens velut ob oculos positam contuearis, missurus et alia brevi tuae humanitati forte haud iniucunda. Interea vero me tuo candori reliquisque amicis, praesertim vetusto illi amico domino Cornelio Scepero commendatum velim, id vel omnium maxime abs te ambitiosius forte petens, ut tuum Graphaea ubi et occasio tulerit, et citra tuam molestiam fieri queat, in thesaurarii Halleri<sup>2</sup> gratiam insinuare velis. Vale meum praesidium.

Antverpiae VI. Kalendas Augusti MDXXXV.

544,5–6 tibi ... libellum] Cat. I,1.

544<sup>1</sup> *Topographiae antiquae Romae* Ioanne Bartholomaeo Marliano Patricio Mediolanensi autore, apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni, 1534. 544<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Haller.

544-545

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis De Schrijver  
Brussels, 1 August 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 560–561.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 559–560.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 155–156.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He was doubly happy that Cornelis De Schrijver sent Topographia to him: on the one hand, for the love this shows towards him and also because he can picture Rome this way. He will return the favor as soon as he can; he will gladly recommend him to Cornelis de Schepper's and Wolfgang Haller's attention. Frans van Cranevelt has sent Basil of Caesera's work in his own Latin translation to Oláh – Oláh is now sending it to him so he can read it.*

Nicolai Olai ad Cornelium Graphaeum Antverpiensem.

*Topographiam veteris Romae, quam ad me, Doctissime Cornelii, dono misisti,<sup>1</sup> nudius tertius accepi. Quae duplici nomine fuit mihi gratissima, primum, quod tuum in me candidum amorem, quem nuper verbis declararas, nunc re ipsa cognoverim, tum*  
5 *quod Urbis, totius orbis dominae, veterem illam maiestatem et insignem magnificentiam perlecto ipso libello ob oculos iam ponere possim. Habeo igitur tibi, mi Graphae, gratias, quas possum cumulas, qui me in amicorum tuorum numerum inscribere meque hoc tuo munusculo honorare volueris. Non ero tuorum in me officiorum et amoris immemor, sed eodem, quo tu me, amicitiae et necessitudinis officio sum te*  
10 *prosecuturus, huncque Olaum talem semper in te et tuos cognosces, qualem amor noster mutuus postulaverit. Quod me petis, ut Cornelio Sceppero, Volffgango Hallero,<sup>2</sup> quaestori reginae, amicis communibus te commendem, etsi es, ut id satis scio, ob ingentem tuam virtutem et doctrinam excellentem eis satis commendatus, tamen, ut iubes, faciam id diligenter. Et neque in hac, neque in aliis multo maioribus rebus*  
15 *meam unquam operam, quam quidem tibi gratam fore sensero, patiar a te desiderari. Franciscus Craneveldius,<sup>3</sup> amicus meus singularis hunc ad me misit Basilii<sup>4</sup> libellum a se Latinitate donatum, quem, ut perlegas, ad te misi. Vale et me, ut coepisti, ama.*

Bruxellae Kalendis Augusti 1535.

546

Miklós Oláh to Frans van Cranevelt  
Brussels, 1 August 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 561–562.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 560–561.

*Notes:* Copy.

545,11 petis ] *O corr. ex petit*

545 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 544. 545 <sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 545 <sup>3</sup> Frans van Cranevelt. 545 <sup>4</sup> Basil of Caesarea.

Ressen has sent him Basil of Caesarea's homily against the drunk in Frans van Cranevelt's translation, which Cranevelt has dedicated to Oláh; he cannot thank him enough for this, especially because due to a lack of opportunities to meet, they have only laid the foundations of their friendship so far. He will endeavor to make sure that he and his friends avoid drunkenness, which he has always been an enemy of. Drunkenness has spread so much recently that it cannot be banished (from people in general) with the help of books, only with sticks.

Nicolai Olai ad Franciscum Cranevellium.

Vix Meclinia negotiorum meorum curandorum gratia huc reversus heri respiraveram, cum Ruthgerus Rescius, amicus noster communis *Homiliam*<sup>1</sup> Basilii contra temulentos a te, Vir Praestantissime, Latinitate donatam meoque nomini dicatam ad me misit. Non possum, Vir omnibus virtutibus Ornatissime, gratias tibi habere et referre satis dignas, qui inter tuos complures amicos me potius delegeris, quem hac tua insigni lucubratione imprimis honorares, beares et ornares. Etsi enim aliquibus brevibus inter nos collocutionibus et internuntiis amicitiae et amoris quaedam fundamenta hactenus inter nos iacta fuere, tamen non ea a me non quod id facere noluerim, sed quod nulla occasio se praestiterit; profecta in te sunt amici animi officia, ut tanto a te dignarer honore. Si tamen aliqua unquam res emergerit, in qua gratum meum animum in te declarare potuero, nihil sum praetermissurus, quod ad id cumulate praestandum pertinere arbitrabor, hocque tuum munus amicitiae nostrae mutuae pignus perpetuum in meo veluti intimo pectore reconditum conservabo. Nec cessabo inter meos commilitones ea temulentiae et vitia et incommoda saepe recensere, quae divus Basilius ob oculos nobis luculenter proposuit, sed hanc ebrietatis pestem, cuius et ego a primis meis annis fui inimicus, video nunc omnium animum, mores et consuetudinem adeo occupasse, ut non libris, sed fustibus vix innumeris ab hac prava potandi consuetudine nostrae aetatis homines arceri avocarique possit. Vale, et me, qualis sum, tuum fore tuique amantem existimato.

Bruxellae Kalendis Augusti 1535.

547

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 10 August 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 131–132.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 561.

*Notes:* Copy.

*They badly need the Emperor to stay unhurt after having crossed over to Africa without any loss of life and having fought at Tunis. He has settled the Milan affair so that they can relax. Why is Oláh asking what will become of the Hungarian affairs? He should relax and stay hopeful.*

546,20 qualis] *del. ex qualis qualis*

<sup>1</sup> Oláh wrote Cornelis De Schrijver that Frans van Cranevelt himself had sent him his translation, see Ep. 545. According to Oláh's correspondence, Ressen sent Basil of Caesarea's homily to Oláh in 1532, but it was obviously the original Greek text, see Ep. 215. Cap. 2.

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Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Di boni! Quantum fortunae et caesaris Dei nostri integritati debemus, qui postquam in Aphricam traiecit, nullo ferme suo milite desiderato et stagni fauces et Dunetum<sup>1</sup> ipsum intra paucos dies expugnavit. Nos certe id est, rem Mediolanensem  
5 ita firmavit, ut otiose nunc in utramque aurem dormiamus. Quid quaeris, et res Hungarica in eadem navi, quam primum erit? Fac igitur, bono animo sis, et meliora in horas sperabis. Maiestatem reginalem bene valere optamus, et te, quem principes mei salutant, Scepero<sup>2</sup> item ceteris amicis meis me commenda.

Ex Mediolano X. Augusti MDXXXV.

548

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 22 August 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 132.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 561–562.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He has received Oláh's letter, from which he has learned about the progress made against the Anabaptists, the outcome of the Lübeck battle, John Fisher's death, and all the rest. Francesco II Sforza is also sending his regards, with whom they have just heard that the Emperor has conquered Annaba, together with the 15 boats Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha had left as a watch. A half-naked Barbarossa has fled to Algeria with 4,000 soldiers of his; some think that he will perish there and atone for his sins, and this is all the Emperor needs. Oláh will call him a clairvoyant when he sees that Hungary will also belong to the Emperor. He also let the Spanish soldiers go and gathered 4,000 people who had suffered under the Barbarians, to use them against Mauritania, and possibly in Constantinople. There is no news of the Turks, they are busy with the Persians, and the Emperor's enemies are idle. Ippolito de Medici has been poisoned.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Litterae tuae XII. Iulii Idibus Augusti mihi redditae sunt,<sup>1</sup> ex his, quae in Germania adversus anabaptistas egregie facta sunt, percepi. Item exitum pugnae Lubeccensium in duces<sup>2</sup> Olsaciae, Ruffensis<sup>3</sup> occasum,<sup>4</sup> et quicquid apud vos novi erat. Princeps<sup>5</sup>  
5 meus, quoniam tuo nomine salutavi, de his omnibus seorsum tibi gratias agit et te resalutat. Nunc primum accepimus caesaris classem Bonam,<sup>6</sup> urbem Bartanae marinam interceptisse cum XV triremibus Aenobarbi,<sup>7</sup> quas eo loci ad tuenda omnia illa habebat; urbs a militibus direpta, triremes incensae. Aenobarbus cum CCCC Turcis militibus seminudus vix aufugit Algerium versus. Sunt, qui putent hominem mini-

547,5 in ... dormiamus ] Proverb, cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 719. I[VIII],19. In utramvis dormire aurem. MYNORS 1989, 135; and Esop. *Fab.* 47. *De vulpe, cane et gallo.*

547<sup>1</sup> Instead of Tunetum, i.e. Tunis. 547<sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 548<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 548<sup>2</sup> King Christian III of Denmark. 548<sup>3</sup> John Fisher. 548<sup>4</sup> John Fisher was executed on 22 June, 1535 at the order of King Henry VIII. For more his execution, see DE VOCHT 1961, 249–252. 548<sup>5</sup> Francesco II Sforza. 548<sup>6</sup> Annaba. 548<sup>7</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha.

me Arabum manus evasurum, in ipsoque itinere praeteritorum peccatorum poenas 10  
daturum, hoc tantum ad solidam Dei nostri caesaris felicitatem deerat. Quid quod  
et Hungaria ipsa ad eius imperium accedat, quo tempore me verissimum vatem  
profiteberis et in secundis rebus tuis mei aliquando mentionem facies. Caesar dimissis  
Hispanis militibus ad quatuor millia hominum conduxit ex his, qui diuturnam servitu- 15  
tem apud barbaros inserviverunt, horum opera ad debellandam Mauritimam<sup>8</sup> omnem  
utetur, et fortassis in Constantinopolitana expeditione. De Turca nihil novi habemus,  
ei instabat Persarum rex.<sup>9</sup> Caesaris hostes, quos hoc tempore videtis, toti frigent.  
Medices cardinalis<sup>10</sup> veneno necatus est. Vale et frequenter scribe, et Sceppero<sup>11</sup> et  
reliquis amicis me commenda. Gemmae<sup>12</sup> libellos accepi et de his tibi gratias habeo,  
miror ensem adhuc esse in itinere. Iterum vale. 20

Mediolano X. Kalendas Septembris, hoc est XXII. Augusti 1535.

549

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 31 August 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 132–133.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 562.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Following the looting in Annaba, there have been various news that the Emperor has gone to Hispania or Sicily. They have heard from Rome, but not for certain, that he has gone to Trapani and set up a huge army. The Pope, to end the feud in Perugia, will send his son to the Emperor this autumn. The grandchildren have become rich through the death of Ippolito de' Medici. King Francis I is said to have been so happy about the Emperor's victory that he announced a five-day thanksgiving pray.*

Idem Nicolao Olao suo salutem.

Post Hipponensem praedam<sup>1</sup> varii de Aphricano caesare, Deo nostro rumores  
sunt, qui eum in Hispaniam traiecisse putent, alii in Siciliam. Nos ex Urbanis litteris  
accepimus, sed incerto quidem authore, Drepanum<sup>2</sup> concessisse, et ibi maximam  
exercitus sui partem exposuisse. Si quid magis certi intelligemus, curabo, quamprimum 5  
ut scias. Pontifex,<sup>3</sup> quo facilius Perusinas<sup>4</sup> controversias componeret, eo ire decreverat  
hoc autumno filium<sup>5</sup> ad caesarem missurus. Ex morte cardinalis Medices<sup>6</sup> nepotes  
maximis sacerdotiis auxit. Gallum<sup>7</sup> fama nos tenet de caesaris victoria foris maxime  
laetatum, et quinque dierum supplicationes decrevisse per totum regnum. Vale et  
amicis me commenda. 10

Ex Mediolano pridie Kalendas Septembris MDXXXV.

548,18 Medices ] *O corr. ex Marises*

548 <sup>8</sup> I.e. Mauritania. 548 <sup>9</sup> Tahmasp I, Shah of Iran. 548 <sup>10</sup> Ippolito de' Medici suffered from fever before he died. He probably died from malaria and was not poisoned, although there were such rumours, see CREWS 2003, 109. For background, see Ep. 540. 548 <sup>11</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 548 <sup>12</sup> Jemme Reinerszoon. 549 <sup>1</sup> On the sack of Annaba, see Ep. 548. 549 <sup>2</sup> Trapani. 549 <sup>3</sup> Pope Paul III. 549 <sup>4</sup> Perugia. 549 <sup>5</sup> Pier Luigi Farnese (1503–1547) was the illegitimate son of Alessandro Farnese, and the Duke of Parma and Piacenza from 1545 to 1547. 549 <sup>6</sup> Ippolito de' Medici. 549 <sup>7</sup> King Francis I.

Johan Weze to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 5 September 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 064.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 563.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He has received Oláh's letter and thanks him for the information. He has already written about the Hungarian affairs in detail. There is no point in writing about the Emperor's victory, either because Oláh already knows about it, but he really wants to know what happened to the Queen's possessions in the assembly, and what was decided in connection with the Danish affairs. He is getting along with Bálint Török quite well now, and he has convinced him to return Oláh's possessions to Oláh. János Czeglédi has left with Török, but he will understand it better from Czeglédi's attached letter. He will understand Újlaki's matter with the Queen from the attached copy of Ferenc Újlaki's letter, Újlaki is asking Oláh to look into his affairs; Weze is asking him to do the same.*

Ioannes archiepiscopus Lundensis Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende et Magnifice Domine! Die XXVIII. mensis Augusti redditae mihi sunt litterae Dominationis Vestrae datae<sup>1</sup> Bruxellae die sexta eiusdem, ago autem gratias de rebus novis perscriptis immortales. In quo statu vero res Hungariae sint, dudum  
5 satis prolixè scripsi. Caesaris victoriam non scribo ob id, quod sciam nobilem ab illius maiestate ad vos nuntium victoriae tam inauditaè missum. Quid conventus reginarum boni attulerit, aveo omnino scire, similiter et quod in negotio Danico conclusum est. Cum Valentino autem Turkh,<sup>2</sup> qui mihi iam factus est amicissimus, egi, ut bona custodiae Dominationi Vestrae remiserit in totum et quo fructus reliqui anni  
10 praesentis ex Dominationis Vestrae commodo elocentur. Profectus est Ioannes Cegledinus<sup>3</sup> una cum domino Valentino, quemadmodum latius fortassis Dominatio Vestra ex litteris ipsius Cegledini, quas praesentibus mitto,<sup>4</sup> intelliget. Domino Vlachi<sup>5</sup> regiae maiestatis secretario, amico meo singulari negotium est cum reginali maiestate, quem in modum Dominatio Vestra ex litteris et earum copiis praesentibus annexis videre  
15 poterit. Hic plurimum me rogavit, ut negotium istud suum commendarem reginali maiestati. Cum autem neminem habeam, qui maiori affectu rem istam curare possit et velit praeter Dominationem Vestram Reverendam, eandem ex animo rogo, ut meo nomine, quantum poterit, apud reginalem maiestatem negotium istud provehat, ita ut idem vir bonus sentiat se mea pollicitatione non esse frustratum, id mutuis officiis  
20 et vicissitudine erga eandem Vestrae Dominationi summo studio conabor promereri, quam Dominus Deus diu incolumem servet, cuique ex animo me commendo.

Datae Viennae V. mensis Septembris anno Domini MV<sup>c</sup>XXXV.

550,10 est] *O del. ex est dominus* 550,12 Vlachi] *O corr. ex Vlach*

550<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 550<sup>2</sup> Bálint Török. 550<sup>3</sup> János Czeglédi. 550<sup>4</sup> We do not know this letter. 550<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Újlaki.

## 551

Cornelis De Schrijver to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 1 December 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 061–062.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 563–564.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 156.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He has been away for days, and although he does not have anything to say, at least he seeks Oláh out through a letter and sends his regards. He is sending six copies of Monstrum anabaptisticum for Oláh to distribute to whomever he wishes, and he will also send some copies of the work to be dedicated to the Queen as soon as it is done.*

Cornelius Grapheus Nicolao Olao salutem.

Post meam ex Bruxella abitionem, Vir Praestantissime, hactenus domo abfui negotiorum quorundam causa per regiones divagatus. Itaque felicibus avibus domum reversus non potui, quin te per litteras adirem atque salutarem, cum aliud non esset, quod peculiarius ad te scribendum occurreret. *Monstri anabaptistici*<sup>1</sup> ad te mitto sex exemplaria, ut ea impertias, quibus voles. *Epithalamion Virginis Mariae*<sup>2</sup> augustissimae reginae dicatum (cum alia quaedam eius farinae illi addenda ad liniam reduxero) impressum curabimus, tibi exemplaria aliquot mittemus. Vale, Maecenas Optime!

Antverpiae postridie Andreae MDXXXV.

## 552

Camillo Ghilino to Miklós Oláh  
Milan, 23 December 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 126.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 564.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*Months and months have gone by without an answer from Oláh to his letters; if it is due to nonchalance, that is quite blameworthy. Urbino's ruler supports the Baglioni family so that he can marry Giulia da Varano to his son Guidobaldo more easily, and since the Bishop of Rieti has been killed, Urbino's ruler thought that he could convince the Pope to support this marriage. Lucretia Caballis will tell him what there is to know about Andrea Doria's fleet. Gaul and Helvetia are quiet; Oláh should write to him about the English affairs.*

Camillus Gilinus consiliarius ducis Mediolanensis Nicolao Olao thesaurario Albensi, secretario et consiliario Mariae Hungariae et Bohemiae reginae etc. suo salutem dicit.

551<sup>1</sup> *Monstrum anabaptisticum, rei Christianae pernicies*, Antuerpiae apud Joan. Grapheum, 1535. De Schrijver dedicated his book to Oláh, see fol. 1v. See also PETTEGREE–WALSBY 2011, 597. 551<sup>2</sup> *Ad optimam heroidem Mariam, Hungariae reginam, sacrorum bucolicorum aeglogae tres*, Antwerpen, typis Grapheus apud Joannes Steelsius, 1536. See also PETTEGREE–WALSBY 2011, 597.

Unus et alter et item alter mensis est, ex quo multis litteris meis a te minime  
5 responsum fuit. Hoc si negligentia tua factum est, valde redarguendus esses. Quare  
te etiam atque etiam rogo, ne me fructu iucundissimo litterarum tuarum fraudes.  
Dux<sup>1</sup> Urbinas, ut facilius Camerini ducem puellam<sup>2</sup> annorum XI Quidobaldo<sup>3</sup> filio in  
matrimonium collocaret, Balionam<sup>4</sup> factionem extorrem fovit, quae patrocínio suo  
Perusiae potita est, interfecto episcopo Reatino gubernatore,<sup>5</sup> aliisque permultis a  
10 pontifice designatis pro tuitione illius civitatis, ratus tanto incendio posse Paulum III<sup>6</sup>  
induci, ut dux Camertum<sup>7</sup> tranquille cum filio in matrimonii possessione perseveret,  
qua de re pontifex adeo excanduit, quo nihil magis. Vereor, ne tragoedia istorum  
Italiae magnum negotium facessat, et praesertim cum nuper nobis Roma allatum sit  
Baliones omnes pontificis conditiones accepisse. Quae de classe Doriae<sup>8</sup> habemus, e  
15 Virgine Lucretia<sup>9</sup> intelliges, cui exemplum litterarum Christophori<sup>10</sup> praefecti misi. In  
Gallia et Helvetiis omnia silent. Tu, si quid ab Anglis habes, fac nos certiores. Dux  
meus te salutatur, cui adhuc nihil rescripsisti. Reginam nostram bene valere opto. Apud  
nos est, ut volumus, vale, et amicos nostros salutabis meo nomine.

Mediolano X. Kalendas Ianuarii anno MDXXXV.

553

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 27 December [1535]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 062.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 565.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He is sending Pieter Nanninck's Declamatio, which was presented here to great success. Why he wants to dedicate it to Oláh, he will understand from Nanninck's letter. He is asking Oláh to review it as quickly as possible and send it back; a bookseller wants to take some copies to France and England.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao.

Nannii<sup>1</sup> nostri *Declamationem*<sup>2</sup> ad te mitto, Domine Olahe plurimum Observande,  
quam hic proximo instatio dixit et frequentissimo auditorio et maximo omnium ap-

552,7 ducem] *O corr. ex duce*

552<sup>1</sup> Francesco Maria I della Rovere was Duke of Urbino from 1521. 552<sup>2</sup> Giulia da Varano (1523–1547) was Duchess of Camerino from 1527, see PETRUCCI 1981. 552<sup>3</sup> Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (1514–1574). 552<sup>4</sup> The Baglioni family ruled over the city of Perugia from the thirteenth century until 1540, see CAMPBELL 2003, 62. 552<sup>5</sup> Paulus Capisuccus and Gregorius Megalottus both died in 1534, see LEOPARDUS 1824, 52. 552<sup>6</sup> Pope Paul III. 552<sup>7</sup> Camerino. 552<sup>8</sup> Andrea Doria. 552<sup>9</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 552<sup>10</sup> We do not know him more closely. 553<sup>1</sup> Pieter Nanninck (1496–1557) was born in Alkmaar. He first taught in Gouda, then in 1535 he went to Leuven and succeeded Conrad Wackers as a Latin teacher at the Collegium Trilingue in 1539. After Wacker left, Oláh looked for a new tutor for John Henckel the Younger, and Nanninck was available. Nanninck wrote commentaries on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, *Aeneid*, Livy, and translated many Greek authors, for example, Plutarch and Athanasius. He also wrote a few works, mainly declamations and speeches. On their friendship see POLET 1936, 243–278; and TOURNOY 2006. 553<sup>2</sup> Nanninck's *Declamatio de bello Turcis inferendo* was published by Rutger Ressen, and it was dedicated to Oláh, see NANNIUS ALCMARIANUS 1536.



plausu. Eam quare tibi dedicare decreverit, intelliges ex epistola ipsius ad te scripta.<sup>3</sup> Rogamus autem Dominationem Tuam, ut quamprimum ipsam recognoveris, ilico 5 ad nos remittas. Cupit enim quidam bibliopola aliquot exemplaria ipsius mittere in Galliam et Angliam. Bene valeat Dominatio Tua. Raptim.

Lovanii in festo domini Ioannis Evangelistae.  
Magistrum Iacobum<sup>4</sup> cupio salutari.

554<sup>555</sup>

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 29 December 1535

*Published: NANNIUS 1536, a1v–a3r. POLET 1936, 243–245.*

*1. He is sending his Declamatio to Oláh, which he will either submit to Oláh's censorship or get rid of. Several friends encouraged him to publish it the other day, but it all depends on Oláh, since he is the only one he wants to dedicate it to, for several reasons. On the one hand because Oláh is well-versed in both languages and will spot his mistakes. Then he is also an expert in history and well-versed in many things, and as far as Turkish–Christian wars are concerned, he will immediately spot any inaccuracies. He has chosen him not only as a patron but also as a censor: once the text is published after it has been cleaned up, Oláh's name will protect it. 2. The reason why he has chosen this genre of argumentation is that he has always lamented what has happened to the Hungarian nation: they had been the bulwark of Christianity much longer than ten years. He wanted to make up for this somehow, and now that the Emperor's military fortune is on the rise, he wanted to show in a declamation what a sacred war this was. 3. Otherwise he has left out what is quite typical of the genre: a fictitious character talking to the Emperor – with Plato it is Socrates who talks, and both Xenophon and Cicero use this tool. But it seemed to him that it would not be appropriate for him (Nanninck) to speak by impersonating the Pope. Impersonation may fit childish games, but not such educated men. So he has omitted talk imitating real-life from the declamation.*

Clarissimo eruditissimoque viro domino Nicolao Olaho Transsylvano, Ferdinandi Romanorum regis et Mariae reginae Hungariae, Bohemiae etc. a secretis et consiliis, thesaurario Albensi Petrus Nannius salutem plurimam dicit.

[1.] Mittimus tibi, Eruditissime Vir, declamationem<sup>1</sup> nostram, nuper in quodlibeticis quaestionibus habitam, quam pro tua censura vel edemus, vel supprimemus. 5 Hactenus enim multae multorum amicorum adhortationis id egerunt, ut incoeperim addubitare, essetne res praelo committenda, an non esset? Ceterum, ut hoc vel illud eligam, non aliunde futurum est, quam ex tua sententia, quo autem tibi acrioris censurae necessitatem adderem, nulli alii, quam tibi hanc declamationem dedicandam statui, atque id multis mihi rationibus faciundum videtur. Primum, quod ut es utrius- 10 que linguae eruditissimus, et in quolibet genere dicendi multae experientiae, facile

554,4 Mittimus ] *corr. ex Mittimns*

553<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 554. This letter and the answers to it were published at the beginning of the *Declamatio*. 553<sup>4</sup> In ms. M. Iacobum, he was probably Jakob Jespersen. 554<sup>1</sup> *Declamatio de bello Turcis ferendo*.

nostra vitia et senties et castigabis. Deinde ut historiarum es peritissimus multisque in rebus versatus, quae ad Turcica et Christiana bella attinent, statim deprehendes, sicubi nobis a veritate historiae aberratum fuerit. Elegimus te igitur non in patronum  
15 solum, sed et in censorem, ut primum detersis maculis pura oratio exeat, deinde ut nominis tui amplitudine protegatur.

[2.] Cur autem hoc genus argumenti inter tot quaestiones quodlibeticas potissimum arriserit, causam dicam. Maximo mihi semper dolori fuit Hungaricam gentem, quae hactenus Turcis felicissime obstitit, ubi et victoria Turcarum, quae alias nationes  
20 celerrimo cursu pervasit, non ad decennium, sed ultra saeculum haesit, iam desiisse esse propugnaculum Christianae fidei.<sup>2</sup> Optavi igitur miris desideriis aliunde repensari, quod inde nobis damni factum esset, ac Christianae ditionis pomeria latius proferri. Quod quia caesar felicissime coepit et felicissima coepta persecuturus videtur, non potui mihi temperare, quin vota mea in litteras effunderem, et declamatione ostenderem,  
25 quam sancta sint in hostes fidei bella, et quanta opportunitas eo invitaret, neque me indecenter arbitrabar facturum, si publica omnium desideria mea oratione tractarem. Quis enim hoc tempore post triumphos caesaris in Africa partos non speret maiores in Graecia et in Asia obtineri posse? Quod si quis ineptum putat me nec duces, nec militem de bello disserere, sciat et legibus declamationum, et quodlibeticis  
30 quaestionibus quodvis argumentum congruere.

[3.] Ceterum quod in declamatione maximum est, coacti sumus omittere. Nihil enim in ea tantas vires habet, quam fingere amplissimam personam, non ipsum declamatorem dicere, fingere item eum praesentem, cui te loqui argumentum exigit, veluti si haec pontifex diceret, caesar audiret. Has prosopopoiias tanti faciunt non  
35 solum rhetores, sed et omnes scriptores, ut Plato in plerisque suis libris non se, sed Socratem loquentem introducat. Idem factitatum est a Xenophonte. Cicero Catones, Scipiones, quasi actores suorum dialogorum facit, ipse suis verbis nihil dicit. Cum igitur circumstantiae a loquentis, ab adversarii et ab auditoris persona potissimum ducantur, nihil mihi ex omnibus istis usurpare licuit. Quod si quis roget, cur non  
40 licuit? Quia mihi ineptum videbatur, ut vere ineptissimum fuisset, si finxissem me pontificem, aut aliquid istiusmodi auditores duces aut milites, quodlibetarium, cuius rationes diluere cogebamur, esse principem aliquem, qui Christianis aut male faveret, aut Christianorum commoda male intelligeret. Ista personarum fictiones fortasse locum habent in ludo triviali inter pueros, in tanto consessu doctissimorum hominum,  
45 non titulis modo maximis, verum etiam maxima eruditione insignium, in conventu tantae universitatis nullo modo induci poterant, nisi cum omnium et risu et taedio. Quare a re in declamationibus maxima, quaeque sola efficit, ut declamatio vera oratio videatur, necessario coacti sumus abstinere. Dixi difficultates nostras, quo amplior locus veniae pateret. Tu autem, Amplissime Vir et nobis et Musis diutissime simul et  
50 felicissime vivas. Vale.

Ex Lovanio quarta Kalendas Ianuarii 1535.

554,25 hostes] *corr. ex hosteis* 554,36 Catones] *corr. ex Catoncs*

554<sup>2</sup> On this topos, see SRODECKI 2015.

554<sup>555</sup>556

Miklós Oláh to Pieter Nanninck  
Brussels, 30 December 1535

*Published:* NANNIUS 1536, a3v–a4r; POLET 1936, 245–246.

*He has received Nanninck's Declamatio, and he really liked it both for the pious reasoning and Nanninck's persuasion that he wants to hear strong arguments. He thanks him for choosing him, and to his request he says: is Nanninck not moved by the opinion of all those smart friends who advise him not to keep this text fortified with arguments, authorities, and historical examples to himself? In his opinion, if anyone wants to talk him out of publication, he should ignore them and publish this work. The few trifles that he has compiled as notes he is sending attached to this letter.*

Nicolaus Olahus Petro Nannio salutem plurimam dicit.

Declamationem,<sup>1</sup> qua, Doctissime Nanni, nuper usus es in frequenti clarissimorum virorum consessu, heri ad multam noctem accepi. Quae adeo mihi arrisit, tum ob argumentum pium et sanctum, tum ob ingenii tui praestantis ad id persuadendum, quod velis validas rationes et argumenta, ut nulla me nunc res maiore voluptate 5 adficere potuisset. Gratias igitur habeo tibi, mi Nanni, immortales, qui inter alios tuos amicos me potissimum delegeris, cui eruditionis et ingenii tui fructus communicares. Expetis meam censuram iudiciumque, cuius sententia vel suppressere, vel edere hanc tuam meditationem decreveris. Quid est, mi Nanni, in me, cuius rei causa 10 meum praestoleris iudicium? An non te tot doctissimorum virorum, qui te audierunt, applausus sententiaeque movere debent, ne diu patiari tuam hanc et rationibus, et autoritatibus, et argumentis, et exemplis historiisque satis firmatam dictionem apud te desiderare? Mea haec est sententia quantulacumque, ut etiam si qui essent, qui te ab edenda hac tua declamatione dehortarentur, tu tamen neglectis illorum verbis rem 15 tam piam, iustam et necessariam, maxime hoc tempore, in vulgum prodere debes. Quare fac, Optime Nanni, ne nos et bonos omnes hac tua frustreris fetura. Quae autem mihi visa sunt ad rem bene declamatam aliquid afferre posse cumuli, ex meis istis παρακεβατικῶς<sup>2</sup> annotatis et huic epistolae subiunctis accipies. Vale.

Ex Bruxella tertio Kalendas Ianuarii 1535.

555<sup>556</sup>

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 31 December 1535

*Published:* NANNIUS 1536, a4v–a5r; POLET 1936, 246–247.

*Oláh is surprised to be asked to act as a censor – Nanninck is surprised why Oláh does not see what everyone else does in himself. But this is what genuine modesty does: it dissimulates and hides brilliant talents. If he*

555<sup>1</sup> *Declamatio de bello Turcis inferendo*, see Ep. 554. 555<sup>2</sup> '(discussed) through digressions'.

had not known this about Oláh before, his latest letter would have convinced him of it. Oláh in turn not only uncovered it with historical accuracy for him, he also listed arguments. What he especially admires is that he found so many things within such a short period of time, and not even from books but from memory. He cannot thank him enough. He will not keep it from the reader how much Oláh helped him; when the reader reads this letter, he will understand what has made this declamation clearer and richer than when it was heard in person.

Amplissimo viro eruditione, linguarum peritia, humanitate et modestia insigni domino Nicolao Olaho Petrus Nannius salutem plurimam dicit.

Ut vere cum eruditione summa, in summa etiam fortuna modestissimus es, mi Olahe, qui tecum quodammodo miraris, quid in te viderim, cur tuam censuram  
5 tantopere expetierim? Ego rursus miror, cur id in te non sentis, quod omnes tibi adesse sentiunt. Sed hunc habet affectum vera modestia, ut inclytas suas dotes omnibusque notissimas, quantum in ipsa est, dissimulet et tegat. Ego si hunc sensum antea de te non habuissem, ex proximis tuis scriptis eum arripere deberem. Non enim solum mihi fidem historiarum aperis, sed et robora argumentorum adducis, et locupletissimam  
10 materiam subministras, eamque non quamvis, sed quae instituto quadret, quaeque statim quasi emblema in ipsam declamationem immitti possit. Ubi inter nos de quibusdam rebus gestis nonnihil dissidii erat, ita tractasti tua, ut quamquam diversa sint, meis exemptis in eorum locum succedere queant, sine offensa aut contextus aut seriei. Hoc non est castigare, sed quodammodo componere, quod alterius nomini  
15 cessurus sis, hoc non est detrahendo minuere, sed addendo amplificare, ut tamen omnia non hinc inde assuti panniculi in centonem, sed membra unius corporis esse videantur. Id autem summopere admiror, unde tibi in tanta brevitate temporis, quae vix nostrae declamationis lectioni sufficeret, tanta silva rerum et inventa et descripta est, nimirum ista non ex libris, sed e fidissima memoria ex tempore depromisti. Nos  
20 igitur quicquid vel gratiae, vel roboris in nostra oratione erit, tibi ingenue acceptum referimus. Neque lectori tua subsidia dissimulare volumus, qui cum ex hac nostra epistola discet, quantopere a te adiuti simus, desinet mirari, cur nunc solidior et locupletior sit declamatio, quam cum a nobis recitaretur. Bene vale, Amplissime Vir, Nanniumque, quem nunc amici nomine decorasti, inter tuos clientes adnumera.  
25 Pridie Kalendas Ianuarii 1535. Lovanii, ex collegio divi Hieronymi ad Leidam.

557

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 31 December 1535

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 62.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 565.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 219. [29 August(!), 1535 ]

*Notes:* Copy.

*Oláh should not thank him for anything, Ressen could not even come close to Oláh's reputation. He does not think it an absurd idea to publish Pieter Nanninck's correspondence with Oláh along with the declamation. He is sending Nanninck's letter so Oláh can say what he thinks.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Non est, quod mihi gratias agas, Domine Olae Observande, quasi per me aliquid honoris tibi accederet. Agnoscunt omnes, qui te vel leviter noverunt, sic te esse ἔντιμον,<sup>1</sup> ut per me et mei similes nihil omnino honoris tibi accedere possit. Videtur mihi non fore absurdum, si tua epistola, qua paucis multum verae laudis Nannii nostri complecteris, una imprimatur cum ipsius *Declamatione*, hoc ordine, ut primo loco prior Nannii epistola<sup>2</sup> ad te scripta ponatur, secundo tua,<sup>3</sup> et tertio altera Nannii epistola,<sup>4</sup> qua tibi gratias agit pro egregia tua censura. Mittimus igitur tibi Nannii epistolam una cum latore praesentium, digneris nobis animi tui sententiam indicare. Bene vale, Domine Consiliarie Doctissime. Raptim. 10

Lovanii pridie Circumcisionis Dominicae 1535.

558

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 16 January 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 61.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 565–566.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 174–175.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 248. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*Here he is sending Oláh what he has brought into the world with Oláh's help, and he hopes that Oláh will acknowledge it as his own and accept it as such. He has placed Oláh's letter at the beginning of the Declamatio because he wanted Oláh to recommend the work to the readers. But he has now burdened Oláh long enough, so he will not write anything else.*

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Quod tua quasi obstetricante opera, Clarissime et Eruditissime Vir, in lucem edidi,<sup>1</sup> iam ad te mitto speroque, quod hunc partum non minima ex parte tuum et cognosces et accipies. Nos tuam epistolam<sup>2</sup> apposuimus declamationi nostro potius commodo, quam tuae voluntati morem gerentes. Cupiebamus enim per te lectoribus commendari et nostrae verecundiae, quae nunc iudicio tuo quasi obarmata, malignorum morsus vel minus sentiet, vel minus curabit. Nos autem, quia te satis oneravimus nostris nugis, non addemus sarcinam sarcinae et molestiam molestia accumulabimus, nec post verbosam declamationem verbosas litteras addemus. Bene vale, Amplissime Vir et animo meo vere Carissime. 10

Lovanii pridie Antonii ex collegio divi Ieronimi ad Leidam anno MDXXXVI.

557,9 latore] *corr. ex latorem* 558,8 nec] *O corr. ex hoc*

557<sup>1</sup> 'honoured'. 557<sup>2</sup> Ep. 554. 557<sup>3</sup> Ep. 555. 557<sup>4</sup> Ep. 556. 558<sup>1</sup> NANNIUS ALCMARIANUS 1536. 558<sup>2</sup> Ep. 555.

Miklós Oláh to a Friend  
Brussels, 20 January 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 562–563.

*Published:* *Ἰσολύγι* 1875, 566–567.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

*He has lived abroad for a long time and has already become used to bearing both good and bad fortune, and to not missing anything at all, he still is homesick for his homeland and his friends for some reason. Especially when he sees the customs of the courtiers (not to mention the peoples of the region), which are so different from his habits and nature, and especially when he sees those who bear office beside the Queen all prioritize their own good and interests. Although this does not completely upset him any more, it does make him feel bad. When he contemplates this, he often concludes that by despising those things that do not behoove respectable people, he remembers his homeland and longs for it, even if the enemy has destroyed it during the last few years. His friend should report to him on the situation in Hungary.*

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Verissimum illud est profecto, quod veteri dici solet proverbio, fumum domesticum igne esse alieno luculentiorum. Ego, qui edoctus iam multis peregrinationibus et non minima, ut mihi videor, videre utriusque fortunae rerum experientia, patienter licet ferre consueverim omnes fortunae sive prosperae, sive adversae insultus, videaturque nihil aut hic, aut alibi deesse, tamen nescio, quo modo patriae meae, amicorum, propinquorum, quibuscum una enutritus sum, vixi, et ad hanc deveni aetatem, non exiguum vellicat desiderium. Maxime cum videam aulicorum nostrorum, ut de communi huius regionis plebe taceam, mores a nostra consuetudine, moribus et natura non parum abhorrere, eosque, qui magistratum apud reginam gerunt, plus sui commodorumque privatorum esse amantes et cupidos, quam bonorum virorum, exterarumque nationum. Quamvis autem haec res me in nullam omnino inducat animi perturbationem, maxime quantum in meam privatam rem pertineat, sed non possum non dolere vices et reginae et eorum, qui illius res nescio in quam intruserint difficultatem et ipsi nihil omnino quacumque arte possint, aliud quaerant, quam privatam suam commodum, utilitatem et, ut ipsi dicere solent, provisionem aut potius providentiam. Quod cum ego etiam invito animo perspiciam, adducor saepe, ut contemptis eorum his factis, quae bono iusto et honesto viro vix convenire videantur, patriae meminerim, illiusque licet non minimum per hos annos hostium fidei nostrae irruptione devastatae desiderium me detineat; de cuius statu praesenti, si tu me nunc certiore feceris, magno me adficies gaudio. Vale.

Bruxellae 20. Ianuarii 1536.

559,3 luculentiorum] *O corr. ex meliorem* 559,6 videaturque] *O corr. ex videarque* 559,17 invito] *O corr. ex invitis* 559,18 contemptis] *O add.* 559,18 factis] *O add.* 559,18 videantur] *O del. ex videantur* ut 559,21 feceris] *O corr. ex feceri*

559,2–3 fumum ... luculentiorum] Cf. *Erasm. Adag.* 116. I,II,16: "Patriae fumus, igni alieno luculentior", see *MYNORS* 1982, 161.

559<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

## 560

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 27 January 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 061.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 567.

*Notes:* Copy.

*In return for Oláh's gold and silver gift he is sending a less valuable gift – because it is made of paper; what can he do if this is the kind of fruit that grows here. He is sending the Greek Institutiones to Oláh and Jakob Jespersen.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Pro aureo et argenteo tuo munere remitto tibi longe vilis munus nempe chartaceum et nequaquam cum tuo conferendum. Verum quid faciam, cum alios fructus non producat fundus meus. Consulat igitur boni Dominatio Tua *Institutiones* has Graecas iuris civilis,<sup>1</sup> quas tibi ac Iacobo<sup>2</sup> tuo mittimus, accepturus maiora chartacea dona, cum ea officina nostra protulerit. Bene vale, Domine Consiliarie in primis Observande. Raptim.

Lovanii XXVII. Ianuarii 1536.

## 561

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 28 January 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 062–064.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 567–568; POLET 1936, 250. [excerpt]

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 175–177.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 249–250. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy.

*1. Nanninck was in Oláh's debt anyway, and he could not expect anything from him, but Oláh has been really generous, and he will return the favor as soon as he can. What he is missing is that he cannot read the inscriptions on the Turkish coin; Jakob Jespersen is helping him in this, he is painting Turkish letters. If there is a guest, he shows the coins to them; it's quite a spectacle here. As for Oláh's letter, he should trust them and not worry about it, if there had been any mistakes in it, he and Rutger Ressen would have corrected it. 2. A Franciscan monk has started to openly fulminate at him, Nanninck tries to quote him word for word. According to him, only those praise the Emperor and King Ferdinand I who are hoping to gain financial advantages from doing so. He finishes his speech by saying that those who write new books are witless when there are old books available. Daniel Mauch will tell the rest. Nanninck sent respected men to silence him, but he does not know how it has ended and is afraid that he will do harm this way.*

560<sup>1</sup> *Institutiones iuris civilis* of Theophilus, printed by Ressen. See DE VOCHT 1954, 125–126. 560<sup>2</sup> Jakob Jespersen.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Ego, mi Benignissime Patrone Domine Olae, in hac mea declamatione<sup>1</sup> mire felix fui, qui pro tua opera, quam mihi praestitisti etiam ultro tuam munificentiam experior. Ego in aere tuo eram, tantum abest, ut a te quicquam vel exspectare vel  
5 accipere debuisssem, sed hoc verae liberalitatis est obaereatum tuum, quasi ipse debeas, multis beneficiis obruere locoque creditoris habere. Utinam cum solvendo non sim, saltem declarandae gratitudinis meae facultas supersit, quae si quando dabitur, non omittam, quin omnibus testatum faciam, quantum tibi et debeo et amo.

Sed nostrae tam plenae mensurae voluptati deest auctarium quoddam, quod litteras in Turcico nummo inscriptas legere nequeo, quas si tuus ἀναγνωστής<sup>2</sup> Iacobus iste Danus<sup>3</sup> mihi interpretetur (nam te gravari nolim) litterisque Turcicis nostras appingat, multum mea spectacula instruxerit. Ego enim, ut quisque hospes advenerit, istos nummos visendos dabo. Adiciis ergo huic nostrae scaenae tantillum illud choragii. De extemporali quidem illa epistola tua, omnibus tamen numeris absoluta  
15 nihil est, quod angaris, merebatur publicum, optimeque lucem feret, neque unquam te illius poenitere potest, nisi in te ipsum valde iniquus esse volueris. Rescius<sup>4</sup> tui amantissimus iudicio non caret, nec me plane bruto esse ingenio existimo, nisi nobis talis visa fuisset, quae et autoritate meam causam, et elegantia artificis famam tueri potuisset, nunquam praelo commissa fuisset. Indocta enim et te laesisset, et mihi  
20 nec patrocinium, nec commendationem attulisset, quibus certe inter tot odia graviter indigebam. Novis enim hominibus, ut scis, omnia infesta.

[2.] Ego ex tua doctissima epistola id consecutus sum, ut pleno ore a multis lauder, religio enim est post tuum iudicium, quicquam deinceps novi in mea causa statuere, non aliter, quam legitimae merces, quae sigillo suae civitatis unde oriundae  
25 sunt, communiuntur. Unus autem est Franciscanus,<sup>5</sup> qui cum scripta non audet tua quasi commendatione arrodere, in scriptorem impungit, dicam eius verba, ut rideas, quae publice in concionibus sacris in me detonuit, domi, ut audio, saepius eandem cantilenam occinens: “Nunc sunt” inquit “quibus in proverbio est, nos poma natamus,<sup>6</sup> te gloriosus apostolorum chorus, qui etiam, si superis placet, sua quodlibeta edunt,  
30 nimirum ut videantur a mundo (imitator eius verba quantum possum) laudant caesarem, laudant Ferdinandum, nimirum ut habeant bonam et pinguem praebendam, quae valeat in singulos annos centum aureos.” Ita καρδιογνώστης<sup>7</sup> meus, non solum vota mea, sed et mensuram meorum votorum novit. Epilogus orationis his verbis conclusus est: “Stulti sunt, qui novos libros scribunt, sufficiunt enim veteres.” Plura Daniel<sup>8</sup> tibi,  
35 ut est, facetus pariter et facundus denarrabit. Misi ad illum aliquot honestos viros, qui illum silentium rogarent, quid impetrabunt, nescio, si non impetrent, libenter ex te scirem, quid mihi faciundum putares, nam vereor, quocumque modo rem egero,

561,28 nos ... natamus] Proverb attributed to Aesop's fable No. 739. Sterquilinium et Poma. 561,32 καρδιογνώστης] Cf. Act1, 24.

561<sup>1</sup> *Declamatio de bello Turcis inferendo*. 561<sup>2</sup> '(your) lecturer'. 561<sup>3</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 561<sup>4</sup> Rutger Ressen. 561<sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely. 561<sup>6</sup> Proverb meaning 'See, how we apples swim', i.e. if someone believes that they are greater than the others. 561<sup>7</sup> 'the one who knows my heart'. 561<sup>8</sup> Daniel Mauch (1504–1567) was Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio's Secretary. In 1534, he went to Leuven to study law at the university, see POLET 1936, 249.



me cicadam ala correpturum. Quomodo putas, istiusmodi insani insanirent, nisi in tua commendatione haberem praesens ἀλεξικάκον.<sup>9</sup> Habes epistolam bene verbosam, huius enim rei mihi ius feceras in proximis tuis litteris.<sup>10</sup> Bene vale, Eruditissime Olae, 40 cupio te mihi et omnibus doctis diu et saluum et felicem.

Lovanii V. Kalendas Februarias MDXXXVI.

562<sub>563</sub>

István Brodarics to Miklós Oláh  
Naples, 26 February 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 301.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 569; KASZA 2012, 475–476.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*It has been a long time since they have written to each other, although they love each other like brothers. He can understand the situation, they were negotiating peace in Vienna for a long time, and now they are continuing here (in Naples), hopefully with good outcomes. He asks Oláh to recommend him to the Queen's attention; if she is angry with him because he had left for Bratislava, he could say what Aeneas told Dido: he did not leave of his own accord.*

Stephanus Brodericus episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis Nicolao Olao suo.

Carissime Domine et Frater, salutem plurimam et commendationem! Tamdiu nec tu quicquam ad me scribis,<sup>1</sup> nec ego ad te, licet et ego te ut fratrem amem, et eundem affectum in te esse erga me non dubitem. Statum rerum nostrarum aperte intelligis. Tamdiu tractata est pax Viennae, ut huc nunc sit translata, hic, speramus, bonum 5 exitum habebit, quod Deus concedere dignetur, bonorum omnium largitor, fortuna caesaris et fratris.

Rogo Tuam Dominationem, ut meam humillimam servitutum in gratiam sacrae reginalis maiestatis, dominae meae clementissimae commendare velis. Cui, si ob meum ex Posenio a se et a vobis discessum adhuc indignatur, possem vere illud dicere, 10 quod est apud poetam:

Invitus regina tuo de limine cessi,  
sed me fata deum, quae nunc has ire per undas etc.  
imperiiis egere suis.

Scribe iam tandem aliquid ad me saltem provocatus, et optime vale.

15

Neapoli XXVI. Februarii anno a Christo nato 1536.

562,3 ut ] *O add.*

561,38 cicadam ... correpturum ] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 828. I,IX,28. Cicadam ala corripuisti. MYNORS 1989, 197. 562,12–14 Invitus ... suis ] Verg. *Aen.* VI,460–461, 463. Brodarics knew another edition, than the basis of today critical editions where this passus is: "Invitus, regina, tuo litore cessi / sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras."

561<sup>9</sup> 'he who prevents trouble'. 561<sup>10</sup> Ep. 555. 562<sup>1</sup> The last letters we know between them, were written by Oláh to Brodarics on 18 February, 1533, and Brodarics to Oláh on 8 March, 1533.

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics  
Ghent, 30 March 1536*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 301–305.*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 569–574; KASZA 2012, 476–480.*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He was happy to receive Brodarics' letter, from which he learned that in spite of the distance and time, they have mutually preserved their friendship. He assures Brodarics that he has not forgotten about him, either. 2. Oláh was held back from writing by the fact that they belong to opposing parties, and he did not want to appear suspicious in front of the rulers, and not without reason. 3. Now it is up to Brodarics and Ferenc Frangepán to make peace in the current favorable situation, otherwise the Turks or the feud between the parties will destroy the country. 4. He has spoken with Queen Mary in Brodarics' name, who still resents the fact that Brodarics left her, but if she sees that Brodarics has acted in the interest of the country, it might soften her heart. 5. Oláh has a good place in Queen Mary's court; he lives in peace, enjoys court life, and he has learned company; he only misses his old friends. 6. Oláh has left King Ferdinand I's court, thus making good on his promise to Queen Mary on the one hand, whom he did not want to leave in exile; on the other hand, his relationship with Tamás Szalaházy deteriorated, and Szalaházy hindered his career at the court. László Macedóniai's death has shocked him, he was an excellent man, above reproach.

Nicolai Olai ad Stephanum Brodericum responsio.

[1.] Accepi tuas, Reverendissime Praesul, hesterno die litteras<sup>1</sup> brevissimas quidem, sed quae maximam mihi attulere laetitiam, ex quibus scilicet aperte intellexerim tuum in me veterem illum amorem et benevolentiam tanto nec temporum, nec locorum intervallo, quibus cum summa certe animi mei dolore seiuncti et fuimus et sumus, nondum refrixisse. Scribis ad me te putare meum in te affectum pristinum constantem adhuc esse, licet tamdiu nihil scripserim, quemadmodum tuus erga me amor nondum mutatus esset. Num arbitraris quampiam τὴν λήθην<sup>2</sup> tantam esse posse, quae me in oblivionem tui adduceret? Aut me Protheo mutabiliorem, ut meis, quorum tu magis, quam alii, conscius es, moribus et affectibus mutatis veteris illius tuae in me φιλανθρωπίας<sup>3</sup> et meae rursus in te τῆς δουλείας τῆς φιλῆς<sup>4</sup> non meminerim? Potestne aliquid eiusmodi coniecturae in mentem tibi venire? Nonne a pueritia fere mea tu magna semper me prosecutus fuisti humanitate et benevolentia? Ac contra ego quoque te ut dominum et alterum parentem observavi, colui, suspexi et veneratus sum? Nihilque etiam aut prioribus Ludovici regis<sup>5</sup> et domini nostri communis aut posterioribus temporibus fuerit, quod non ultro citroque communicaverimus. Harum rerum et consuetudinum recordationem existimas homini bono excidere posse? Adeo me tui non oblitum esse cogites, ut vix ullum diem praeteritum esse sciam toto hoc peregrinationis meae tempore, quo de te non cogitarim. Tecum frequenter pransus sum, tecum somniavi, tecum collocutus sum. At me haec tibi vana praedicare putas?

563 <sup>1</sup> Ep. 562. 563 <sup>2</sup> 'forgetting'. 563 <sup>3</sup> 'if I forgot about your humanity (towards me)'. 563 <sup>4</sup> 'on the service I gladly do (for you)'. 563 <sup>5</sup> King Louis II.

οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεΐη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἑρῆς,  
οἴκαδ' ἐτ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ἰδέσθαι.<sup>6</sup>

Ut haec vera sunt. Quarum rerum testes sunt amici mei praesentes, quibuscum  
conversor, testes absentes, apud quos in meis litteris frequentem de te feci mentionem,  
maxime Ioannem archiepiscopum Lundensem,<sup>7</sup> Cornelium Scepperum<sup>8</sup> et Ioannem 25  
Burgium,<sup>9</sup> dum in Anglia oratorem agebat<sup>10</sup> pontificis.<sup>11</sup>

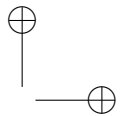
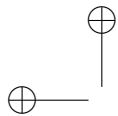
[2.] Quid itaque causae sit, cur nihil scripserim, quaeris? Partium nostrarum diver-  
sarum factio et studium, quod licet invitissimum, tamen quoquomodo me a scribendo  
retraxit, ne susurrone et perversi homines principes nostros in suspicionem aliquam  
de nobis inducerent, quamvis iniquam. Nam sicuti meae erga meos fidei bene conscius 30  
sum, ita de tua quoque in regem<sup>12</sup> tuum non dubito, ut ergo priora repetam. De meo in  
te pristino affectu adeo nihil est diminutum, ut is magis etiam sit auctus, itaque certo  
tibi persuadeas, me nec parentum fratrumque, qui in amore et affectibus his humanis  
primum iure naturali habere solent locum, nec aliorum quorumpiam maius, quam tui  
videndi habuisse desiderium. 35

[3.] Non raroque vehementer tibi timui, cum te intelligerem cum aliis partium  
vestrarum magistratibus inter hostes illos fidei versari, tuosque mores illorum con-  
ferre debere mandatis. Sed Deus optimus maximus sive voto meo, sive tuis precibus  
te illis eripuit ac incolumem hactenus conservavit. Ob hanc fortasse rem, ut tua  
opera, cura et sollicitudine perditum illud regnum patria nostra funditus non intereat 40  
nostra hac tempestate. Quod ut cures, ac publicae potius quieti, paci et saluti, quam  
privatorum aliquorum hominum affectibus inservire malis, per eam, quam patriae  
praeter omnes mortales debes caritatem, te rogo. Nam si res nostra Hungarica ita  
fluctuabit diutius, ut hactenus, etiam non irruentibus externis hostibus regnum ipsum  
ob perditorum utriusque factionis hominum rapinas et latrocinia seipsum desolabit, 45  
perdet et consumet. Si vero, quod Deus avertat, aliquo domus Austriacae infortunio,  
vicini vestri albocapuciati<sup>13</sup> modica arrepta occasione, vel morte unus ex vobis, quae  
est, ut alia omnia nostra in manu Dei sita, Hungariam rursus non modo invaserint,  
sed occupaverint, et istic pedes sedemque, quod ipsi intendunt, sed vos non creditis,  
fixerint, quae servitus nostram miseram nationem, quae etiam nunc apud externos 50  
populos tum multas ob res, tum maxime ob commercium Turcicum pessime ubi-  
que audit, non manebit? Vertetur Hungaria in praedam, officia, praefecturas et τὴν  
πολυκοιρανίαν<sup>14</sup> Graecorum more, tyrannidi et servituti infidelium erit subiecta, olim  
in toto orbe nominatissima et Christianis etiam omnibus principibus formidolosa,

563,21 οὕτω νῦν ] *corr.* ex οὕτω νῆν 563,21 Ἑρῆς ] *corr.* ex Ἑρις 563,22 νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ] *corr.* ex νόστημον ἡμᾶρ

563,21–22 οὕτω ... ἰδέσθαι ] Hom. *Od.* VIII,465–466. 563,52–53 τὴν πολυκοιρανίαν ] Hom. *Il.* II,204.

563 <sup>6</sup> In Oláh's exemplar of the Odyssey, there is an index finger in the margin, see Eisenstadt, Esterházy Sammlung, No. 14844, fol. 70r. 563 <sup>7</sup> Johan Weze. 563 <sup>8</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 563 <sup>9</sup> Giovanni Antonio da Burgio. 563 <sup>10</sup> Giovanni Antonio da Burgio negotiated between King Henry VIII and the Holy See in England between 1531–1532. 563 <sup>11</sup> Pope Clement VII. 563 <sup>12</sup> King John I. 563 <sup>13</sup> I.e. Turks. 563 <sup>14</sup> 'no good thing is a multitude of lords'.



55 nedum Turcis. Nunc ergo, dum adhuc tempus est, et periculum anteverti potest,  
adhibendus est modus et via, quibus et regnum afflictum, miserum et perditum, si non  
in pristinum florem, quod iam aetate nostra vix fiet, saltem in aliquam permansionis et  
quietis futurae speciem reducat, nosque omnes quandoquidem meliorem annorum  
nostrorum partem iam transegimus in pace, in hac extrema aetate nostra Deo et nobis  
60 servire possimus.

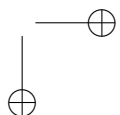
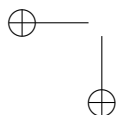
Cuius rei fundamentum si nunc apud caesarem non statueritis, nescio, an postea  
unquam talem boni aliquid faciendi nanciscemini occasionem. Quod si concordave-  
ritis, quid obstabit utraeque factioni in mutuam amicitiam reductae, quin et arces  
finitimas regni, in quibus status pendet Hungariae, Turca in Persia occupato et forsitan  
65 nunquam reversuro, non magno labore recuperare possint, et fines suos ita extendere  
proferre et munire, ut et preteritam ab aliquot iam annis acceptam ignominiam  
nova virtute sint recuperaturi, et Hungariae pacem perpetuam acquisituri. Quare,  
Reverendissime Praesul, tuae est industriae, prudentiae, virtutis et officii, ut unacum  
reverendissimo Colocensi<sup>15</sup> ad id totas animi vires tuas intendas, quo vestris consiliis,  
70 cura et opera primum Hungariae et vobis ipsis, deinde nobis, pax et tranquillitas  
in hac vestra legatione requiratur.<sup>16</sup> Date operam, ut quod per hos annos nescio an  
fato magis omnium nostrum adverso, quam malis improborum hominum consiliis  
in illius Gordiani nodi modum involutum erat, vestra prudentia et cura nunc, dum  
ocasio divinitus praebita est, dissolvatur. Rem plane conclamatam vos restaurate et  
75 in tranquillum deducite finem. Modum quaeritis, quo pacto id fiat. Litteris ea de re, ut  
difficile est, ita in securum agere, sed rem pro maiore parte confeceritis, si publicae  
potius salutis, quam privati commodi rationem habueritis.

[4.] Quod ad serenissimam reginam meam attinet, acceptis litteris<sup>17</sup> tuis mox  
maiestatem suam accessi, et, ut iussisti, tuam illi servitutem diligentius, quam a  
80 me fieri potuit, commendavi multisque de te ultro citroque habitis verbis. Dixit se  
quoque litteras a te accepisse<sup>18</sup> et illas mihi daturam. Quod tunc fieri non potuit,  
quia ob pleraque alia negotia non dabatur ei otium illas perquirendi. Quae tametsi  
ingrato animo ferat tuam a nobis profectionem, tamen animi eius alienati mitigatio  
hinc ex maiore parte fieri poterit, si viderit res Hungaricas, quibus ipsa mirum in  
85 modum favet, rectificari, et tuam curam eo tendere, uti id fieri possit, non tantum pro  
suae maiestatis commodo, cui nihil, quod ad principem feminam pertineat, hic deest,  
quantum pro nominis Hungarici decore, et illius ac suae quoque, ut dicit, patriae  
salute. Verum hac de re plura cum sua maiestate agam. Nunc cum postha erat in  
procinctu abundi, nolui his meis litteris vacuum ad te eum abire. De ceteris plura  
90 propediem.

[5.] Arbitror te scire cupere, quo in statu res sint meae. Sum Deo volente sanus,  
et in pulchra, divite ac omnibus rebus, sive quod ad vitam hominis, sive quod ad

563,62 boni] *O del. ex boni fundamenti* 563,76 maiore] *corr. ex maiori* 563,84 maiore] *corr. ex maiori*  
563,88 Verum] *O corr. ex Una* 563,88 agam] *O corr. ex aget* 563,89 nolui] *O del. ex nolui cum*

563<sup>15</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. 563<sup>16</sup> "Ferenc Frangepán was a fellow legate of Brodarics during his trip to Italy  
in 1536." KASZA 2012, 478. 563<sup>17</sup> Ep. 562. 563<sup>18</sup> We do not know these letters.



voluptatem, si quis eam magnificat, pertineat, referta patria, atque in summo otio, quiete et tranquillitate, in nulloque defectu, praeterquam quod a patria et amicis veteribus absim. Quod mihi ab aulicis rebus et conversatione virginum reginae, 95 ad quam te Posonii,<sup>19</sup> si memini, hortabar, superest temporis, id consumo partim lectionibus theologicis, partim aliis honestis occupationibus. Nec amicorum conversationes, bonorum et doctorum virorum mihi desunt, ut si verum fateri debeam, nihil omnino mihi deesse videam, quod ad honestum statum, honestamque vitae meae sustentationem pertineat. Illud tamen Homericum, postquam Graecissare coepi, 100 aliquando venit mihi in mentem:

ὥς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἤς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκήων  
γίνεται, εἴ περ καὶ τις ἀπόπροθι πίονα οἶκον  
γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ ναίει ἀπάνευθε τοκήων.

Huius rei causa cuperem aliquando pacem domi fore, ut in uno ovili, sub uno pastore 105 concluderemur, excluso Turcarum commercio.

[6.] Quaeris, cur a rege tam longe abiverim? Primum volui pro suscepta fidei et integritatis meae officio reginam in medio peregrinationis non deserere, bonique viri officium esse putavi, si eam secutus in diversis fortunis tempore pacis rursus eo, unde digressa est, si firma futura esset pax, reducerem. Tum malui vestrarum 110 et nostrarum partium hominum grassatorum concertationem ac tragoediam procul audire, quam coram oculis intueri. Postremo quia iam ab eo tempore, quo Thomas<sup>20</sup> Vesprimiensis episcopus tempore Ludovici regis frustratus erat officio cancellarii et tu ad hanc dignitatem admissus, simultas erat inter me et ipsum orta, quae et Posonii, quia videbat me omnibus viribus tam antea, quam Posonii tibi potius addictum, quam 115 ei et tuis magis ornamentis, quam aut illius, aut ullius alterius studentem, aucta postea te abeunte crevit, meque non palam, sed occulte, ubi poterat, oppugnabat. Verbis quidem multa pollicebatur, re tamen ipsa parum praestabat, hinc etiam contra iura mea factae erant promotiones in curia nostra illae magnificorum nominum titulorum et hominum, quos ego certe tanti facio, quanti faciebam illum ipsum, quem dixi 120 horum authorem. Macedonis<sup>21</sup> nostri mors maiorem mihi millies dolorem iniecit, quam si viginti per illum etiam sordidos homines mihi praelatos esse vidissem. Nam non admodum cupidus honoris ac divitiarum, utpote qui sciam neminem moriendi necessitatem vitare posse, quantumcumque ambitiosum et divitem satis esse putavi, quod Deus mihi parca manu dedit, voluique custodia mea, quae licet desertam domum, 125 sed non parvam habet vim vinorum et aliarum rerum. Quam tu, quamcumque in

563,102 οὐδὲ τοκήων] *corr.* ex ἴδε τοκήων 563,103 γίνεται] *corr.* ex γίγνεται 563,103 καὶ τις] *corr.* ex τίς καὶ 563,104 ἀλλοδαπῇ] *corr.* ex ἀλλωδαπῇ 563,109 fortunis] *O add.* 563,116 magis] *O corr.* ex magnis 563,116 aut] *O corr.* ex ante 563,125 parca manu] *O add.*

563,102–104 ὥς ... τοκήων] Hom. *Od.* IX,34–36. 563,105 in ... pastore] Cf. Calvin, *Comm. on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* XV,8.

563<sup>19</sup> Brodarics stayed in Pozsony in the vicinity of Queen Maria and so of Miklós Oláh from September 1526 until March 1527.<sup>7</sup> KASZA 2012, 479. 563<sup>20</sup> Tamás Szalaházy. 563<sup>21</sup> László Macedóniai.

partem modo non Turcicam res Hungarica devolvatur, mihi integram conservare  
velis, oro. Habes et statum meum praesentem, et causam tam longinquaе meae pere-  
grinationis. Quod reliquum est, Deus te conservet ad meliora tempora incolumem et  
130 felicem, concedatque, ut aliquando una esse possimus. Me certo scito, hac una, ut dicit  
ille, regia causa excepta τῷ σώματι τε ψυχῇ<sup>22</sup> ubicumque sum, tuum illum veterem  
fore. Reverendissimo domino Colocensi archiepiscopo, item Thomae Nadasdi, si ad  
eum diverteris, cupio commendari obsequia. Cura me de conclusione pacis, quatenus  
licebit, ordinatim certiore facias.  
135 Gandavi XXX. Martii 1536.

<sup>563</sup>564<sub>567</sub>

István Brodarics to Miklós Oláh  
Rome, 22 April 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 305–306.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 574–575; KASZA 2012, 481–482.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He was happy to receive Oláh's letter, but he can only respond briefly due to his illness, because of which he is now traveling to Siena for the baths. 2. He hopes that the Queen will soon soften towards him when she understands how much he is trying to represent her brothers' interests. 3. As to the Hungarian affairs, Ferenc Frangepán and Johan Weze are being sent to Szapolyai. He is awaiting in Italy what they accomplish. The Pope will soon send an envoy to Hungary in the interest of peace; Oláh and his people know more about the developments between the Emperor and King Francis I. He thanks Oláh for the booklets.

Stephanus Brodericus Nicolao Olao suo.

[1.] Clarissime Vir, Domine et Frater Honorande, salutem et commendationem.

Ad litteras tuas,<sup>1</sup> quae mihi gratissimae fuerunt, cogor paucis respondere, cum non  
satis validus ob longam, quam ex multis laboribus contraxi, aegritudinem ac renum  
5 incommoda, tum in procinctu nunc eundi hac ipsa de causa ad balnea Senensia coacti  
intrare. Te et bene valere et bene ac feliciter agere gaudeo magnopere. Nec diu patria  
cariturum spero, nisi tua sponte velis te prorsus ab ea perpetuo abdicare. Quod, opinor,  
non facies, praesertim cum in ea, quod spero et opto, honoratum locum habere possis.  
Quod ut fiat, et ego diligentem operam navo.

10 [2.] De serenissimae reginae, dominae nostrae clementissimae in me animo quid  
dicam, fortasse ob multa obsequia, quae pro virili mea in rem sacratissimorum fratrum  
eius maiestatis reginalis in negotio Hungarico feci et facio, mereor gratiam aliquam,  
vel merebor, quando obsequia mea magis clara esse incipient. Et spero, quod maiestas  
eius in me propitios convertet oculos. Quod precor Deum, ut mihi contingat. Tu vero  
15 interim rogo, non cessas eius maiestatem mihi reddere placabilem. Quo non est aliud,

<sup>563,131</sup> σώματι ] *corr:* ex σώματι <sup>563,134</sup> facias ] *O corr:* ex facere

<sup>563</sup> <sup>22</sup> 'in body and soul'. <sup>564</sup> <sup>1</sup> Ep. 563.

quod magis in vita exoptem, obsequiaque mea humillima in gratiam eius reginalis maiestatis per omnes occasiones commendabis.

[3.] Hic apud caesarem est conclusum, ut pro finali rerum Hungaricarum conclusione reverendissimus dominus Londensis,<sup>2</sup> bonus amicus tuus et magnus rerum tuarum fautor ad serenissimum regem meum proficiscatur, cum reverendissimo domino Agriensi Frangepano,<sup>3</sup> cui et ipsi tu satis es commendatus. Ego apud caesarem remaneo usque ad rerum conclusionem, quae in eo statu sunt, ut de bono fine non possimus dubitare. Missurus est brevi et pontifex<sup>4</sup> unum ex reverendissimis cardinalibus huius rei gratia in Hungariam. Nova inter caesarem et Gallum vos scitis melius. Pro libellis iucundissimis ago gratias amplissimas, et me totum Vestrae Dominationi commendo, quae rogo, ut me commendare dignetur domino Cornelio Scepero.<sup>5</sup> Vestra Dominatio felix valeat nostri memor.

Romae XXII. Aprilis anno 1536.

565

Daniel Mauch to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 26 May 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 065.

*Published:* IPOLVI 1875, 575.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*If he was not on his way out, he would thank him longer for his praise, but because he is leaving soon, he thanks him now.*

Daniel Mauchius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende et Magnifice Domine, Patrone mihi Colendissime. Nisi festinaret auriga et serius mihi Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae litterae<sup>1</sup> redditae essent, multis verbis gratias agerem, quod tantum meo nomine facere dignata est, sed quia perendie Bruxellae futurus sum, Magnificentiae Vestrae praesens gratias agam, et interim semperque habebō. Bene valeat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me humillime commendo.

Ex Lovanio XXVI. Maii 1536.

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565,1 Mauchius ] *O corr. ex Mauch*

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564<sup>2</sup> Johan Weze was a legate concerning Hungarian affairs, commissioned by Emperor Charles V.

564<sup>3</sup> "Ferenc Frangepán was a fellow legate of Brodarics during their trip in Italy in 1536." KASZA 2012, 481.

564<sup>4</sup> Pope Paul III. 564<sup>5</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 565<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter.

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 1 June [1536]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 314.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 575–576.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 177–178.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 250. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He sends 30 copies of Declamatio, but if those are not enough, he can send more. He is happy to hear that his book can be sold, but in his opinion, this is only due to the fact that Oláh's name is on the cover, so Oláh should congratulate himself first. He has written to Ressen, but he is in the countryside, and in Nanninck's opinion, he will not write so soon; Nanninck is having these letters written out by a scribe because the dizziness is stopping him from writing himself.*

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Optime et Eruditissime Olahe, mittimus tibi triginta exemplaria,<sup>1</sup> de numero nihil significaveras, quod si ista non sufficiunt, fac, ut sciamus. Vendibiles esse meos libellos plurimum gaudeo, sed ut vendibiles sint, nulli debeo, nisi tibi, cuius nominis titulum  
5 in fronte tanquam gemmam ostendunt. Deinde quia non nihil vel potius pleraque ex tuo ingenio orationi inserta sunt, res et maiestatem et ornamentum accepit, non aliter, quam Ulysses Palladis opera summam dignitatem corporis accepit, ut qui ante in litus: eiectus terrori esset comitibus Nausicae,<sup>2</sup> postea universis Pheacensibus venerabilis videretur, versatur noster libellus in aula, inter heroum manus iactatur, sed, ut dixi,  
10 id totum tibi debetur. Quare in hac re velim, ut gratuleris, non mihi de meis, sed tibi de tuis rebus. Rutgerus Rescius,<sup>3</sup> cum haec scriberem, rusticatum abierat; misi tamen quendam ex meis, qui illum investigaret, sed puto illum non scripturum exclusum temporis angustia. Nos in his litteris amanuensis opera usi sumus, prohibiti capitis vertigine ἀυτογράφειν.<sup>4</sup> Tu, mi Carissime Domine, ita valebis, ut omnes docti optant,  
15 hoc est, et diutissime et felicissime.

Ipsis Kalendis Iuniis.

Miklós Oláh to István Brodarics  
Brussels, 18 June 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 306–308.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 576–577; KASZA 2012, 482–484.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

566,11 haec ] *O corr.* ex hac 566,14 ἀυτογράφειν ] *corr.* ex ἀυτογραφείν

566<sup>1</sup> Of his *Declamatio de bello Turcis inferendo*. 566<sup>2</sup> Nausicaa was Princess of Phaeacia, see Hom. *Od.* VI. 566<sup>3</sup> Rutger Ressen. 566<sup>4</sup> 'to write in your own hand.'



1. Gabriel Sanchez has handed over Brodarics' letter of 22 April to him. He was sad to hear about Brodarics' illness, especially because he is likely suffering from the same; he asks about the treatment, as soon as he knows what it is, he will let Brodarics know. 2. If Hungary was indeed peaceful, he would plan to return home, only the chaotic state of the country and his promise to Queen Mary have kept him from returning home. 3. Brodarics writes that Oláh would be appreciated at home; Oláh feels he has a good place beside King Ferdinand I, he is happy with his lot. 4. He has recommended Brodarics to the Queen, and he will keep doing so. 5. He has learnt from Johan Weze's letter that Weze and Ferenc Frangepán have already traveled to Hungary; Oláh hopes that they will be successful. 6. He trusts that God will punish King Francis I for his treachery.

Nicolai Olai ad eundem responsio.

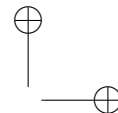
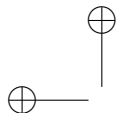
[1.] Gabriel Xanthus<sup>1</sup> protonotarius Apostolicus, nuntius serenissimi Romanorum regis apud sedem Apostolicam, quo cum mihi iam a multis annis non vulgaris fuit amicitia, misit ad me ex Urbe litteras tuas XXII. Aprilis praeteriti datas,<sup>2</sup> mihi vero hic nudius tertius redditas. Vix possum calamo perstringere, quanto dolore sim affectus, cum ex ipsis litteris tuam ex multis, ut scribis, laboribus et renum incommodis contractam aegritudinem intellexerim. Si aegritudo corporis partiri posset, certe non minimam ad tempus in me illius partem susciperem. Sed cum id fieri nequeat, precor Deum optimum maximum, ut omnia haec tua incommoda cito avertat, et desideratam tibi concedat et corporis et animi felicitatem. Metuo plurimum etiam mihi de illo renum malo, cuius iam praeludia sensi. Huius rei causa sollicitus fui et undique percontari non destiti eius mali remedium. Iamque propediem aliquot ab amicis habiturus sum receptas experimento comprobatas, quas cum habuero, earum faciam te participem.

[2.] Spem te mihi dare pacis in Hungaria futurae et me non diu, nisi id sponte facere velim, patria cariturum laetor mirum in modum. Nihil mihi in hac vita pace Hungariae bona contingere posset optatius, non mei commodi causa, sed quietis et publici boni patriaeque permansionis. Ego neque hactenus abfui, ut perpetuo solo patrio carere vellem. Quid enim eo homini suavius esse potest? Sed tot mala, scelera, caedes, quae per hos annos utrinque commissa sunt, audire, quod etiam ipsum mihi grave fuit, quam videre malui. Ita nolui patriae ipsius ruina, cladi ac periculo interesse. Malui praeter alias causas, quas antea ad te perscripsi, officio boni viri iam pridem a me suscepto apud reginam meam inter omnes alios Hungaros satisfacere, quam istic ea intueri quae nollem. Cuius rei me hactenus non poenituit. Nisi enim membrum esse Hungariae, et nonnihil patriae me debere putarem, nescio, an alibi, quam hic animam Deo reddere mallet.

[3.] Quod scribis me in patria honoratum locum habere posse et te, ut id fiat, diligentem operam navare, de omni tuo in me singulari studio, amore et benevolentia, quae non aliter, quam oraculum Apollinis mihi a primis annis perspecta sunt, ago et habeo gratias immortales, relaturus perpetuas pace omnium nostrum parta.

567,7 contractam] *O corr.* ex contrariam 567,11 renum] *O corr.* ex renato 567,13 comprobatas] *O corr.* ex conservatas 567,14 participem] *O corr.* ex pertaesum 567,17–18 et publici] *O corr.* ex et 567,18 patriaeque] *O corr.* ex patriae publici 567,18 perpetuo] *O del.* ex perpetuo ac 567,28 tuo] *O corr.* ex tua

567<sup>1</sup> Gabriel Sanchez. 567<sup>2</sup> Ep. 564.



Quis tamen id sit, non intelligo. Laus Deo et principibus meis sit gratia, locus satis honoratus apud serenissimum regem meum mihi etiam hactenus non defuisset, si me iudicio potius, quam casu huc conferre noluissem, et si Dei potius, quam hominum promotionem non expectavissem. Quid igitur velis intelligere, cupio a te certior fieri.  
35 Quo in proposito tuo permanere velis, si id mihi salutare imprimis, et umeris meis ferendum esse existimaveris. Nam

Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,  
si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.

[4.] Serenissimae reginae meae non modo commendavi, ut iussisti, servitia tua, sed  
40 post alios sermones ea fere verba, quae ad me ad hoc propositum scripseras, recensui. Dixit se optare et desiderare videre ea ita esse futura. Imposterum quoque, quod ad rem tuam commendandam pertinet, sicuti hactenus feci, nihil a me praetermittetur.

[5.] Reverendissimum dominum Lundensem<sup>3</sup> cum reverendissimo domino Frangepano<sup>4</sup> ad Hungariam profecturos iampridem ex litteris<sup>5</sup> ipsius Lundensis intellexeram. Faxit Deus, ut rebus istis e bono publico utilitateque reipublicae Christianae  
45 cito confectis felices revertantur, de quorum fine, rogo te, velis me certiozem facere, elaborareque interea, ut quemadmodum scribis, bonus sequatur cura et opera tua, sic:

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae  
Lustrabunt, convexa polus dum sidera pascet,  
50 semper honorhonos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.

[6.] De Gallo<sup>6</sup> res omnis nobis est cognita, de quo taceo potius, quam aliquid dicam. Hoc unum spero Deum tot malarum rerum et toties turbatae reipublicae Christianae authorem, quisquis is sit, vindicaturum.

Totinita et iam in lucem prodita consilia, tot nuntii et litterae interceptae, tot  
55 irritamenta hostium Christi conveniuntne Catholico principi? Credo satis eum negotii undique habiturum.

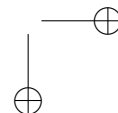
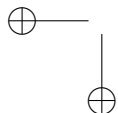
Cornelium Scepperum<sup>7</sup> tuo nomine salutavi, commendat vicissim servitia sua tibi et dixit se ad te scripturum, cum primum otium nactus fuerit. Vale feliciter et me tuum esse scito, ubicunque sim futurus, illum, quem nosti veterem Olahum.

60 Bruxellae 18. Iunii anno 1536.

567,31 Laus ... locus] *O corr. ex* Laus deo sit gratia 567,33 huc] *O corr. ex hinc* 567,33 noluissem] *O corr. ex* voluissem 567,35 velis] *O corr. ex* te velim 567,40 hoc] *O add.* 567,54 Tot] *O del. ex* Tot iam 567,54 inita ... iam] *O add.* 567,54 consilia] *O del. ex* consilia facta

567,37–38 Cui ... uret] *Hor. Epist. I,10,42–43.* 567,48–50 In ... manebunt] *Verg. Aen. I,607–609.*

567<sup>3</sup> Johan Weze. 567<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Frangepán. 567<sup>5</sup> We do not know this letter. 567<sup>6</sup> King Francis I. 567<sup>7</sup> Cornelis de Schepper.



Willem Gheershoven to Miklós Oláh  
[Groenendaal at Hoeilaart], 10 July [1536]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 79–80.

*Published:* IΡΟΛΥΙ 1875, 578–579.

*Notes:* Copy. The year and the place of dating are presumed.

*He is sending the collection of treatments he has compiled from different books at Oláh's request. They are not only in Latin but in Flemish as well; there are expressions that he did not fully understand because he is not an expert of the topic, but he followed the source. He wrote in cursive and hastily due to the above-mentioned difficulties, but if Oláh has a fancy for any of the works, he will happily copy it in better handwriting. There is namely no bigger joy for him than serving Oláh.*

Guilhelmus Lovaniensis<sup>1</sup> canonicus regularis divi Augustini in Viridi valle Nicolao Olao salutem.

Mitto iam, Magnifice Domine ac Patrone Singularis, ista remediorum<sup>2</sup> collectanea e diversis libris ac schedis tuo iussu hic in unum congesta, nec modo Latina, verum etiam, uti volebas, nostrate lingua conscripta. In quibus etsi plerique sint termini seu 5 vocabula, quae non satis intelligo, quia tamen harum rerum notitiam et scientiam mihi non vendico, nihil in his temere immutare praesumpsi, sed exemplaria in omnibus secutus sum. Si quae forte per scriptores, ut fere fit in hac praesertim materia, depravata sunt et corrupta, ab alio in huiusmodi exercitato facile efficiam, ut parvo negotio poterunt emendari. Scripsi autem currenti littera incompta sane et plus 10 satis praecipitata, quod tempus ob alia intercurrentia, ut praedixi, impedimenta non patiebatur haec alio caractere magis legibili depingere. Verum ubi ex qualicumque lectione aliquem horum gustum acceperit, Dominationi Tuae si adeo placebunt, ut digna iudices, quae vel in tuum ipsius, vel in amicorum serventur usum, non gravabor eadem rursus alio tempore, quo maius dabitur otium, maiori et elegantiori littera 15 exarare. Neque enim huic animo, ita me Deus amet, in omni vita gratius quicquam fuerit, quam si qualicumque officio vel obsequio Tuae Dominationis possim gratificari, quae nimirum tam insolita humanitate ac benevolentia tantisque beneficiis me immeritum prorsus et indignum hominem prosecuta est, ut pro his, non dico ullam rependere vicem, sed nec condignas agere gratias queam. Opto, ut feliciter valeas, 20 Praeceptor Eruditissime et Amicissime atque Humanissime Patrone, et hanc nostram congregationem Tuae Dominationi devotis animis ac votis concordibus addictissimam semper habeas commendatam.

Ex cellula nostra sexto idus Iulias.

568<sup>1</sup> Willem Gheershoven (†1547) was Canon Regular of St. Augustine at the monastery of Groenendaal at Hoeilaart. "For twenty years he was in charge of the library, and his fellow monks remembered him as a keen emendator of ancient manuscripts", see BIETENHOLZ 1986. 568<sup>2</sup> Oláh was probably looking for therapies for his kidney disease, see Ep. 567. Cap. 1.

569

Daniel Mauch to Miklós Oláh  
Brixen, 9 August 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 65.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 579.

*Notes:* Copy.

*There is no news, except that his lord, Lorenzo Campeggio will return to Brussels. Although he was far away, he was still in the right spot: he has befriended Andrea Alciati, a professor of law, and other excellent men in Pavia.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende et Magnifice Domine, Domine et Patrone Honorande. Res apud nos novae et rariae et nullae sunt, nisi ista sola vera nova, quod reverendissimus dominus<sup>1</sup> meus redibit Bruxellam. Ego autem eo, quo abfui tempore, mihi non defui. Nam  
5 praesidio et auspicio reverendissimi domini mei Papiae,<sup>2</sup> ubi Alciatus<sup>3</sup> ille publice  
profitetur iuris utriusque doctor, cum summa felicitate factus sum, omnia enim prospere et facillime successerunt. Dominus Alciatus eruditissimam de me orationem  
habuit et magnam familiaritatem mecum contraxit, et multi alii viri praestantissimi et eruditissimi, quorum nomina et humanitatem Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae  
10 praesens indicabo; cui me humillime commendo.

Ex Brixina VIII. Augusti MDXXXVI.

570

Daniel Mauch to Miklós Oláh  
Bolsano, 6 September 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 66.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 579–580.

*Notes:* Copy.

*After the assembly they are going to Trento for the wedding of one of Bernhard von Cles' relatives, on which Cles is spending a lot of money, he has even invited the royal couple. They will then go to the Netherlands, after which he will report to Oláh in person. He briefly summarizes what he knows about people. Flute players have arrived, whom they will take home with them, to the beer region. Lorenzo Campeggio often mentions Oláh, and he has allowed Mauch to conduct legal studies.*

Daniel Mauch Nicolao Olao salutem.

Reverende et Magnifice Domine, Patrone mihi plurimum Honorande! Celebrantur hic provincialia comitia, quibus peractis ibimus Tridentum ad nuptias cuiusdam

569<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo Campeggio. 569<sup>2</sup> Pavia. 569<sup>3</sup> Andrea Alciati (1492–1550) was an interpreter of Roman law. He studied in Milan and Pavia, where he also taught until 1537, when war broke out between Emperor Charles V and King Francis I, see CALLAHAN 1985.

comitis de Laterano<sup>1</sup> cum consanguinea episcopi Tridentini,<sup>2</sup> qui maximo apparatu nuptiarum impensam solvet, nempe qui Romanorum regem<sup>3</sup> cum consorte<sup>4</sup> et magna turbam maximorum dominorum invitavit. Inde cum redierimus, parabimus nos pro itinere in inferiorem Germaniam.<sup>5</sup> Quo cum pervenero, de nostris rebus multa coram narrabo Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae.

Serenissimus Romanus rex redibit in Austriam. De caesare puto Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram nihil latere. Res Danicae notiores vobis sunt, quam nobis. Interim felicissime et diu valeat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me humillime commendo. Si me non fallit opinio, reverendissimus dominus<sup>6</sup> meus ante festum sancti Michaelis<sup>7</sup> Brixina<sup>8</sup> exhibit. Iam venerunt ad nos Muscutella<sup>9</sup> tibicen cum sociis, quos vobis una nobiscum adducemus et cum maximo plausu intrabimus in regionem cervisiaticam, quod di bene vertant.

Praeterea unum, quod maxime scribendum fuit, paene praetermissem, videlicet reverendissimum dominum meum de Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra saepe et honestissimam mentionem facere, atque omnino decrevisse a me audiri *Institutiones* Iustiniani, ad quod cum laude peragendum Deus optimus maximus suam mihi gratiam concedat. Cetera boni aequique faciat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me iterum commendo et Danum<sup>10</sup> sponsandum saluto.

Ex Bulsano octavi Idus Septembris 1536.

571<sub>572</sub>

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
[Ghent], 10 September 1536

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23. p. 66.

*ms. II:* ELTE EK, H 46, fol. 231rv.

*ms. III:* ELTE EK, Coll. Kaprinay B, Tom. 87, p. 445–446.

*Published:* IΠOΛΥI 1875, 580.

*Notes:* Ms. I and ms. II are contemporary copies with Oláh's emendations. Ms. III is a later copy. (1730)

*He is sending the epitaph he has written on Erasmus of Rotterdam's death. Here it is rumored that Damme has capitulated and the King has been captured.*

Franciscus Craneveldius, caesaris Caroli a consiliis, Nicolao Olao salutem.

Mitto tibi, Vir Eruditissime quale, quale epitaphium viri incomparabilis Erasmi Roterodami,<sup>1</sup> quod inter Belgicas Eumenides nobis expressit amor viri, quamquam

570,18 audiri] *corr. ex audire* 571,1 caesaris ... consiliis] *ms. I. O add.*

570<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. Papal Count Palatine (*comes palatinus Lateranus*, Count of the Sacred Palace of Lateran) was merely an honorary title. 570<sup>2</sup> Bernhard von Cles. 570<sup>3</sup> King Ferdinand I. 570<sup>4</sup> Anna Jagellonica. 570<sup>5</sup> Germania inferior was a Roman province, today: Luxembourg, the southern Netherlands, part of Belgium, and part of Germany. 570<sup>6</sup> Lorenzo Campeggio. 570<sup>7</sup> 29 September. 570<sup>8</sup> Brixen. 570<sup>9</sup> We do not know him more closely. 570<sup>10</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 571<sup>1</sup> Erasmus died on 12 July, 1536.

sentio Musas inter arma veluti puellas verecundas iampridem conticescere, sed hoc  
5 ipsum tua linea linea, cum per se sit, incultum splendorem poterit accipere. Quae  
hic vulgariter vulgariter sunt de deditione Dammi<sup>2</sup> ac regis captivitate, multi facile  
credunt. Utinam respublica Christiana hisce bellis quam minima Christiani sanguinis  
iactura defungatur. Recte vale, Domine Colendissime.

Ex nostro Musaeo<sup>3</sup> X. mensis Septembris 1536.

10 [Epitaphium Erasmi Roterodami]<sup>4</sup>

[Aliud]<sup>5</sup>

<sup>571</sup>572<sub>575</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Frans van Cranevelt  
Brussels, 16 September 1536

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23. p. 68.

*ms. II:* ELTE EK, H 46, fol. 231v–232r.

*ms. III:* ELTE EK, Coll. Kaprinay B, Tom. 87, p. 455–456.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 582.

*In Hungarian:* V. Kovács 1971, 681.

**Notes:** There is two contemporary copies, both of which were emended by Oláh. The scribe of the Ms. II is scribe No. 2. of the collection of letters. Ms. III. is a later copy. (1730)

*He was uncertain if he should reply to Frans van Cranevelt's pleasing poem in verse or prose. He should not be the only one who is silent about losing Erasmus of Rotterdam, so he has poured out his feelings in a poem; it will be van Cranavel's task to polish it. 2. The Emperor occupied Arles after they killed every armed fighter who resisted. The exiles from Florence attacked Genoa, but they were repelled. They are hoping that the Emperor will bring peace to Italy. The rest of the news briefly: Péronne is under siege; Damme has capitulated to the Emperor; the fleet has set sail for the British ocean; Cornelis de Schepper and Jean Godschalk went to Zeelandia the day before yesterday; and the Persians are really squeezing the Turks.*

Nicolai Olai ad eundem responsio.

[1.] Subdubius fui aliquandiu, Ornatisime Craneveldi, an soluta oratione vel  
numeris, quorum iam a multis annis in desuetudinem veni ad tua carmina, ut meum  
est iudicium, non inconcinna responderem. Ne tamen solus viderer in tanti amici<sup>1</sup>  
5 mei morte, mihi ob amicitiam nostram mutuam maxime certe acerba tacere, et eius  
fatum non deflere, hos qualescumque numeros inter meas urgentes et molestas aulicas  
occupationes effudi potius, quam scripsi, quos ad te mitto. Tuum erit eorum ineptias  
tollere et polire, tandemque ad me remittere litura abunde ornatos.

571,5 linea ] *ms. II. O corr. ex lana* 571,6 vulgariter ] *ms. II. vulgata O corr. ex vulgariter* 571,6 deditione ]  
*ms. I. O corr. ex deditura* 571,6 Dammi ] *ms. II. O corr. ex damni; ms. III. damni* 572,1 Nicolai ] *ms. II.*  
*et ms. III. Reverendissimi domini Nicolai* 572,1 Olai ] *ms. II. Olahi* 572,3 veni ] *ms. I. O corr. ex venit*  
572,4 est ] *ms. I. O corr. ex esse potest* 572,5 maxime ] *ms. I. O corr. ex maxima* 572,7 quam ] *ms. I. O*  
*corr. ex qua*

571 <sup>2</sup>Damme. 571 <sup>3</sup>It is probably in Ghent, see Ep. 241. 571 <sup>4</sup>IPOLYI 1875, 581. 571 <sup>5</sup>IPOLYI 1875, 581.  
572 <sup>1</sup>Erasmus of Rotterdam.

[2.] Caesar Arelato<sup>2</sup> potitus est interfectis, uti dicunt, omnibus eius praesidio-  
nariis<sup>3</sup> militibus et civibus. Exsules Florentini, conscriptis in Italia pecunia Gallica 10  
militibus, aggressi nuper fuere Genuam duabus ex partibus, sed repulsi magna eorum  
caede. Spes est caesaris exercitum, qui ad Italiam in pace servandam relictus fuit,  
eos brevi prostraturum. Peronaeque<sup>4</sup> obsidio soluta est.<sup>5</sup> Et non spero aliquid nobis  
magnae laudis ex hac nostra expeditione venturum, militibus iam, ut audio, domum  
redire cupientibus. Dammum oppidum iam pridem se dedit caesari. Nunc expedita 15  
fuit classis satis valida ad Oceanum Britannicum, si quid boni nostri facere pote-  
rint. Praefecti huic dominus de Benuir<sup>6</sup> et Brodaroc.<sup>7</sup> Commissarii dati Cornelius et  
Gothschalcus<sup>8</sup> nostri, qui nudiustertius in Zelandiam hinc solverunt. Persae dicuntur  
Turcis nunc instare acerrime, cuius rei causa Turcarum caesar praesidionarios suos  
milites ad se ex finibus Hungariae revocasse dicitur. Nunc tempus esset, si principes 20  
Christiani in recuperanda Hungaria Ferdinando regi nostro adessent. Alia nunc nulla  
habeo. Bene vale.

Bruxellae 16. Septembris 1536.

[Elegia ad sepulchrum Erasmi Roterodami]<sup>9</sup>

[Epitaphium eiusdem per eundem]<sup>10</sup>

25

[Aliud eiusdem]<sup>11</sup>

[Aliud eiusdem]<sup>12</sup>

572<sup>573</sup>

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Brussels, 22 September 1536

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23. p. 72.

*ms. II:* ELTE EK, H 46, fol. 234r.

*ms. III:* ELTE EK, Coll. Kaprinay B, Tom. 87, p. 460–461.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 585–586.

*Notes:* There is two contemporary copies, both of which were emended by Oláh. Ms. III. is a later copy.

(1730)

572,12 pace servandam] *ms. I. O corr. ex parte servanda* 572,13 Peronaeque] *ms. I. O corr. ex Perona;*  
*ms. II. Peronae O corr. ex Perona;* *ms. III. Peronae* 572,15 Dammum] *ms. I. O corr. ex Dani* 572,15  
dedit] *ms. I. O corr. ex dedit* 572,17 huic] *ms. I. O corr. ex his* 572,17 Benuir] *ms. II. Byren O corr.*  
*ex Benuir;* *ms. III. om.* 572,17 Brodaroc] *ms. I. O corr. ex Brodarod;* *ms. II. Bredarod O corr. ex Brodarod;*  
*ms. III. Brodarod* 572,17 Cornelius] *ms. I. O del. ex Cornelius Scepperus;* *ms. II. O add Scepperus;* *ms. III.*  
*Cornelius Sceperus* 572,19 Turcis] *ms. I. O corr. ex Turcae;* *ms. II. et ms. III. Thurcis* 572,21 Christiani]  
*ms. I. O corr. ex Christinae*

572<sup>2</sup> Arles. 572<sup>3</sup> 'which serves as a guard', HOVEN 2006, 430. 572<sup>4</sup> Péronne. 572<sup>5</sup> The siege ended  
on 11 September, 1536. 572<sup>6</sup> We do not know him more closely. 572<sup>7</sup> We do not know him more  
closely. 572<sup>8</sup> Jean Godschalck. 572<sup>9</sup> HEGEDÜS 1906, 424–426; FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 34–36; NEAGU 2003,  
346–348. 572<sup>10</sup> HEGEDÜS 1906, 426; FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 36; NEAGU 2003, 349. 572<sup>11</sup> HEGEDÜS 1906, 427;  
FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 36–37; NEAGU 2003, 349. 572<sup>12</sup> HEGEDÜS 1906, 427; FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 37; NEAGU  
2003, 350.

*He has received Oláh's letter along with the epitaph. What Oláh writes about the Emperor's achievements makes him very happy, if only stable peace was made between the Christian rulers! What Oláh has entrusted to him, i.e. correcting the poem, he will gladly do. He has read it several times, he liked it so much; he is sending his correction back, Oláh should forgive his haste.*

Franciscus Craneveldius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Accepi litteras<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae, Vir Ornatissime, cum epitaphiis eruditissimis, quae pro nostro in amicum defunctum<sup>2</sup> amore singulari legi profecto lubentissime. Deinde, quae de prosperitate caesaris erant adscripta et anxietate Turcarum, 5 mirum in modum placuerunt. Utinam inter principes ac monarchas Christianos solida pax constituta esse possit et vires eorum adversus Christiani nomini hostes exserantur ad laudem illius, qui dixit. Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam. Quod mihi delegaris provinciam, tua carmina doctissima castigandi, Vir Eruditissime, ego mihi tantum 10 non arrogo, ut in hac re meam operam audeam polliceri, quoniam et semel lecta placuerunt, et saepius repetita magis semper magisque placuerunt. Exscripta remittam. Sed huius viri properatio fuit in causa, ne nunc id facerem. Hic quidam submurmurant venisse a caesare scripta recentia, quibus optima quaedam nuntientur, faxit Deus, ut sint spe meliora. Valeat Dominatio Tua Reverendissima.

Mechliniae XXII. Septembris 1536.

574<sub>576</sub>

Cornelis De Schrijver to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 24 September 1536

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23. p. 72–73.

*ms. II:* ELTE EK, H 46, fol. 234v.

*ms. III:* ELTE EK, Coll. Kaprinay B, Tom. 87, p. 461.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 586.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 156–157.

*Notes:* Ms. I and ms. II are contemporary copies with Oláh's emendations. Ms. III is a later copy. (1730)

*He is sending the piece he has written for the Queen, which his brother has printed, along with other works he has published. He placed an epigram on the cover so the whole world knows how good Oláh has been to him. He is also sending the epigrams he wrote on Erasmus of Rotterdam's death. He is recommending him to Cornelis de Schepper and Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen.*

Cornelius Grapheus Nicolao Olao salutem.

Magnifice Domine! Quem dicavi augustissimae reginae libellum,<sup>1</sup> eum una cum aliis nonnullis per fratrem<sup>2</sup> meum excusum, tandem ad te mitto. Ut autem mundus

573,6 constituta esse ] *ms. I. O corr. ex constitui, ms. II.; ms. III. constituta esse* 573,10 Exscripta ] *ms. I. O corr. ex Exscripta*

573<sup>1</sup> Ep. 572. 573<sup>2</sup> Erasmus of Rotterdam. 574<sup>1</sup> *Ad optimam heroidem Mariam, Hungariae reginam, sacrorum bucolicorum aeglogae tres*, see Ep. 551. 574<sup>2</sup> Johannes Grapheus was a printer in Antwerp.



non ignoret tuum erga me beneficium, nempe te mihi exhibendo libello apud reginam  
fuisse ducem, posui pro fronte libelli epigramma, quo mea Musa meam erga te testatur 5  
gratitudinem. Epitaphia quoque, quae Erasmo demortuo scripsi, ad te cum praesen-  
tibus misi. Te vero oro, ut haec qualia, qualia sunt, boni consulas. Vale et me amicis  
commenda, praesertim domino Cornelio Scepero<sup>3</sup> et Maximiliano Transilvano,<sup>4</sup> ad  
quem quoque privatim scribo. Rursum vale.

Antverpiae VIII. Kalendas Octobris anno MDXXXVI. 10

[Epitaphium domini Erasmi Roterodami per Grapheum]<sup>5</sup>

[Aliud]<sup>6</sup>

[Aliud]<sup>7</sup>

[Aliud]<sup>8</sup>

[Aliud]<sup>9</sup>

15

[In Erasmi imaginem]<sup>10</sup>

<sup>572</sup>575

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 4 October 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 79.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 588–589.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He should not hope that he will find mistakes in Oláh's poems – he cannot, hard as he tries. Johannes Everaert died a few days ago, a young man of so many talents. He thanks for Cornelis De Schrijver's and François de Bourgogne's poems; he wishes they were published together with Oláh's poems so people could see that the admiration for Erasmus has not vained and those jealous of Erasmus of Rotterdam can stop with their envy.*

Franciscus Craneveldius Nicolao Olao salutem.

Non est, quod speres, Ornatissime Vir, carmina tua elegantissima per me castigari,  
qui si maxime conarer, nihil eiusmodi praestare potuissem. Scribis<sup>1</sup> te multis iam  
annis in desuetudinem venisse carminum scribendorum, sed verum est, quod scribit  
Hieronimus: Bos lassus fortius figit pedem. Deinde mirum, quantum praestet affectus 5  
ardensque animus.

Superioribus diebus apud fanum divi Amandi<sup>2</sup> mortuus est iuvenis incompa-  
rabilis Ioannes Secundus Hagiensis,<sup>3</sup> qui cum multis aliis ingenii dotibus polleret

<sup>575,5</sup> pedem ] *O corr. ex pedam*

<sup>575,5</sup> Bos ... pedem ] Hieron. *Epist.* CII,2; cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 47. I,I,47. Bos lassus fortius figit pedem. MYNORS 1982, 97.

<sup>574</sup> <sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. <sup>574</sup> <sup>4</sup> Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen. <sup>574</sup> <sup>5</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 586–587. In Romanian: ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 157–158. <sup>574</sup> <sup>6</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 587. In Romanian: ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 158. <sup>574</sup> <sup>7</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 587. In Romanian: ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 158. <sup>574</sup> <sup>8</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 587. In Romanian: ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 158. <sup>574</sup> <sup>9</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 587–588. In Romanian: ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 158. <sup>574</sup> <sup>10</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 588. In Romanian: ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 158–159. <sup>575</sup> <sup>1</sup> Ep. 572. Cap. 1. <sup>575</sup> <sup>2</sup> It is not clear which church or abbey this is. <sup>575</sup> <sup>3</sup> Johannes Everaerts (1511–1536), Neo-Latin poet and numismatist. "He portrayed Cranevelt on a fine medal in 1533", see LEIJENHORST 1985, 355.

felicissime, etiam quodvis genus carminis scribebat, sed raptus est morte immatura  
10 iuvenis maximae spei, sic volentibus fati, quibus nemo sapiens repugnat. Ille, si in  
hoc argumento vires ingenii exercuisset, primas ingenii, ut arbitror, tulisset. Habeo  
gratiam de carminibus Graphi<sup>4</sup> ac Francisci a Burgundia,<sup>5</sup> utinam simul cum tuis  
prodeant in publicum, ut homines Erasmi nominis studiosi videant superesse vir-  
tutis admiratores, et ne posthac mutire audeant, si qui supersint Ἐρασμομάστιγες,<sup>6</sup>  
15 cum illum laudari viderint a laudatis viris, sed a funere conquiescit invidia, cum iam  
livorem omnem virtute superarit. Vale, Vir Ornatissime.

Ex Mechlinia ipso die divi Francisci anno 1536.

<sup>574</sup>576<sup>577</sup>

Miklós Oláh to Cornelis De Schrijver  
Brussels, 5 October 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 75-76.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 589-590.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CĂPOIANU 1974, 159-160.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He thanks him for the Erasmus of Rotterdam epitaph and the Panagne. Some of his friends have also sent him the Erasmus epitaphs they have written, and he has sent these to Cornelis De Schrijver along with his own so he can correct his poem. He sends his regards to Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen, and he will give Cornelis de Schepper the book when he is back from Zeelandia.*

Nicolaus Olaus Cornelio Grapheo salutem.

[Quae tu grandissimo...]<sup>1</sup>

Habeo praeterea tibi, mi Scriboni, gratias de epitaphio Erasmi et Panagne<sup>2</sup> tua ad me missa,<sup>3</sup> ex qua cognosco iam penitius, quam antea ingenii tui excellentiam.  
5 Quidam amici mei diebus superioribus miserunt ad me quaedam Erasmi epitaphia ab eis conscripta,<sup>4</sup> quae cum meis carminibus ad te misi, ut illorum scripta videres, mea autem carmina, vere videlicet Transylvana vel silvana potius, castigares. Carmen, quo tibi respondi, boni consule, veluti extemporaneum. Maximilianum<sup>5</sup> salutavi tuo nomine. Cornelius Scepperus profectus est ante XVI. diem ad Selandiam,<sup>6</sup> cui, cum

576,6 meis ] *O del. ex meis rudibus* 576,9 Scepperus ] *O add.*

575<sup>4</sup> Cornelis De Schrijver. 575<sup>5</sup> Probably François de Bourgogne, see ENENKEL, 2002, 34. See his and Oláh's poems to each other: HEGEDŰS 1906, 374; FÓGEL-JUHÁSZ 1934, 4; NEAGU 2003, 294. 575<sup>6</sup> 'the whips/critics of Erasmus'. 576<sup>1</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 589. 576<sup>2</sup> De Schrijver's book *Ad optimam heroidem Mariam...* mentioned in Ep. 551. and Ep. 574. Part I: Panagne, quae Virg. Mariae epithalamium, II: Theander, quae aureo mundo Dei hominis nativitatem, II: Pan, qui veri Panos Christi necem canit. Praeter alia quaedam piis affectibus plena... See also BEER 1903, LXVII: "Corn. Graphei Panagne, h. e. rusticus in divi Joseph e Mariae nuptias lusus. Med. 243. Corn. Grapheus descripsit senatum Antverpiae civitatis a Carolo V. insitutum. Liber impressus Antverp. in 4° 1541: Conr. Gesner, Bibliotheca univ., fol. 188." 576<sup>3</sup> Ep. 574. 576<sup>4</sup> See the epitaphs of Frans van Cranevelt: IPOLYI 1875, 581; and François de Bourgogne: HEGEDŰS 1906, 374; FÓGEL-JUHÁSZ 1934, 4; NEAGU 2003, 294. See also Cranevelt's letter Ep. 571. 576<sup>5</sup> Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen. 576<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 572. Cap. 2.

redierit, reddam libellum. Vale feliciter, mi Corneli, et me tuum esse existima habequae 10  
commendatum.

Bruxellae 5. Octobris 1536.

<sup>576</sup>577

Cornelis De Schrijver to Miklós Oláh  
Antwerp, 18 October 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 76.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 590.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 160–161.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He has read Oláh's poem three or four times, but he has not found anything wrong with it. He is responding to his poem with a poem; he cannot write anything more serious now due to his hardships and worries.*

Multo clarissimo domino Nicolao Olao Pannonio Transilvano thesaurario Alben-  
si Cornelius Scribonius Grapheus.

Lepidissima tua legi carmina,<sup>1</sup> Humanissime Olae, atque iterum terque quaterque  
relegi, neque quidquam (tenui quidem meo isto iudicio) in eisdem deprehendi, quod  
nostra, quam a me exigis, censura egeat. Ad ea tua lepidissima, quali quali meo 5  
carmine respondeo;<sup>2</sup> graviora aliquando scribere non deest animus et quidem arden-  
tissimus, sed egestas et curae, egestatis filiae, id non sinunt. Quandoquidem est mihi  
munus quoddam publicum, quod vix mihi sufficit quotannis sexaginta Florenorum  
Carolinorum et id quidem permolestum. Qui igitur gravioribus Musis incumbere  
possem non video, nisi alicunde felicior mihi aspiret Favonius. Vale, Clarissime Olae. 10

Datae Antverpiae XVIII. Octobris anno a Christo nato 1536.

[Accipio usque libens...]<sup>3</sup>

578

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 18 October 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 314–316.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 592–593.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 178–180.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 251. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

577,5 meo] *O add.*

577<sup>1</sup> See IPOLYI 1875, 589. 577<sup>2</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 590–592. 577<sup>3</sup> IPOLYI 1875, 590–592. In Romanian:  
ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 161–163.

1. He kept Oláh's book for a long time because he could not let it go; he hopes that Oláh wants to publish it, such work should not be left in a drawer. It does not matter that there are many Erasmus of Rotterdam quotes in it: what is beautiful is also beautiful second or third time around. He was impressed by how well Oláh translates from Greek to Latin; in his opinion, Oláh is more religious than Erasmus was. He has found some things that could be corrected, but even Homer could have improved his work, it is better than being criticized. 2. If he did not mark anything to be corrected, Oláh would think him less of a friend. Now he can admit that he also kept the book for so long because he lent it to Conrad Wackers while he (Nanninck) went to visit his sick mother, and then he had an eye problem after he returned. Although there is no risk of blindness any more, he still cannot read much.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Nescio an debeam excusare, quod tam diu libros tuos<sup>1</sup> detinui, an potius, quod non diutius tenui tam docte enim lucubrationes, ut nunquam lectorem satiant, ita aegre a lectore impetrant, ut e manibus deponantur, multo aegrius, ut alienentur.  
 5 Certe nisi mihi spes esset eos aliquando in lucem exituros, nunquam commissem, quin mihi inde exemplar descripsissem. Tu autem quid facies, ignoro, ego tamen puto tales lucubrationes nequaquam supprimendas. Nec deterrere te debet, quod pleraque ab Erasmo translata sunt, recte enim proverbio dicitur δις καὶ τρις τὰ  
 10 καλὰ.<sup>2</sup> Certe in usum studiosorum valde fuerit, unius rei plures esse interpretationes, ita enim facilius verum intellectum percipiunt, praesertim si tales sint interpretes, qui bona fide Graeca reddunt, quod de te et Erasmo sanctissimo iuramento non reformidem asseverare. Legi ac relegi, non minori diligentia, quam voluptate tua  
 15 ista scripta. Ad singulas sententias et Graeca verba, et aemulum hac in re Latinum interpretem adhibui; expendi pondera, dexteritates translationum, miratus sum (itame Deus bene amet) ita te esse singulorum paene verborum interpretem, ut sententiam non laederes, ita sententiam reddere, ut nihil in verbis omitteretur. Propitii mihi sint  
 20 manes Erasmi, religiosior mihi hac in re visus es, quam ille fuit. Tamen in tam felici translatione repperi, quod ut Momus arroderem, eaque subnotavi, ut Momo deesset, quod calumniari posset, nec dubito, quin adsint tibi rationes, quibus tua excusare  
 20 posses. Ego autem volui te extra ansas (ut ita loquar) sycophantiarum esse positum; puto enim Homerum potius quendam in suis mutare voluisse, quam Zoilum pati.

[2.] Haec prima ratio fuit meae censurae, altera, quod verebar, ne, si nihil annotassem, Gnatonem tibi aliquem non amicum habuisse arbitreris. Quare iniquius quaedam vellicanda erant, quo hanc notam sive suspicionem effugerem. Id quo acrius agerem

578,12 ac] *O corr. ex et* 578,12 diligentia] *corr. ex diligentiam* 578,14 ita] *O del. ex ita ut* 578,14 me] *O add.* 578,15 Deus] *O del. ex Deus me* 578,19 adsint] *O corr. ex absint*

578,8–9 δις ... καλὰ] *Erasm. Adag.* 149. I,II,49. Bis ac ter, quod pulchrum est. *ΜΥΝORS* 1982, 191. 578,18 Momus ... deesset] *Cf. Erasm. Adag.* 474. I,V,74. Momo satisfacere, et similia. *ΜΥΝORS* 1982, 448. 578,21 Zoilum pati] *Cf. Erasm. Adag.* 1408. II,V,8. Zoili. *ΜΥΝORS* 1991, 246.

578<sup>1</sup> It is not clear which work this is. It could be *Hungaria*, which according to Oláh's comment, was completed on 16 May, 1536, see *EPERJESSY–JUHÁSZ* 1938, V. But *Hungaria* does not contain either excerpts of Erasmus or Greek sentences (see below). It was probably a collection of Oláh's poems. 578<sup>2</sup> 'what is beautiful is beautiful second and third time around'.

et sine ulla indulgentia, persuadebam mihi opuscula tua iam iam praelo committenda. 25  
Nunc autem, cur partus tuos tam diu retinuerim a suo parente, causam dicam: diu illi  
apud Goclenium<sup>3</sup> haeserunt, antequam in meas manus pervenirent. Non ita diu apud  
me fuerant, cum subito in patriam revocatus sum gravi aegrotatione matris meae, ibi  
aliquot hebdomadas consumpsi, dum redeo tantopere morbum oculorum, quo iam  
antea laborare coeperam, exagitavi, ut in grave periculum caecitatis devenirem, a 30  
quo malo nondum revalui, nam, ut vides, amanuensi opera ad te scribo, quod mihi  
tristissimum est. In rebus autem tuis alienis oculis uti nolui, vel quia illis diffidebam,  
vel quia mihi non satisfaciebant, aegre autem oculi mei tantam usuram lucis conces-  
sere, quantam in libellis tuis absumpsi. Nunc periculum caecitatis abest, usus autem  
oculorum tam tener, ut lectionem, nisi brevissimam, non sustineant. Vale, Doctissime 35  
ac Humanissime Olahe, et ut alii scholas, ita tu aulam eruditissimis litteris exorna.  
Lovanii 15. Kalendas Novembris 1536.

579

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 3 November 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 312.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 594.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*The other day his wife was in Leuven, and she brought up Oláh when she came home: last year, when she really  
craved a spicy Hungarian dish but did not want to miss out on the cheese either, she said she would be the slave  
of the person who sent her such a dish. And Oláh sent a delicious and tender cheese. If the physicians are to be  
believed, the more milk there is in cheese, the healthier it is, and hard cheese is more difficult to digest. He is  
sending Jespersen his regards, he knows he is immersed in writing.*

Franciscus Craneveldius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Vir Clarissime! Cum nuper Lovanii fuisset uxor<sup>1</sup> ac veluti postliminio domum  
rediisset, incidit, ut fit inter confabulandum mentio tuae praestantiae. Tum illa: "heus"  
inquit "memini me anno superiore, cum quaedam ciborum condimenta ex Hungarico  
more<sup>2</sup> discere averem, ne pollicitatione caseorum obligatum, nondum fidem meam 5  
liberasse, proinde constitui quamprimum eo me nexu solvere ac mittere, qui perfe-  
rat munus levidense." Mittit autem non veteres et duratos, sed molliusculos,<sup>3</sup> quia  
si medicorum praeceptis auscultamus: caseus tanto sanior, quanto lacti vicinior et  
duriore illi in ventriculo difficile concoquuntur. Si Iacobus<sup>4</sup> noster recte valet, gaudeo,  
scio enim totum in litteris esse. Si quid erit, in quo praestantiae tuae gratum facere 10

578,26 dicam] *O del. ex dicam non* 578,36 eruditissimis] *corr. ex erudissimis* 579,1 Franciscus] *O*  
*add.* 579,7 quia] *O corr. ex qui*

578<sup>3</sup> Conrad Wackers. 579<sup>1</sup> Cranevelt's first wife was Elisabeth (†1545), see LEIJENHORST 1985, 354.  
579<sup>2</sup> Probably garlicky. 579<sup>3</sup> "quite weak, quite soft, quite pleasant", see HOVEN 2006, 343. 579<sup>4</sup> Jakob Jes-  
persen.

licebit, habebis Cranneveldium tuum expeditissimum atque promptissimum. Vale, Vir Ornatissime.

Mechliniae 30. Nonas Novembris 1536.

580

Conrad Wackers to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 10 November 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 313.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 594.

*In Hungarian:* BALOGH 1903, 11–12.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 149.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He does not know what is keeping him from what Oláh has asked him to do: editing his text. Every time he handles Hungaria, he freezes; he simply cannot see where it could be improved. If Oláh wants to publish it to the glory of his homeland, he will help him make sure there are no misprints in it.*

Conradus Goclenius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Clarissime Domine Olahe! Nescio, quis genius aut potius reverentia tui me deterret a provincia, quam mihi demandasti. Nam quoties sumo in manus tuam *Hungariam*,<sup>1</sup> quam mihi castigandam tradidisti, toties animus ad illud munus velut obtorpescit, praesertim cum stilus ille tuus in affectatus rem ipsam clarissime non exponat modo, verum etiam oculis subiiciat, quem aliquorum locorum mutatione sibi in aequalem reddere non visum est e dignitate operis. Quod si decreveris edere et patriae honorem hac descriptionis luce illustrare, dabo operam, ut sine vitio a typographo exeat in manus studiosorum. Ego iam aliquot hebdomadis istuc paravi adventum, sed praeter  
5  
10  
opinionem semper intercesserunt nova negotia. Hinc factum est, ut iam tardius cogar libros remittere, quibus relatis me coram cupivi excusare. Bene vale, Observandissime Domine!

Lovanii quarto Idus Novembris anno 1536.

581

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 20 November 1536

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 311.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 595.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

579,11 expeditissimum ] *corr.* ex expidissimum 580,11 Observandissime ] *corr.* ex Observantissime

580<sup>1</sup> Oláh finished it on 16 May, 1536, see EPERJESSY–JUHÁSZ 1938, V. and probably sent it to Pieter Nanninck, see Ep. 578.

*He found Oláh's letter of 8 November today, and he accuses himself of nonchalance that he has not answered yet. He liked his Greek epitaph written on Erasmus of Rotterdam's death, but because he asked for his opinion, here it is: he would change the first and last lines a little, metri causa.*

Franciscus Cranneveldius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Vir Ornatissime! Litteras tuas eruditissimas VIII. Novembris ad me datas,<sup>1</sup> cum seposuissem hodie inter cartaceam supplectilem, repperi ac meam negligentiam accusavi, quod tamdiu nihil respondissem. Delectatus sum carmine tuo Graeco,<sup>2</sup> quo defunctum omnium saeculorum memoria dignissimum decorasti, quod profecto 5 tale est, ut ne Athenae quidem ipsae emittere possent tersius eruditiusque. Et quia iubes, ut meos quoque colores adhibeam (tametsi verear, ne plus umbrarum, quam lucis afferam), non potui tamen celare, quae paulo sonantius reddi possint, salvo Dominationi Tuae iudicio. In primo carmine scriberem Σήματι τῷ κείτῃ τὸ νεκρόν<sup>3</sup> addicto scilicet articulo, ut pedum variatio addat paululum iucunditatis. In postremo 10 ubi habes: πνεύματα οὐράνια,<sup>4</sup> ego potius dicerem: πνεύματ' ἐπουράνια.<sup>5</sup> Vide, quam sim morosus iudex, sed ipse te culpes, qui talem adhibuisti non artificem, sed Momum. Vale, Vir Eruditissime, et Cranneveldium, quantus est, tuum esse iudica.

Mechliniae 20. mensis Novembris 1536.

Sic vertimus Graecum epitaphium:  
[Conditur hoc tumulo...]<sup>6</sup>

15

582

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], [March] 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 316–319.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 595–597.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 180–182.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 254. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations. Dating based on POLET 1936, 254.

1. *There is such trust now between them that he can share funny things, not just serious ones. This morning he was waiting for the cart in vain, so he left on foot with his lad. But the lad had drunk with the courtiers the night before and kept it a secret. When they reached the first milestone, the boy lay down on the ground, threw off the pack, and no matter how hard Nanninck was shouting at him, he did not respond, and then made what was going on obvious by throwing up. Nanninck told him off, then took on the load, and they continued*

581,12 sim ] *O corr. ex sit* 581,12 adhibuisti ] *O corr. ex adhuisti* 581,13 Eruditissime ] *corr. ex Erudissime*

581<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 581<sup>2</sup> Oláh's Greek epitaph on Erasmus was published by Ressen in 1537: *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia, per clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta*, Lovanii, apud R. Rescium, 1537. The pages are not numbered, see NEAGU 2003, 350. 581<sup>3</sup> 'on the grave where his body rests'. 581<sup>4</sup> 'heavenly spirits'. 581<sup>5</sup> Oláh corrected his poem, following Cranevelt's advice. The 1537 edition contains the text as Cranevelt suggested, see NEAGU 2003, 350. 581<sup>6</sup> See IPOLYI 1875, 595. Frans van Cranevelt translated Oláh's Greek poem. For the original poem, see NEAGU 2003, 350.

on their way; the boy kept stumbling and vomiting. Then they met a strong courier from Westphalia, whom Nanninck could transfer the load to; now Oláh can laugh. 2. He has arrived to Rutger Ressen, who has already been busy with the printing house: Oláh will soon receive his volume, in a small format, as requested. They have read the poems again, and Ressen is very happy that he is the one to publish it. The only place where they are stuck is the word *rò*, if Oláh wants to change it, he should let them know, and they suggest another small change in terms of conjugation.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Audi, Doctissime Olahe, quod rideas, eo enim iam fiducia progressus sum, ut non seria modo, sed et iocos tecum miscere audeo. Inest enim in moribus tuis et vultu maiestas, non horror, ita, ut qui ad tua colloquia venit, veneretur te, non timeat. Cum  
5 mane currum quaesisset, et usque ad septimam horam auriga me ludificatus fuisset, metuens, ne profectio mea usque ad meridiem extrahetur, pedibus iter ingressus sum cum puero meo, qui pridie apud aulicos ministros plus satis potaverat atque hanc suam ebrietatem mira vafricie dissimulaverat. Cum processum esset ad primum ab urbe lapidem, puer subito defectus in viam se abiicit sarcina, quae illi imposita fuerat,  
10 in lutum provolvitur. Consternor animo ad subitam rem, rogo ecquid mali, puer nihil respondet, ceterum dubitantem me de genere mali vomitus subsecutus certiore reddidit, ibi ego οἷα ἦν εἰκὸς ἐργάζομαι<sup>1</sup> nec a minis, nec a conviciis tempero, sed frustra omnia, puer enim vix ad ingressum sufficiebat, mox enim ubi illum onerassem sarcina, cum onere subsidit, ibi ego: “Egone te, si vivo, ubi domum venero, mastigia  
15 senties, qui vir sim!” Ille autem et tacet et iacet. Cum nihil aliud consilii erat, Nannius tuus sarcinam in humeros suos transfert, pius admodum, pientior tamen futurus, si una puerum in scapulis quasi Christophorus aliquis gessasset, nam eo etiam opus erat. Quid multa? Fit bos clitellatus, quamque nec itineribus, nec oneribus gestandis admodum aptus, gressumque puer comitatur herilem, sed, ut inquit ille, non passibus  
20 aequis, subinde adhuc titubat et ex imbecillitate et ex reliquiis Bacchi, nondum enim per noctem crapulam decoxerat. Quid putas? Imprecor tot diras ministro tam male sobrio, ut putem *Ibim* Ovidianam non plures continere. Tu rides, scio, et ego quoque nunc rideo, sed, mehercule, tunc non ridebam.

Cum iam plurimum itineris emensus fuisset, subito ex tanta tempestate fit serenitas, supervenit nobis ad extremum delassatus Westphalus quidam tabellarius tam robustus, ut pro basi colossis multis substerni possit, nec tamen prae lassitudine unquam latus moturus, ut Typhoeus illi, cui Sicilia incumbit, et cuius laeva est subiecta Peloro. In hunc onera omnia transfero, et meum et pueri pallium, et gladios utriusque, nam ei fatigatis, graves esse coeperant. Hactenus, quod rideas, nunc ad res tuas.

30 [2.] Hora secunda ad Rutgerum<sup>2</sup> accessi, invenio illum nostris votis paratissimum, nulla excusatio de prelo occupato, vel de angustia temporis. Exspectabis igitur

582,20 ex] *del. ex ex in 582,29 esse] O corr. ex esset*

582,18 bos clitellatus] *Erasm. Adag. 1884. II,IX,84. Non nostrum onus, bos clitellas? MYNORS 1992, 121.*

582<sup>1</sup> ‘I do what is natural to do in cases like this’. 582<sup>2</sup> Rutger Ressen.



brevi libellum tuum<sup>3</sup> eis typis excusum, quibus volebas, addidi praeterea, quasi id  
in mandatis haberem, ut in parva forma imprimeret, ita enim te velle arbitror. Ibi  
cum eram, statim tuum carmen cum Rutgero iterum atque iterum relegi, placuit  
mire Rutgero gaudebatque et se impressorem et te eius carminis authorem esse, nec 35  
dubitat, quin tibi ea res et amplissimo honori et sibi non exiguo emolumento futura  
sit. Ego summopere gaudebam me in iudicio non errasse, et ut nunc Rutgerum, ita  
omnes spero me, quicumque unquam legerit ὁμοψήφους<sup>4</sup> habiturum. Inter legendum  
haesimus ad verbum τὸ<sup>5</sup> filent, quod mihi suspectum, Rutgero probum putumque 40  
videtur. Rogo, Domine, ut si quid de hoc vocabulo legeris, mihi significes; ego enim tibi  
omnia etiam tuta timeo, satis temporis est ad respondendum, nam ad decem dies iter  
suum Rutgerus suspendit, satis tamen mature nundinis Francfordiensibus occursurus.  
Illud deinde carmen, quod incredibilis est et acuminis et festivitatis: “non desiderio,  
sed fato est functus Erasmus”,<sup>6</sup> non nihil attinit Rutgerum, mallet “desiderium” poni,  
in accusativo casu, ut et animi cupiditati et cognomento Erasmi conveniret, nunc 45  
ob neutrum genus non convenire Erasmi cognominibus, ut autem intelligeres, quid  
velim, sic non nihil carmen immutavi. “Non desiderium, sed mors exstinxit Erasmus.”  
Tu quid placeat, per hunc Adrianum Stadium,<sup>7</sup> qui in coenobio ad Sanctam Claram  
hospitatur, rescribere potes. Nos audaciores sumus in rebus tuis, sed ita suadet verus et  
ingenuus in te amor. Epistola Dani<sup>8</sup> nunc melius placet, sentio enim non omnino esse 50  
ipsius pectoris et illi egregium Thesea adfuisse. Vale, Optime et Eruditissime omnium  
doctorum Patrone.

Eodem die, quo Bruxellas reliqui, 1537.

Mitto tibi duos libellos Graecos epistolarum. Rutgerus tibi de eleganti munusculo  
tuo multas agit gratias. 55

583

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 10 March 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 319–320.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 597–598.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 183–184.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 256–257. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh’s emendations.

1. Oláh will receive the new edition of his poems tomorrow, he made sure the printer did not make a mistake, and if there still is a mistake in there, his crusty eyes are to blame. Before it went to press, they read it through one more time, and everyone praised Oláh’s poem, especially Jacques de Halewyn. They did not involve Conrad

582,36 amplissimo ] corr. ex amplissimi 582,43 desiderio ] corr. ex desiderium

582<sup>3</sup> D. Erasmi Rot. Epitaphia, per Clarissimos aliquot Viros conscripta, Lovanii apud Rutgerum Rescium, Martii 1537. 582<sup>4</sup> ‘of the same opinion’. 582<sup>5</sup> ‘the’ [neutral article denoting the following word]. 582<sup>6</sup> See Oláh’s poem, IPOLYI 1875, 585. Cf. NEAGU 2003, 350. 582<sup>7</sup> We do not know him more closely. 582<sup>8</sup> Jakob Jespersen.

Wackers, not because he detests it but because he is his friend. To be sure, they changed a spondeus to a trocheus. 2. He should continue *Topographia Hungariae*, from which he sent him a sample. They could not obtain Cornelis De Schrijver's poems, and they did not want to include poems by other writers because they wanted to keep the quality high so the book is marketable.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao.

[1.] Salve, Doctissime Patrone! Carmina tua recens impressa ad te cras redibunt, umida quodammodo adhuc a prelo, quasi a partu. Nos sedulo adhaesimus typographis, ne quid peccaretur, si tamen hic quid peccatum est, non animum meum, 5 qui diligentissimus, sed lippitudinem meam, quae molestissima fuit, accusabis. Nos tua carmina cum doctissimis quibusque, antequam imprimerentur, relegimus, mira omnium laus. Laudabant facilitatem ingenii et levitatem et lucem scribentis. Deum testor, me aliena non mea verba reponere inter reliquos encomiastas tuos: aderat quidam Iacobus Halainus,<sup>1</sup> cui epistolas dedicavimus,<sup>2</sup> vir et re lauta et acris iudicii et 10 multae eruditionis, is tuae laudis fuit effusissimus buccinator. Conradum,<sup>3</sup> ut ingenue fatear, non adhibui, non quod contemnerem, sed quod illi non tam familiaris sum, quam amicus. Mutavimus in hendecasyllabo in primo loco trocheo, qui illic erat in spondeum, quamquam te exemplis defendere poteras, maluimus tamen te non egere defensione. Laudavimus tuas elegias modesto encomio longeque infra meritum tui 15 carminis, tamen (ut puto) et cordato et benivolo.

Facit meae fortunae tenuitas, ut timidior sim ad laudes magnorum amicorum, nihil enim tam horreo, quam audere adulator. Tu, Vir omnium Optime et Eruditissime, fac, diu Musis superstes sis, quam tibi multum debebunt, si saepius talia carmina edideris.

[2.] In *Topographia Hungariae* vellem te pergere, cuius mihi dulcissimum gustum 20 praebuisti,<sup>4</sup> ut quod in ditione non habemus, per te in litteris retineamus. Si quid ex ἀντιπάλους<sup>5</sup> orationibus Demosthenis et Aeschinis transtuleris aut transferis, dici non potest, quam gavisurus sim me ad has delicias admitti. Ego iubente Rutgero, quaedam ex meis vestris carminibus addidi, hoc est holosericis pannus. Danus<sup>6</sup> me audacem fecit, cetera nosti. Adiecit etiam sua quaedam Christianus,<sup>7</sup> nostrae non admodum 25 dissimilia farinae. Nam Graphei<sup>8</sup> carmina habere non potuimus, multi sua addere voluerunt, sed non visum est vestra bona carmina multitudine malorum obruere, et librum minus venalem reddere, de cuius vendibilitate optime sperat Rutgerus.<sup>9</sup> Rursum vale, Patrone Optime.

Sexto Idus Martii ex domo fratris 1537.

583,3 umida] corr. ex unida 583,7 ingenii] O corr. ex ingeniis 583,10 effusissimus] corr. ex effusimus 583,17 adulator] corr. ex adultator 583,17 Eruditissime] corr. ex Erudissime 583,23 pannus] corr. ex pannos

583<sup>1</sup> Jacques de Halewyn, see POLET 1936, 252–253. 583<sup>2</sup> Nanninck's letter to Jacques de Halewyn on 1 February, 1537, see POLET 1936, 252–253. 583<sup>3</sup> Conrad Wackers. 583<sup>4</sup> In the original Viennese manuscript of *Hungaria*, Oláh dated the work 16 March, 1536. 583<sup>5</sup> 'against each other'. 583<sup>6</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 583<sup>7</sup> Christian Kellenaeer or Chrétien Kelders, see POLET 1936, 255. 583<sup>8</sup> Cornelis De Schrijver. 583<sup>9</sup> Rutger Ressen.

584

Rutger Ressen to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 11 March 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 320–321.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 598–599.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 220.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He thanks him for the silver he sent with Pieter Nanninck, in exchange he is sending him 100 copies of the Erasmus of Rotterdam epitaphs. He is sending it with one of his servants so that Oláh can send a letter to Frankfurt to his friends, as far as he knows, this is his plan. Ressen will not be traveling there, either, but a friend of his will take care of the books.*

Rutgerus Rescius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Habeo gratiam Dominationi Tuae de argenteo nummo per Nannium<sup>1</sup> nostrum mihi dono misso, pro quo donum chartaceum tibi remitto centum exemplaria Erasmi epitaphiorum per te et alios conscriptorum.<sup>2</sup> Mitto autem ea per famulum nostrum, ut commode possis ad amicos tuos Francofordiam venturos scribere, nam Nannius eo te scribere in animo habere dixit. Ego propter negotia quaedam non sum illuc profecturus, sed libros, quos nunc misi, tradidi amico cuidam, ut is rerum curam agat. Exspecto autem illum hodie et cras (ut puto) hunc Francofordiam versus iter ingredietur, propterea si voles litteras eo mittere, opus est, ut hodie illas scribas. Bene vale, Domine Consiliarie Observande. Raptim.

Ex Lovanio Dominica Laetare anno 1537.

585

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 28 April 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 312–313.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 599.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He wants to see Oláh's Hungaria in person as well, but it has not happened yet. He is hawking his cento poems onto Oláh, which Nanninck liked so much that he is pushing for their publication. He is sending it to Oláh for review: if he likes it, it can be forwarded to Nanninck, if he does not, he will destroy it.*

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Cupio iam pridem occasionem mihi dari istuc proficiscendi, ut *Hungariam* tuam videre liceat, sed hactenus fortuna nobis id genus voluptatis invidit. Ego vero tibi meas nugas obtrudo, nisi potius dicendum sit nec meas esse. Quippe qui alienis opibus

584,2 argenteo] *O corr. ex argento*

584<sup>1</sup> Pieter Nanninck. 584<sup>2</sup> *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia, per clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta*, Lovanii apud Rutgerum Rescium, 1537.

5 abusus sum et Claudiani<sup>1</sup> labores in rem meam verterim, centonem consarcinavi, sed  
non his legibus, quibus olim veteres et quibus Ausonius in suo Virgilio centone<sup>2</sup> sit  
usus. Ita tamen placuit viro doctissimo ac communi amico domino Petro Nannio,<sup>3</sup> ut  
me vehementer urgeat ad edendum. Mitto tibi opusculum ipsum cum illius epistolio,  
10 ut Dominatio Tua iudicet, quid mihi faciendum sit. Permitto tibi liberam statuendi fa-  
cultatem, ut si edendum videatur, recta via mittatur ad Nannium, sin minus, tum quod  
ille dicebat de Apiace<sup>4</sup> caesar noster: incumbet in spongeam. Vale, Vir Ornatissime et  
Cranneveldium tuum, quod facis, ama.

Mechliniae quarto Kalendas Maias anno 1537.

586

Conrad Wackers to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 1 June 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 308.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 599–600.

*In Hungarian:* BALOGH 1903, 11.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 149–150.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He really liked Oláh's works Athila and Hungaria, and he has learnt a lot from them. He has marked a few things, not that they should be corrected, but to prove that he has read it. If something is missing, Pieter Nanninck is to be blamed, who asked for the manuscript back because he was not satisfied reading it only once. He could not travel either because there are no carts available due to the war. He has not read the poem, but he will as soon as he has the time.*

Conradus Goclenius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

*Athilam* tuum cum *Chorographia Hungariae* legi magno fructu. Nam multa didici, quae iucundum erit meminisse. Adnotavi quaedam, sed pauca, non tam, quod mihi magnopere videantur esse mutanda, sed ut facerem fidem perlecti libri.<sup>1</sup> Descripsissem omnia, nisi bona spe ducerer tuam pietatem in patriae laudem non relicturam in obscuro, quae merentur versari in maxima luce. Quod non adfui, in causa fuit Nannius,<sup>2</sup> qui non contentus unica lectione, denuo postulavit eodem epulo satiari. Quamquam et illud absque Nannio impedivisset, quod propter bellum nulla reperiuntur esseda in usus proficiscentium. Carmen nondum recognovi, sed servavi exemplar, 10 et id agam plus nactus otii. Nam famulus asserit sibi illico esse revertendum. Bene vale, Vir Clarissime et Domine Observande.

Lovanii Kalendis Iunii anno 1537.

585,9 Permitto ] *O corr. ex* Promitto 585,11 incumbet ] *O corr. ex* concumbet 585,12 facis ] *O corr. ex* facit 586,8 nulla ] *O corr. ex* millia

585,11 de ... spongeam ] Suet. *De vitis caesarum*, Div. Aug. 85: "respondit, Aiace suum in spongeam incubuisse".

585<sup>1</sup> Claudius Claudianus (370–404), Roman poet. 585<sup>2</sup> *Cento nuptialis*. 585<sup>3</sup> Pieter Nanninck. 585<sup>4</sup> I.e. Aiace. 586<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know Wackers' emendations. On the manuscripts and editions of these historical pieces, see SZILÁGYI 2014; and TÓTH 2019. 586<sup>2</sup> Pieter Nanninck.

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 30 June 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 308–311.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 600–602.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 184–186.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 256. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He wants to get Athila back from Conrad Wackers, who cannot get enough of it and was gushing how he also read it quickly and reveled in it. He will not allow for this book to go unpublished. They should put a poem at the beginning. 2. He is asking for his opinion as an editor, here it is: who could write more authentically about these events, topography, and the diversity of peoples, if not a Hungarian eyewitness? He compares Oláh's style of history writing to that of Strabo and Herodotus. Nanninck salutes the fact that Oláh used the names of places in his own language – Ciceronians like to use words and name forms that never existed, but Oláh is right not to follow them. 3. He especially liked how he writes about the kings' fate, and his speeches are fantastic. Although the Turks have taken most of Hungary, Oláh is now returning all of it through his book. Oláh asked him to emend his poem, but there was nothing to be corrected in it. 4. Nanninck asks Oláh to accept the bearer of the letter, the excellent Rutger Pathius, who is well-versed in Latin and Greek, into his circle, but if cannot, he should at least pay for his travel expenses for the way back.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Nihil ad te scripsi, Eruditissime Patrone, quia nec sciebam, ubi ageres, nec habebam, per quos mitterem. De Athila tuo vere erudito opere habeo, quod doleam, habeo etiam, quodconquerar ultra enim unam hebdomadam, et vix eam plenam mihi eius usus permissus non est, hactenus enim eum detinuit Goclenius.<sup>1</sup> Credo nondum 5 satur eius lectionis, nam mirificas de eo mihi decantavit laudes, dedit autem eo tempore, quo nihil mihi unquam vel tumultuosius vel occupatus. Sed quid ad te mea negotia, legi avidissime libros illos, helluatus sum in eis, usque ad summas aures miris voluptatibus me implevi. Usuram mihi non longiorem concessam fuisse etiam nunc doleo, non omittam, non intermittam ullum laborem, donec vel ex prelo, vel a te eum 10 recuperavero. Cupio frontispicio carmen aliquod praefligere, etsi nihil possum, quia tamen eam operam Holao sum impensurus, puto me aliquid posse. Si natura negat, amor est, qui carmina condit.

[2.] Cupis meam censuram, audi, breviter dico, quod Conradus dixit: me non minus id opus amare, quam admirari. Quis enim fidelior in rebus gestis tradendis, 15 quis certior in topographiis, quis distinctior omni genere varietatis, qui te Hungarum esse nescit, satis tamen id colligit ἐκ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἀκριβείας<sup>2</sup> vel Hungarum αὐτόπτην.<sup>3</sup> Absit adulatio a nostra amicitia, quam et tu odisti et ego non fero, videris mihi plurimorum authorum virtutes coniunxisse, habes in locis describendis exac-

587,2 Eruditissime] *O corr. ex* Eruditissime 587,3 quos] *corr. ex* quas 587,8 helluatus] *O corr. ex* geluatus 587,11 etsi] *O add.* 587,13 qui] *corr. ex* quae 587,15 Quis] *O corr. ex* Quid

587<sup>1</sup> Conrad Wackers. 587<sup>2</sup> 'from an all-encompassing precision'. 587<sup>3</sup> 'witness'.

20 tissimam curam Strabonis, ubi etiam tua illa mathematicarum disciplinarum peritia non obscuriter lucet, nec ibi gratiae illae Herodoti absunt. Multa paradoxa de moribus gentium afferuntur non e mendaciis, ut ille fecit, sed ex fide rerum deprompta; adsunt deinde locorum vocabula nativo sono expressa,<sup>4</sup> non κακοζηλία<sup>5</sup> Latini sermonis in alienam speciem deformata, quod cum maxime cupit Lucianus in historiis observari, 25 nescio, an ullus praeter te vere praestitit.

Veteres barbarum vocum sonos assecuti non sunt neoterici, qui toti sunt in mollioribus sonis, reformidant, quare omnia ita fingunt ac refingunt, ut qui ibi nati sunt, nomen patriae suae non agnoscant. Vere stultum genus, quibus ferme idem accidit, quod vulgo musicorum, qui omissis verbis et sententiis nihil aucupantur, 30 nisi gargalismo sonorum aures implere, pectus inane relinquere. His Ciceronianis (hoc titulo enim sibi blandiuntur) si vis servire, quorum mundus nunc plenus est aut asperitas illa vocum mollienda est, aut rarius istiusmodi voces inspargendae; si doctis probari vis, id agendum est, quod agis, nec de fide rerum vel apex mutandus.

[3.] Mirifice id mihi placuit, quod ubi de fortunis regii tui generis enarrationem 35 texis, quasi alienum te geris nec tuorum vel laetis, vel adversis, tui affectus produntur. Hoc Thucydidis, hoc Xenophontis, hoc Salustii. In orationibus vehemens es vel, ut mollius aiunt Graeci δεινός,<sup>6</sup> et quod ego maxime amo, sermonem personis attemperas et ipsorum indoli et praesenti fortunae congruum. Abstulit Turca magna ex parte Hungariam, tu nobis totam reddidisti, et ut Iosephus *Antiquitatibus*<sup>7</sup> suis memoriae 40 suorum consuluit, qui iam maximis cladibus ceciderant, ita tu res gestas maiorum tuorum, cum iam periisse quodammodo viderentur, aeternitati consecravisti, ac nescio, an eodem zelo, quo ipse, inductus fueris, certe idem praestitisti. Carmen<sup>8</sup> tuum emendavi, ut volebas, vel potius mutavi, ut iussisti, nulla enim emendatione opus fuit. Scis, quantopere mihi tua carmina placent, hoc mihi tamen, quod Craneveldio<sup>9</sup> dedisti, 45 prae omnibus placet. τὰ δευτέρα ἀμείνω, εἰ καὶ τὰ πάντα καλὰ.<sup>10</sup>

[4.] Desino, ne, dum vera dico, tuae modestiae supra verum dicere videar. Hic,<sup>11</sup> qui litteras adfert, iuvenis est probis et honestis parentibus natus et mediocris fortunae, mores illius per quadriennium, quod mecum vixit, probissimos expertus sum; placidum illi ingenium et fidum, nihil in moribus vanum aut futile, arcani tenax, 50 promptus ad obsequia et Graece et Latine non male peritus, hunc talem esse mea fide polliceor, quare si dominus Rutgerus<sup>12</sup> eum in suum famulitium suscipiet, recte faciet, sin minus, rogo, ut iuveni ad nos redituro viaticum refundatur. Optime vale, Optime Patrone.

Pridie Kalendas Iulias, raptim, ut vides. 1537.

587,37 mollius] *O corr. ex melius* 587,38 congruum] *corr. ex congruam* 587,42 Carmen] *O corr. ex Camen* 587,45 καλὰ] *corr. ex κάλα* 587,48 expertus] *O corr. ex expersus* 587,51 si] *O del. ex si tum* 587,51 Rutgerus] *O corr. ex Rugerus*

587<sup>4</sup> Oláh also wrote geographical names in *Athila* and *Hungaria* in Hungarian. 587<sup>5</sup> 'by artificially imitating (the Latin language)'. 587<sup>6</sup> 'overwhelming'. 587<sup>7</sup> Josephus Flavius' *Antiquitates Judaicae*. 587<sup>8</sup> Probably the opening poem of *Hungaria*, or Erasmus of Rotterdam's epitaph. 587<sup>9</sup> Frans van Cranevelt. 587<sup>10</sup> 'the second ones are better, although all of them are pretty'. 587<sup>11</sup> Rutger Pathius, see POLET 1936, 256. 587<sup>12</sup> Rutger Ressen.

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 2 July 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 321–322.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 602–603.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He did not reply to Oláh before because there was nobody to take the letter, but now he is sending his comments on Oláh's work. They have been hearing good news about the war for days, he hopes that there will be peace soon. 2. He is attaching his own poems, which he has also sent to Pieter Nanninck at Oláh's encouragement so he can tell him what he thinks about them. 3. The other day he received the book he translated three years ago, which was then published in Paris by Chrétien Wechel, with Theodor Adam Svallenberg's notes. He asks him to get the attached thank-you letter to the youngster who has stayed in Paris.

Franciscus Cranneveldius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Pudet me, Vir Ornatissime, quod tam diu nihil responderim tuis litteris, neque remiserim carissimam doctissimamque feturam,<sup>1</sup> sed cum tam longe abesset Dominatio Tua, non audebam cuivis homini rem remittere. Nunc fidum nactus tabellarium remitto cum meis lituris opus tuum, sed vereor, nec nimis libere censuram exercuerim. 5 Halcyonem<sup>2</sup> Graece non habeo et cum apud alios requisivissem, non inveni; proinde boni consulet Dominatio Tua, quae divinando verius, quam censendo annotavimus.

Vos iam istic quotidie auditis belli prospera, utinam ea aliquando sint pacis incitamenta, bella enim geruntur, ut ad pacem perveniatur aliquando, sed vereor, ne multorum magno malo ac serius. Sed haec sita sunt in divorum gentibus, ut est apud 10 Homerum.

[2.] Apposui mea carmina, quae magis ex affectu in te meo, quam ipsorum concinnitate aestimabis. Coepi nuper has victorias nostras ludere carmine non Claudiano, sed Virgiliano. Sed expedit in decimum annum premere, et meminisse longas regibus esse manus. Olim pater,<sup>3</sup> vir suo seculo prudentissimus me admonuit de magnis 15 principibus non facile in peiorem partem loquendum esse. Hic scilicet alterum laudes, alterum suis quoque coloribus pingere consequens est et nescimus, quid serus vesper vehat. Hic quamquam me deterrent ab editione Claudianorum, tamen tuo hortatu permisi dictaturam ac censuram Nannio<sup>4</sup> nostro, sed nescio, quid agant rerum nostri.

[3.] Nuper unus eorum, qui fuit in comitatu legati, attulit domum meam me 20 absente libellum<sup>5</sup> Parrhisiis impressum de aedificiis Iustiniani, quem antea triennium utcumque verteram, quem scitissimis characteribus excudit Wechelius<sup>6</sup> cum anno-

588,10 Sed ... gentibus] Hom. *Il.* XX,435. *Homeri Ilias sev potivs omnia eius quae extant opera*, Basileae: Impensis Theodosii Rihelii, 1570, 733: "Sed certe quidem haec Deorum in genibus sita sunt." 588,14–15 longas ... manus] Ovid. *Her.* XVII,176. Erasm. *Adag.* 103. I,II,3. Longae regum manus. MYNORS 1982, 147. 588,17–18 nescimus ... vehat] Erasm. *Adag.* 605. I,VII,5. Nescis quid serus vesper vehat. MYNORS 1989, 69.

588<sup>1</sup> I.e. Oláh's historical works: *Hungaria* or *Athila*. 588<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, Hyginus and Pausanias wrote about Alcyone. 588<sup>3</sup> Herman van Cranevelt (1442–1518), Secretary of the Dukes of Guelders. See SCHULTE HERBRÜGGEN 1997, 27. 588<sup>4</sup> Pieter Nanninck. 588<sup>5</sup> Procopius' *De aedificiis*, Paris: C. Wechel, 1537. 588<sup>6</sup> Chrétien Wechel of Herentals (†1554) was an important publisher of his era, see GUILLEMINOT 1987, 434.

tationibus et explicationibus Theodorici Adamei Zwallemburgi.<sup>7</sup> Is iuvenis eruditissimus malo fato Parrhisiis mansit initio huius belli, cui per litteras apertas, quas  
25 praesentibus inclusi, gratias ago, ut si mitti possint, mittantur, sin minus istic maneat  
testes meae diligentiae. Vale, Domine Ornatissime.

Mechliniae die 2. mensis Iulii anno 1537.

589

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 16 July 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 322–324.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 603–604.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 187–188.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 256–258. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He sent his last letter to Oláh and others with Rutger Pathius, but the lad has not returned, and nobody knows anything about him. If he is with Rutger Ressen, he should tell him off severely; but Nanninck is worried because everything is full of military tents. If he knows anything about the war, he should write him about that, too. 2. He wrote what he thinks about Athila in his previous letter, if it has been lost, he will write it again. He is worried that if Oláh returns home, he will only arrive to another war, and if the court and the Queen do not hold him back, he might even take up arms to fight for getting Hungary back. He only wishes Oláh's book got published.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Ornatissime et Humanissime Patrone! Ipsi ferme Kalendis Iulii iuvenem<sup>1</sup> hinc quendam cum litteris meis<sup>2</sup> ad te emandavi, habebat idem litteras ad dominum Franciscum a Burgundia,<sup>3</sup> emiseram autem ad hoc ad dominum Ruttgerum<sup>4</sup> (nam tu  
5 illius nomine petieras), ut cum eo assidue Latine loqueretur.

Is nusquam apparet, nec post illius abitum quicquam de ipso audivimus: si est apud dominum Rutgerum, castigabis illum verbis, quod nos in hac sollicitudine relinquit, nec quemquam de sua fortuna conscium facit. Nos certe omnia suspectamus, eo, quod  
10 omnia militibus, castris, expeditionibus plena sint. Valde anxius sum de illius salute, tu quicquam de illius rebus compertum habes, rogo Tuam Humanitatem, ut mihi illud quam primum significes. Libere apud te ago, sed me docuit tua humanitas, ut fastigium dignitatis tuae non respicerem, si quod hic est de bello, velim mihi significes.

[2.] Scripsi, quod de tuo Athilo sentirem idque in eis litteris,<sup>5</sup> quas hic iuvenis<sup>6</sup> ad te pertulit (ut spero), quae si cum iuvene perierint, denuo scribam, sed vero iudicio et  
15 ex ipsa animi sententia, ut etiam tunc feci semperque facturus sum. Tu, mi Patrone,

589,2 Ipsi] *corr. ex Ipsi* 589,8 conscium] *corr. ex consciunt*

588<sup>7</sup> Theodor Adam Svallenberg, known as Theodoricus Adamaeus (1470–1540), German philologist and historian, also took part in other editions, see LAZÁR 2016, 72. 589<sup>1</sup> Rutger Pathius. 589<sup>2</sup> Ep. 587. 589<sup>3</sup> François de Bourgogne. 589<sup>4</sup> Rutger Ressen. 589<sup>5</sup> Ep. 587. 589<sup>6</sup> Rutger Pathius.



rectissime valeas, et id agas, quod Musae, quibus pro tanta eruditione plurimum debes, a te summo iure postularint, hoc est, ut in ipsarum studiis mira, ut soles, felicitate verseres, procul a barbaris castris et sanguinariis et impiis; id mihi eo visum, quia timebam, ne vis animi et spiritus ille Hungaricus te ad aliena bella protruderet, magisque timerem, nisi te aula et regina detinerent, id si unquam futurum est, quod obominor, 20 tum te Hungaria in armis videat ad patriae recuperationem. Habemus Hungariam, modo liber<sup>7</sup> in publicum exeat, in perpetuum ab oblivionis iniuria vindicatam. Si quid unquam Mars ex studiis tuis post hac occupabit, sperabimus tuo vel consilio, vel armis futurum, ut aliquo modo Christianitatis damnum resarcias. Campus ille tui Huniadis<sup>8</sup> victoriis celebratus te militem et ducem videat, non hic noster Gallicus 25 utrique Christiano madens. Vale, Optime Patrone.

Postridie Iduum Iulias 1537.

590

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 28 September 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 573–574.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 604–605.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 188–189.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 258. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy.

1. He is happy to hear that Oláh is safe and sound. The ceasefire is also good, at least Oláh is not in danger while it lasts. 2. He has heard from Jakob Jespersen that Oláh is struggling with Aeschines; he wants him to tell him about this. Nanninck is now translating Euripides, once he has made headway, he will send him a sample. Many people are praising Oláh's Athila, especially Conrad Wackers. Nanninck's eye is infected again; he should send his greetings to Rutger Ressen, who has put his brother up with him.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olaho salutem plurimam.

[1.] Nihil habeo, Eruditissime Patrone, quod scribam, nisi quod mirifice gaudeo te et a bello et a morbo incolumem esse, quorum utrumque audiveram non solum non cum sollicitudine, sed cum ingenti etiam maerore. Nescio enim, quomodo animus meus tibi uni, ut unico et vero praesidio incumbit, acquiescit, inhaeret. Temerarie tune 5 tam gratus Musis immania bella laccessis, quod tu tam prope ad vallum hostile putas, quod barbarus ille Mars eruditionem, mores, pietatem aut ullas denique virtutes tuas aut curat, aut novit. Vetus adagium est illum optimum: quemque primum de medio

589,25 victoriis] *corr. ex vittoriis* 589,27 Iulias] *O corr. ex Iuliarum* 590,2 Eruditissime] *corr. ex Erudissime* 590,2 mirifice] *corr. ex mifice*

590,8–9 de ... auferre] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 1031. II,I,31. In lapicidinas. "... quempiam e medio tollendum et in rem malam aliquo auferendum." MYNORS 1991, 34.

589<sup>7</sup> Sc. *Hungaria*. 589<sup>8</sup> John Hunyadi or his son, King Matthias I. On their relatives, see NAGY 2010; NAGY 2021; and SZILÁGYI–NAGY 2022.

10 auferre. Sed bene est, quod induciae istae sive abstinentiae bellorum, quas Graeci  
ἐκεχειρίας,<sup>1</sup> ut scis ἐκεχειρίας appellant, et tibi periculorum et mihi timoris materiam  
adimunt.

[2.] Audio te ex litteris Dani<sup>2</sup> Aeschinem oppugnare,<sup>3</sup> et illi nectere crinem male  
obitae legationis. Cupio ex tuis lucubrationibus vel extemporabilibus potius schedis  
15 cognoscere, quae pericula reus ille sustineat; non enim dubito, quin omnia proso-  
lita tua felicitate tractaveris. Ego Eurypidis *Andromachem* verto,<sup>4</sup> ubi aliquo usque  
progressus fuero, gustum tibi eius rei faciam. Scio enim aulicis hominibus rusticos  
aliquando cibos ex lignea paropside vel potius obba depromptos bene sapere. Multa  
praeconia depredicant de tuo *Athila*, homo aliquin parcissimae laudis, Conradus  
Goclenius,<sup>5</sup> quae res quam mihi iucunda sit, vix ullis verbis consequi potero, certe  
20 aliquot honesti et eximii iuvenes tuum *Athilam* quantumcumque torvum conspiciere  
desiderant. Nos rursus lippī sumus, ut superiore anno.<sup>6</sup> Tu, Ornatissime et Humanis-  
sime Patrone, diu feliciterque vive. Ages, si non grave sit, Rutgero<sup>7</sup> tuo gratias meo  
nomine, quod fratrem suum apud me collocarit, nam tametsi res exigui quaestus sit,  
ego tamen pro re magna habeo, tanti ab honestis viris fieri, iterum vale.

25 4. Kalendas Octobres 1537.

591

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 30 September 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 572–573.

*Published:* 1601, 1875, 605.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He has received Oláh's Athila and Hungaria, but before he starts reading them, he wants to explain why he is responding so late. He was away for a few days to participate in his son's induction in Leuven. Pieter Nanninck's eye is infected again, he is afraid that he will completely ruin it by reading by candlelight. He will read Hungaria as soon as he can and send it back, in the meantime he is sending an epitaph. He hopes Cornelis de Schepper will return home with good news.*

Franciscus Craneveldius Nicolao Olaho salutem plurimam.

Accepi, Vir Ornatissime, litteras tuas una cum *Athila* atque *Hungaria*, sed priusquam ad lectionem accingerer, volui me tibi per litteras purgare, ne suspiceres mea negligentia factum, ut tam sero tibi responderim. Abfui diebus aliquot Mechlinia, ut  
5 interesset filii<sup>1</sup> repetitioni atque licentiae, ut vocant, quam ille Lovanii suscepit XXVI-

590,9 induciae] *O del. ex induciae esse* 590,10 ἐκεχειρίας] *corr. ex ἐκειχειρίας* 590,10 timoris] *corr. ex timores* 590,13 ex] *O del. ex ex litteris* 590,13 vel] *del. ex vel vel* 590,15 Eurypidis] *corr. ex Eurypides*

590<sup>1</sup> 'caesefire'. 590<sup>2</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 590<sup>3</sup> In 1534, Nanninck also read Aeschines "in the hall of the Augustinians", see VAN ROOY-VAN HAL 2018. 590<sup>4</sup> We do not know this translation. 590<sup>5</sup> Conrad Wackers. 590<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 577. 590<sup>7</sup> Rutger Pathius. 591<sup>1</sup> We do not know his name. Cranevelt and his wife, Elisabeth van Baussele had at least eleven children, see LEIJENHORST 1985, 354.

a Septembris. Ea de causa factum credo, ut serius mihi litterae tuae redderentur. Eas accepi hoc ipso die divi Iheronimi<sup>2</sup> a prandio ac lectis epitaphiis, tuum illud Graecum bis Latinitate donavi; quam feliciter, ipse iudicabis, cui promittitur, ut vel deligas, id quod praestantius videbitur, vel utrumque censoria virgula condemnes.

Nannium<sup>3</sup> nostrum aiunt ex oculis laborare,<sup>4</sup> vereor, ne sese nimis obruat lucubrationibus; hic ophthalmia laborat et Cicero ad amicos de sua queritur lippitudine.<sup>5</sup> Percurram quanta potero celeritate *Hungariam* et remittam. Interea tibi mitto epitaphium<sup>6</sup> illud versum bis non tam feliciter, quam vellem. Cum redierit dominus Cornelius Scepperus,<sup>7</sup> spero nos boni aliquid audituros. Quod si res ad bellum rursus spectare videbitur, atque ita sederit animis principum, vereor, ne tempus sit epitaphium pacis conscribendi. Sed haec sita sunt ἐπὶ γούνασι θεῶν.<sup>8</sup> Vale, Vir Eximie.

Ex nostro Musaeo ipso die divi Ieronimii 1537.

592

Frans van Cranevelt to Miklós Oláh  
Mechelen, 4 October 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 324–325.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 605–606.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He has read *Hungaria*, which filled him with awe, and if there had been enough time, he would have copied it. But he does not want to delay him now because of the moving, he only asks him to publish it, this work should not be hidden. 2. He has heard that a book was published in Paris in which they accuse the Emperor. He is also attaching his letter to Theodor Adam Svallenberg in case someone from Oláh is going to Paris and can hand it over to him. He also sent Oláh's epitaph the day before yesterday, along with his (von Cranevelt's) Latin translation, if he does not like one, he should use the other.

Franciscus Cranneveldius Nicolao Olao salutem.

[1.] Perlegi, quanta potui celeritate, *Hungariam* tuam, Vir Ornatissime, in qua et naturae benignitatem et vivacissimum ingenium tuum sum magnopere demiratus, quo tot insignium locorum dotes, tot fluvium cursus, tot hominum praeclara facinora complecti tam exacte, tanta sermonis luce potuisti. Si per temporis brevitatem licuisset, continuo exscripturus eram. Nunc, cum adornari peregrinationem hanc novam intelligam, non fuit consilium tuum *Athilam* diutius invitum retinere, ne mihi quoque negotium facessat, illud autem abs te cupio impetrare, ne vir tantas inter chartas

591,7 prandio] *O corr. ex prandia* 591,11 hic] *O corr. ex haec* 591,12 quanta] *O corr. ex quanto* 592,1 Franciscus] *O corr. ex Francis* 592,4 fluvium] *O del. ex fluvium dotes* 592,6 Nunc] *O del. ex Nunc quod*

591,16 ἐπὶ ... θεῶν] Cf. Hom. *Il.* XX,435: θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται *Od.* I,267

591<sup>2</sup> 22 September. 591<sup>3</sup> Pieter Nanninck. 591<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 590. 591<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* VIII,12,1. 591<sup>6</sup> We do not know which epitaph he sent. 591<sup>7</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 591<sup>8</sup> 'it lies on the knees of the gods'.

tuas diutius delitescat, sed in publicum prodeat,<sup>1</sup> mirifica voluptate studiosos omnes  
10 affecturus. Quid enim possit esse praeclarius historiarum exacta cognitione? Sed  
vereor, ne nostro quoque tempore propter hominum scelera rursus exoriatur divinum  
aliquod flagellum ad mores hominum castigandos luxumque domandum. Omne in  
praecipiti vitium stetit, et quantum est in rebus inane? Utinam Deus precibus bono-  
rum piorumque virorum flectatur ad misericordiam, quamquam ea quoque magna  
15 misericordia est, quam pater exhibet filio improbo, dum castigat et flagrum adhibet,  
cum sanari aliter non vult lenioraque remedia contemnit.

[2.] Audivi ex Brugensi<sup>2</sup> quodam, qui Parrisiis fuit et latuit hoc bello, Gallos  
edidisse libellum recenti fetura XXXVI plus minus quaterniones continentem, in quo  
multa adversus caesaream maiestatem calumniantur.<sup>3</sup> Mirum est principes vulgi iudi-  
20 cio causam committere, et quaedam aperire mysteria, quae postea forsitan occultata  
cuperent. Sic bellum gerere deberent, veluti memores aliquando sese in gratiam redire  
posse. Sic oderis, inquit ille, tamquam aliquando amaturus. Mitto his adiunctas litteras  
ad Zwallebergum,<sup>4</sup> qui Parisiis est in collegio Cameracensi, quas licebit aperire et si  
quis istinc eo proficiscitur mittere, nam hinc nemo proficiscitur. Misi nudiustertius  
25 litteras unacum epitaphiis tuis et Graeco illo pro virili mea in Latinum converso  
duplici versione,<sup>5</sup> ut si altera minus arrideat, utaris altera, nisi malis utramque in  
spongiam incumbere.<sup>6</sup> Vale, Vir Ornatissime, et Craneveldium inter tuos numera.

Mechliniae 4. Nonas Octobris 1537.

593

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 5 October 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 574–576.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 606–607.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 189–190.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 259. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy.

*Although Ludolphus, who has arrived with Rutger Pathius, has not brought any letter, he has reported that Oláh is well. Nanninck is suffering from his eye disease, he inherited trouble from two poets: Virgil had headaches,*

592,11 propter] *del. ex propter propter* 592,15 pater] *O corr. ex pates* 592,18 quaterniones] *O corr. ex quateniores* 592,20 forsitan] *O corr. ex forsitam* 592,23 est] *O corr. ex et* 592,24 istinc] *O corr. ex istius* 592,27 numera] *corr. ex munera* 592,28 Nonas] *corr. ex Ionas*

592,22 Sic ... amaturus] Erasm. *Adag.* 1072. II,I,72. Ama tanquam osurus, oderis tanquam amaturus. MYNORS 1991, 56. 592,26–27 in ... incumbere] Suet. *De vitis caesarum*, Div. Aug. 85: “respondit, Aiacem suum in spongeam incubuisse”.

592<sup>1</sup> *Athila* was only published in 1568, by János Zsámboky. On the editions of Oláh’s historical works, see TÓTH 2019, 124. 592<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 592<sup>3</sup> For more, see DETERING–PULIA 2020. 592<sup>4</sup> Theodor Adam Svallenberg. 592<sup>5</sup> See Ep. 592. and the text editions of the poems: IPOLYI 595. Cranevelt translated Oláh’s Greek poem. For the original poem see NEAGU 2003, 350. 592<sup>6</sup> Cranevelt liked citing this line, see Ep. 585.

while Horace had eye infections. He has taken on Pathius' brother as a convivial fellow, but in a way that Nanninck's brother is feeding him and Nanninck is teaching him, this way they divide worry and profit between them. Both Oláh and the Queen trust Pathius so much that they do not need to worry they will be disappointed; but he does not want Pathius to learn that Nanninck's brother had his doubts. He cannot write more now due to his grief, he has lost his sister.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

Etsi nihil litterarum ad me attulit Ludolphus<sup>1</sup> noster, qui huc cum fratre<sup>2</sup> Rutgeri<sup>3</sup> venit, tamen quia mihi te recte valere nuntiavit, multisque negotiis impeditum esse, cur minus scriberes, statui mollius mihi ferendum esse desiderium tuarum litterarum, quod tum lenies, ubi tua negotia permiserint. Nos cum medicis diu luctati sumus 5 adversus lippitudinem,<sup>4</sup> quam tamen in hoc genere mali rectius ὀφθαλμίαν<sup>5</sup> vocavero. Duo summi poetae sua vitia in me exonerarunt: Vergilius capitis dolorem, Horatius lippitudinem, malle potius virtutes transtulissent ἀλλὰ τὰ παρόντα εὔ τιθεσθαι δεῖ.<sup>6</sup> Ego fratrem Rutgeri tui in ὁμοτρόπεζον<sup>7</sup> accepi, quamquam alendi negotium in fratrem meum<sup>8</sup> transtuli, docendi mihi reservavi, ita inter nos cura et lucrum partitur; 10 is, ut est sollicitus, praesertim in nova familia rogavit ex me, numquid periculi in posterum foret de solutione; respondi omnia segura esse. Talem esse Rutgerum, et in tanta gratia apud reginam, ut nihil tale de eo metuendum sit, deinde tui apud eum tanta reverentia, ut etiam si talis non esset, qualis quam maxime est, te tamen salvo, 15 nunquam illum ausurum solutionem differre, tantum abesse, ut omitteret, deinde ipsum iuvenem verbis tuis mihi commendatum, idque me scire ex litteris Dani,<sup>9</sup> si modo ea scripsit ex tuo mandato. Nolim tamen has fratris mei haesitationes Rutgero indices, scio enim eum stulta sollicitudine moveri, teque mihi ultro indicaturum, si quid in hoc nomine periculi esset, quod ego nullum omnino arbitror.

Nos maluimus pauca, quam nihil scribere, ne aut opportunitate tabellarii non 20 uterer, aut loquacitate tuas hoc tempore gravissimas occupationes accumularem, deinde luctus, in quo nunc sum, amisi enim unicam sororem,<sup>10</sup> vix mihi permittit ullum usum litterarum, cuius causa brevi in Hollandiam propero. Tu, mi Unice et Doctissime et Humanissime Patrone, diu nobis studiisque feliciter vivas.

3. Nonas Octobres 1537.

25

593,8 εὖ] corr. ex ἐὺ

593<sup>1</sup> He was probably a protégé of Oláh, see POLET 1936, 259. 593<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 590. Cap. 2. 593<sup>3</sup> Rutger Pathius. 593<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 583. 593<sup>5</sup> 'eye disease'. 593<sup>6</sup> 'but the current things have to be settled'. 593<sup>7</sup> 'convivial fellow'. 593<sup>8</sup> We do not know his name, but according to Nanninck, he later entered the service of Emperor Charles V and settled in Ghent. Nanninck reports in 1548 that his brother had been the victim of a night attack at the Imperial Court and killed one of his assailants but he was released thanks to the intercession of his powerful friends and the Hague Senate, see POLET 1936, 3. 593<sup>9</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 593<sup>10</sup> Marguerite, wife of Jordan van Foreest, died in September 1537, see POLET 1936, 3.

Johann Hanoque to Miklós Oláh  
[Saint-Omer], 15 October 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 571–572.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 607–608.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He hesitated whether he can write to Oláh, who is busy with public affairs, but in the end he is writing to him because of Oláh's humanity, and so that their friendship does not end. He handed over eight Turkish ones (probably coins) when Oláh left, and he promises to hand over two more. Oláh should not forget about his client, and he hopes he will once get to see Hungaria in person.*

Reverendissimo domino Nicolao Olaho Ioannes Hanoque<sup>1</sup> salutem plurimam dicit.

Cum diu multumque haesitassem, an litterarum aliquid ad Magnitudinem Tuam, principum et reipublicae negotiis occupatam nullius pretii homuncio mittere auderem, tandem affabilis illius humanitatis tuae, quae me nihil minus meritum in  
5 clientulorum suorum ordinem inserere dignata est, memoria audaciam subministravit et, ut id agerem, est adhortata, ne videlicet inchoata inter praesentes amicitia silentio exolesceret. Abituro hinc tibi Othomannos octo exhibuimus (daturus aliquando reliquos duos) obsecrantes, ut te illis aequum indicem praeberes errores abnotando, et si quid necessarium obmissum esset adiiciendo, cuius tui iudicii expectatione  
10 sane quam vehementissime torquemur. Precamur itaque te, Heros Nobilissime et Maecenas Eruditissime, ut id clientulo tuo Hannoco tandem aliquando praestare non dedigneris, simulque etiam, ut illustratam tuis studiis Hungariam,<sup>2</sup> cum opportunum tibi visum fuerit, plenius videre possimus. Interim tuae dignitati laeta faustaque omnia precabimur, nos tuae magnitudini humillime commendantes.  
15 Ex divi Bertini monasterio<sup>3</sup> Idibus Octobris 1537.

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 16 November 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 327–329.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 609–610.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 191–192.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 259–261. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy. Dating about POLET 1936, 259.

594,12 dedigneris ] *O corr. ex digneris*

594<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Hanoque or Johann Hanoque (Hanika) was Queen Mary's Carver in Innsbruck and Buda, having already served Mary in the Low Countries, see RÉTHELYI 2010, 85; HEISS 1971, 425. 594<sup>2</sup> Hungaria: both the country and Oláh's work. 594<sup>3</sup> Probably the Abbey of St. Bertin, a Benedictine monastic abbey in Saint-Omer, France.

1. He did not write because he thought it was better if he forgot to write about something than disturb Oláh in his attending to the Hungarian affairs. When Johann Henckel Jr. arrived, he did not suspect he should write then, either. 2. He made a good deal by buying the pandects, although the price of books has also increased due to the war. He wants him to publish Athila, and a letter or poem of theirs should be placed at the beginning. Oláh has his speech in praise of Thucydides, he has given it to him to read so he can understand that they agree on this issue. 3. We would not be talking about Hungaria in such a tragic way if it had not received such a big blow; if only he would describe all the heroes from Attila to this day. He will publish Demosthenes' work, dedicated to Oláh.

Idem Nicolao Olaho salutem plurimam.

[1.] Quod ad te non scripsi, Humanissime Patrone, ut ingenue fatear, vehementissime doleo, ac potius nunc in facto culpam, quam cum facerem, sentiebam. Tunc enim, quia recenter a te digressus eram ac ferme colloquis exhaustum videbatur, quicquid in litteris scribi oporteret, non putavi me peccaturum, si scriptis meis non 5 interpellassem sollicitudines tuas de rebus Hungaricis, ut omittam alias curas. Quod autem Iohannes<sup>1</sup> venisset non in iussu meo, putabam te satis ex eo intellecturum, quod tam probe τὴν προθεσίαν<sup>2</sup> observaverat: iusseras enim intra triduum aut quadridum sequi, quod et fecit. Istis causificationibus blandiebar vel inertiae, vel pudori meo, nunc tua admonitione satis intelligo non debuisse me ob tam leviculas res scribendi 10 officium intermittere, sed ut doleo me deliquisse, ita gratiae cuiusdam voluptatis mihi sensum affundit, cum tantopere te videam mei homuncionis litteras requirere.

[2.] Ulrico<sup>3</sup> de libris Pandectarum satisfeci, emptio mihi valde placuit, nam ob bellum Gallicum ingens pretium libris accrevit. Ego quod item tibi verbis Ioannis renuntiari mandaveram, ita ipsum hunc tuum alumnum tractabo, ut meritis tuis et 15 nostra amicitia par est. *Atthilam* tuum valde cuperem, quem utinam tandem mundo invulges; cupio in frontispicio libri locum dare vel epistolae, vel carmini nostro. Habui olim orationem in laudes Tucididis, ubi praecepta historiae nonnulla attexui, quae nunc apud te est. Hanc cum publice habuissem, nactus sum tuum *Atthilam*, ibi inter reliqua videbam te in historia praestitisse, quae ego observata volebam, miris modis 20 gaudebam me in illis praeceptiunculis non aberrasse a scopo, nam ut id credam, facit tua istarum rerum ἀκριβεστάτη<sup>4</sup> observatio. Atque hinc est, quod tibi illam orationem legendam tradiderim, ut intelligeres, quam nostra iudicia in hac re consentiant.

[3.] De Hungaria hic nunc iactantur minus tragica, quod si non tantum vulnus accepimus, utinam dignareris mihi iudicare, miris enim modis discrucior Christiani- 25 nismum in Christianissima gente deleri, vel potius cum sanguine Christianorum effundi. Utinam *Atthilae* temporibus, tui Hunniadis<sup>5</sup> et Mathiae<sup>6</sup> et ceterorum usque ad hoc aevi adiungeres, ut qui cum summo ingenio pari eruditione singula loca descripsisti cum dotibus suis, etiam heroas omnes, quos illa terra produxit, describas.

595,18 nonnulla] *corr. ex nonnullam*

595,21 aberrasse ... scopo] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 930. I,X,30. Scopum attingere: "haud procul abest a scopo"... "id est aberrare a scopo".

595<sup>1</sup> Probably Johannes Henckel the Younger. 595<sup>2</sup> 'the deadline'. 595<sup>3</sup> Probably Ulrich Zasius. 595<sup>4</sup> 'the most precise possible'. 595<sup>5</sup> John Hunyadi. 595<sup>6</sup> King Matthias I.

30 Nos aliena lacessimus, non nostra condimus, habemus enim in manibus *Demosthenem*  
*adversum Leptinem*, qui tui nominis auspiciis brevi prodibit,<sup>7</sup> ubi in praefationem  
statui dicare Hungariam totam apud te latere ita, ut tibi integrum non sit id opus  
diu suppressere. Vale, Unico Patrone, quem nec aula deliciis, nec fortuna procellis  
frangunt, quique nec minus feliciter animi perturbationes vincis, quam olim Huniades  
35 tuus Turcas. Iterum vale, sed basilice αὐτὸς βασιλικώτατος.<sup>8</sup>  
Decimo Kalendas Decembres 1537.

596

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 20 November 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 325–327.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 608–609.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 192–194.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 261–262. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He thinks he has not received his previous letter, so he will repeat the main points. Why he took so long to write and only when Henckel was already here. 2. That he did not want to disturb him in his attending to the Hungarian affairs. Henckel has returned with Oláh's letter, which included nine crowns in it, and he has already given these to the creditors. He made a good deal by buying the pandects. 3. In his lost letters he is asking Oláh to have Athila copied for him: he himself is longing for it, and many people are asking him for it; Rutger Ressen would be happy to publish it. If he has some time, he should look over Demosthenes' speech because he wants to publish it with Oláh's editing and approval. He thanks him for sending the letter written in the royal quaestor's handwriting, in which he promises accommodation for three months.

Petrus Nannius Alcmarianus Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Litteras<sup>1</sup> ad te miseram, Humanissime et Eruditissime Patrone, quibus me tibi excusarem, sed ut video, illae ad te non venerunt. Repetam igitur τὰ κεφάλαια.<sup>2</sup> Non scripseram per Ioannem Hennckl,<sup>3</sup> ille intra προθεσμίαν<sup>4</sup> statuti temporis ad  
5 te accurrebat. Iusseras enim illum post triduum aut quatrimum sequi cum ergo ad  
condictum diem accurrisset, putabam te ex observatione temporis satis intelligere  
eius profectionem cum mea voluntate esse factam. Deinde ipsum apud te mihi vice  
epistolae fore. Reliqua autem, quae scribi oporteret, ferme proximis ac adeo nuperis  
colloquiis exhausta erant.  
10 [2.] Languebam quoque tunc temporis non nihil ita, ut omnis tractatio litterarum  
mihi odiosa esset, praecipue autem verebar tuum pectus semper rebus maximis, nunc  
quoque Hungarica sollicitudine occupatum nugacibus litteris inquietare. De qua, si

595,35 βασιλικώτατος] *corr.* ex βασιλικότατος 596,1 Petrus] *O corr.* ex P. 596,1 Alcmarianus] *O add.* 596,3 κεφάλαια] *corr.* ex κεφάλια 596,12 litteris] *del.* ex litteris litteris

595<sup>7</sup> Nanninck dedicated this edition to Oláh. It was published on 30 April, 1542. 595<sup>8</sup> 'as you are of royal fibre yourself'. 596<sup>1</sup> Ep. 595. 596<sup>2</sup> 'the most important points'. 596<sup>3</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger. 596<sup>4</sup> '(within) the deadline'.



quid melius habes, quam quae nuper audivimus, rogo Tuam Illam Humanitatem Summam, qua mecum velut cum pari agis, ne mihi graveris indicare. Nihil enim tam doleo, quam eam gentem Christo eripi, quae hactenus obstitit, ne aliae gentes eriperentur. Nunc ad reliqua venit Ioannes Henckel cum tuis litteris, in quibus erant novem coronati, hoc est: octodecim Caroli summa ergo, quae a te eius nomine accepi, triginta Carolinorum est. Agam, ut iubes, creditoribus, ut potero, satisfaciam, donec supervenerint reliquae a patruo pecuniae. Nec quicquam omittam vel sedulitatis vel officii, quod pertineat ad eum vel alendum, vel erudiendum. Confidoque illum post hac frugalissime victurum cum non poenitendo in litteris profectu. Ulrico<sup>5</sup> de Pandectis satisfeci, placet emptio, nam ex bello Gallico ingens pretium libris accrevit.

[3.] In litteris meis, quae perierunt, petiveram, ut mihi denuo tui *Atthilae* copiam faceres, quod ut facias, cum proximo nuntio te etiam atque etiam rogo; miro eius rei desiderio teneor, nec solus, multi enim mecum idem ardentissime desiderant. Rutgerus Rescius<sup>6</sup> prelum suum offert, et quicquid potest, quo editio maturetur. Qui hoc cum Cranneveldio<sup>7</sup> negaverit, satis intelligo, quanti tua scripta faciat, et quid de quaestu speret. Si quid potes habere otii, velim, perlegas orationem Demosthenis *Adversus Leptinem*.<sup>8</sup> Cupio enim illam a me versam et tuis manibus castigari, et tuis auspiciis in lucem prodi. Gratias tibi ago, quod mihi chirographum quaestoris regii miseris, in quo mira est temporum commoditas, cum in singula trimestria pensionem polliceatur. Nam in hac nova familia nihilo mihi opportunius matura solutione. Tu unicum meis studiis praesidium et diu et feliciter vale!

12. Kalendas Decembres 1537.

597

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 4 December 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 329–330.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 611–612.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 194–196.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 262. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Because he has not received a reply to his two previous letters, he now tries a third one. He and Johann Henckel Jr. have taken care of what he had tasked them with: they have paid the creditors. He has started to have bigger expectations for the lad than when he arrived. He spends all of his day in his bedroom with his books, Nanninck thinks he will not be disappointed in him. 2. If he can spare Athila, he should send it to him because he desires it and many people are requesting it. He should publish his work already, he also knows

596,14 cum ] corr. ex cu 596,21 Pandectis ] corr. ex Pandecti 596,30 chirographum ] corr. ex chirographium

596<sup>5</sup> Probably Ulrich Zasius. 596<sup>6</sup> Rutger Ressen. 596<sup>7</sup> Frans van Cranevelt. 596<sup>8</sup> In 1542, Nanninck dedicated his translation to Oláh, see *Demosthenis De immunitate adversus Leptinem*, Paris, 1542, a ii r–a iii v. and POLET 1936, 277–278.

that a reclusive musician has no clout. He is completely immersed in Demosthenes: he asks Oláh to tell him his opinion about his text.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam dicit.

[1.] Etsi nihil est, quod scribam, Vir non minus eruditione et humanitate, quam regiis natalibus Ornate Nicolae Patrone Unice, tamen, ut saltem elicerem responsum de binis litteris,<sup>1</sup> quas ad te misi, si otio abundares, etiam nunc tertio scribendum  
5 putavi, cum is nuntius huc iturus esset, qui brevi recursu me certiorare possit, ut loquar iurisperitorum more. In Ioannis negotiis Henkel<sup>2</sup> egimus, ut a te in mandatis habebamus, quosdam enim ex creditoribus pecunia, quosdam fideiussionibus, quosdam spe mature solutionis in aliquot hebdomadas placavimus. De iuvene longe nunc aliam spem habeo, quam cum primum ad me veniret, sentio illum, quicquid  
10 hactenus deliquit, adolescentia, amore, malorum seductione potius, quam suoapte ingenio peccavisse. Video illum quotidie in litteris in cubiculo assidue, ubi intra libros inclusus totos ferme dies transigit, quare ego hos dies, quos apud me egit, pro arrhabone et pignore in posterum frugaliter vitae accipio, nec timeo me delusum iri, praeterquam enim, quod litteras amat, et timet et veneratur tuam dignitatem maxime,  
15 et ex certis rebus conperi quantopere reformidet tuas offensas, quae res potissimum spem meam et excitat et confirmat.

Ex colloquiis illius (nam mihi perfamiliaris est) sentio illum, quamquam diu a studiis feriatu sit, insignes reliquas veteris eruditionis retinuisse, quae, ut aliquem cumulum apud me accipiant, omni diligentia curabo.

[2.] Si posses carere tuo *Atthila*, vellem, quod tandem desideriiis meis succurre-  
20 res, facultatemque dones uni aut alteri communicandi, qui miro ardore eum librum expetunt, horum vota, si per te liceat, non libenter frustrarer, digni enim sunt, quibus fetus tui ingenii committantur. Scis lucernam sub modio esse ponendam, et occultae musices nullum respectum, nec talentum domini terrae infodiendum. Si tantae apud  
25 te authoritatis essem, quantum te et amo et veneror, iuberem pro imperio, ut orbi communicares tua studia, quae, ut scis, a magnis viris delibata insigne encomium retulerunt, et quotidianis laudibus celebrantur. Ego, me Hercle, premo, ut possum, quod sentio, quamquam mihi invito non nihil erumpat, semper enim vereor, ne effusior laus quamquam infra meritum tibi videatur, nescio, quid blanditiarum referre.  
30 Quare fit, ut apud te de te rarius, apud alios de te liberrime loquar, ubi mea iudicia nulli verecundiae nec suspicioni astricta sunt. Totus sum in *Demosthene*<sup>3</sup> ubi, ut in superioribus litteris scripsi,<sup>4</sup> tuas auxiliares manus imploro, opus, nisi tu aliter iubeas,

597,4 otio] corr. ex ono 597,7 quosdam] del. ex quosdam quosdam 597,10 deliquit] O corr. ex deliquis 597,13 iri] corr. ex eri 597,14 praeterquam] corr. ex propterquam 597,26 communicares] corr. ex comicares

597,23 lucernam ... ponendam] Mt5, 15: "neque accedunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio". Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 792. I,VIII,92. MYNORS 1989, 174. 597,23–24 occultae ... respectum] Erasm. *Adag.* 684. I,VII,84. Occultae musices nullus respectus. MYNORS 1989, 117. 597,24 talentum ... infodiendum] Cf. Mt25, 25: "et timens abii, et abscondi talentum tuum in terra: ecce habes quod tuum est."

597<sup>1</sup> Ep. 595. and Ep. 596. 597<sup>2</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger. 597<sup>3</sup> I.e. in book *Demosthenis De immunitate adversus Leptinem*. 597<sup>4</sup> Ep. 596.

tuis auspiciis in lucem prodibit, cui, quid est meorum studiorum, libenter consecratum velim. Vale, Unicum meis litteris Praesidium.

Pridie Nonas Decembres anno 1537.

35

598

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 22 December 1537

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 565–567.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 612–613.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 196–198.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 263. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Although he does not have anything to say, he cannot resist sending his greetings when he has the chance. If only his prayers were answered, and he did not see Oláh at court but as lord of his ancestral estates. 2. He lists who adores Oláh and why: there are some who do so because being a castaway did not break him, and he has accomplished a lot, while others adore him for his loyalty as a friend: he is the Queen's most loyal friend and advisor. Some admire his being ready for everything and his talent, yet others his generous patronage of the arts. 3. Nanninck does not admire Oláh for each of these individually but for all of them together. He apologizes for only wanting to say hello, but all this has escaped through the corrals of his teeth.

Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Etsi nihil haberem, Optime Patrone, quod scriberem, saepius enim iam scripsi,<sup>1</sup> tamen cum nuntium haberem tam idoneum, Rutgeri<sup>2</sup> nostri patrulem, non potui mihi imperare, quin si nihil aliud, saltem per litteras te salutarem. Si enim illi saluti geruli, quos Martialis togatos appellat, officium videntur facere, cum singulis diebus mane 5 patronis suis novum χαίρε<sup>3</sup> apportant, idque magis ex consuetudine, quam quod ex animo talia optent, ego me certe piaculum facere debebo persuadere, si illum, quem ob regii generis claritatem suspicio, ob eruditionem admiror, ob virtutis heroicas veneror, ob benemerendi de doctis studium colo, ob plurima sua in me beneficia carissimum habeo, non ad singulas opportunitates δυσωπία<sup>4</sup> laetisque impricationibus adeo. Atque 10 utinam superi mea vota audirent, ut Olahum meum vel potius omnium studiosorum, non in aula caesaris inter primos, sed sua ipsius aula in avitis ditionibus principem haberem, sed id si datum fuisset, animus iste infractus inter adversa non eluxisset.

[2.] Alii<sup>5</sup> fortasse alia in te admirabuntur, admirationemque suam ex nitissimis causis colligent. Ille prudens consilium perspicacemque rerum curam; iste gravitatem constantiamque pectoris, quod a coepto instituto nullis damnis dimoveare. Alii, quod ex naufragio patriae, ex iactura regiarum opum animum non depressum

598,4 salutem] *O corr. ex salutem* 598,6 χαίρε] *corr. ex χαίρε* 598,10 impricationibus] *corr. ex improcationibus* 598,16 instituto] *O corr. ex institudo*

598<sup>1</sup> Nanninck wrote three letters to Oláh and did not receive any answers, see Ep. 597. Cap. 1. 598<sup>2</sup> Rutger Pathius. 598<sup>3</sup> 'my regards'. 598<sup>4</sup> 'coyness'. 598<sup>5</sup> This long enumeration and the closing allude to Hor. *Carm.* I,1.

aut immersum undis, sed longe sublatum, ac supra fortunae saevitiam habeas. Alii  
fidem amicitiae sanctissimam, quam tibi non intra pomeria vitae, sed etiam a morte  
20 tuorum colendas putas. Habet te regina fidelissimum et amicum et consiliarium,  
quia maritus<sup>6</sup> eius te quondam amicum fidelissimum habuit. Consulis uxori, quia  
iam amplius marito non potes; procul es a patria, procul a tuis et commodis et  
incommodis, quae tua praesentia fortasse in melius procurari possent, ut reginae  
commodis melius prospicias; abes a tuis, sed ades deposito amici regis; affers ad  
25 reginae consilia, ex sanctitate fidem, ex usu peritiam, ex eruditione scientiam, ex  
sagacitate prudentiam. Alii rursus admirabuntur ingenium ad omnes artes versatile  
et quod non lento conamine, nec quasi per gradus, sed quasi flamma statim ad summa  
evolat. Alii rursus, quod doctos maecenatio vel potius patrio amore prosequare. Alii  
rursum, quod in tanto fastu rerum animum geras a fastu alienissimum eumque tam  
30 modestum, ut unus videre non sentire, quantus sis.

[3.] Ego non singula ista, sed omnia simul admiror, et in contemplatione tantarum  
virtutum, quasi in officina Phidiae Parrhasii, non ut illi, inquit, pictura inani, sed  
vivis imaginibus pascor. Rogo, permittas me libere loqui, nec intra verecundiae tuae  
terminos iubeas orationem meam consistere, satis illos constringit meus pudor. Non  
35 est Nannius, qui adulari possit, aut, ut possit, velit. Increpabat olim Momus in homine  
a Vulcano fabre facto, quod fenestras in pectore non addidisset, per quas in arcana  
animi inspicere potuisset; id si esset factum, non laborarent homines ingenui adulationis  
suspicione. Tu fortasse magnitudinem tuam non sentis, alii sentiunt, idque more  
oculorum, qui cum omnia videant, se non vident. Sed dabis veniam nostris verbis  
40 ex abundantia cordis, ut ille ait, os loquitur, et quasi ex diluvio ultra septa dentium,  
ultra laborum aggeres verba exundant, ut gemitus saepe invitae ita animi cogitationes  
etiam obluctantibus nobis identidem erumpunt. Statueram te tantummodo salutare,  
sed admiratio tui me in hanc loquacitatem avexit, quam tamen debes potius animi  
putare, quam epistolae, ex animo enim scripta omnia, quae ferme, ut ubique est invisus  
45 ita, neque hic cogitationum suarum modum tenuit. Recte vale et Praesidium et Dulce  
Decus Meum.

Datum 22. Decembris 1537.

598,18 immersum] *corr. ex in morsum* 598,34 constringit] *corr. ex constringit* 598,36 addidisset] *corr. ex addisset* 598,42 tantummodo] *corr. ex tantummo*

598,32 quasi ... Phidiae] Cf. *In omnes M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes, quot quidem extant, doctissimorum virorum Lucubrations, summa diligentia...*, Basileae, ex officina Roberti Winter, 1539, a2r: in arce quasi Phidiae. 598,32–33 pictura ... pascor] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I,464: "Sic ait, atque animum pictura pascit inani." 598,35–37 Momus ... potuisset] Cf. *In omnes M. Tullii...*, 1539, 991 (comm. ad Pro Marcello 25): "Hominem a Vulcano compositum, cum Momus inspiceret, artificem reprehendit, quod in pectore fenestras aut ostiola quaedam non addidisset, quo perspicere posset." 598,40 ex ... loquitur] Lc6, 45 and Mt12, 34: "Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur." 598,40 ultra ... dentium] Hom. *Od.* I,64. "Mea filia, qualis tibi sermo excidit septo dentium?" CLARKE 1810, 8. 598,45–46 Praesidium ... Meum] Hor. *Carm.* I,1,2.

598<sup>6</sup> King Louis II.

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 6 January 1538

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 567–570.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 614–616.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 198–200.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 263. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He is sorry he lives far away from his homeland, but it is a great fortune for his home country that it has acquired such a wise advisor. Oláh might be afraid that many people are hostile towards him, thinking that it was his ambition that took him to the court; but he is wrong: everyone admires him, and even Nanninck becomes great on his side because he is his friend. Oláh is trying to be of use to his homeland in foreign land, like Alcibiades, Joseph, or others. Nanninck asks that once Oláh returns home, he should not forget about him and allow him to take part in the holy frenzy. 2. He keeps rereading Athila, he cannot get enough of it; Oláh cannot complain about his tasks at the court if he is capable of such unparalleled work beside it. Johann Henckel Jr. asks Oláh to obtain this gift for him from the Queen, he knows Oláh can make anything happen, and Henckel does not want his friend to be separated from him.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Etsi rarius scribas, Optime Patrone, id tibi vel ab iniquissimo concedendum est, nedum ego offendi debeam. Mi tuae gravissimae occupationes perquam notae sunt, quae utinam tam tibi suaves, quam huic curiae necessariae sunt. Et ut doleo te a natalibus sedibus abesse, ita gratulor patriae meae, quod temporibus difficillimis 5 te fidissimum et prudentissimum consiliarium habeat, Hungaricis malis debemus, quod istic sis, quare eis hactenus infesti esse non debemus, quia nobis tam ingens commodum peperere. Quod subvereris esse maligniores, qui putent te ambitione aulam sectari, omnino te puto opinione falli. Mirantur omnes tuam humanitatem, hoc scio, cupiunt omnes docti tibi innotescere et ego hic magni fio, quia tibi amicus sum, 10 non id putes magnitudini fortunae tuae dari, virtutibus multis datur, modestiae, fidei, eruditioni, prudentiae tuae datur. Notum est, quis in patria fueris, quis adhuc esse possis, utcumque sunt amissae res Hungaricae. Mea opinio est, quam puto omnium pectoribus insidere: te tua fide, ut in hanc aulam venires impulsus esse, ut mortui regis<sup>1</sup> uxorem<sup>2</sup> officii demereri possis, et illius memoriam beneficii coleres, spe otii 15 litterarum allectum esse, consilio detrusum, constantia detineri. Ego dum res tuas inspicio, si modo mihi fas hanc curiositatem assumere, videris mihi summa fide, pietate, prudentia, integritate tua consilia instituisse. Abes a patria, sed interim abes a tot offensionibus, quas hinc inde, dum fortuna Hungarica inter duos reges iactatur, oriri necesse est. Alter regum nihil habet, quod conqueratur, cum videat te in eis 20 partibus esse, in quibus ipse olim vivo rege fuerat, hoc est in officii reginae, et studium

599,8 peperere] *corr. ex pepere* 599,13 amissae] *corr. ex accissae* 599,15 regis] *corr. ex reges* 599,16 detineri] *O del. ex detineri possis et illius memoriam.* 599,19 hinc] *O corr. ex huic* 599,21 fuerat] *O del. ex fuerat quod amet, cum videat,*

599<sup>1</sup> King Louis II. 599<sup>2</sup> Queen Mary.

tuum intra pietatis limites consistere, et colendi veteris amici cineribus impendi. Alter etiam habet, quod amet, cum videat te tam bene de sorora sua mereri. Nihil tam dolet Cicero, quam se in alterutras partes descendisse et authorem pacis esse non  
25 posse, cum unius partis esse coeperat. Ego te arbitror in ista tua absentia Alcibiadem, Chabriam aliosque complures statuisse imitari, qui ad exteras nationes profugerunt, ut inde collectis viribus patriae laboranti succurreretur; hoc alii consilio faciunt, alii fato. Venditus in Aegyptum Ioseph fuerat, ut adversus famem Aegypto aliisque finitimis gentibus succurreret. Ego te, ut istic esses, fati necessitate, Dei voluntate,  
30 tuo consilio pertractum esse puto, quo in praesens nostrae patriae imposterum tuae prudentissimis consiliis prospiceres. Quamobrem maximam in spem adducor te non ita diu postea pro regia tua stirpe, pro summis virtutibus in summis fortunis in Hungaria futuram. Ita, ut etiam nunc libeat dicere, Domine, memor esto mei, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Patere me frui ista dulci insania, quam mihi non a furore,  
35 sed a numine afflari puto, ac nunc me laetissimae sortis tuae exoptarem re eventu comprobata divinatorem certum existimabis.

[2.] Lego ac relego tuum *Athilam* summa cum voluptate, eaque semper recenti, et citra sacietatem ita, ut verissime, ut illud Vergilii dicam:

Nec vidisse semel satis est, iuvat usque morari.

40 Quid habes, quod conqueraris de negotiis tuis, quae te tam eloquentem, tam eruditum, tantarum lucubrationum fecundum esse sinant, ut neminem habeas Lovanii, qui tecum paria faciat, plane oportet in te esse divinam ingenii vim, quae inter tot spinas sollicitudinum non suffocatur.

Rogavit me Iohannes Henckhellus,<sup>3</sup> ut posteaquam individuus socius reginae  
45 commeatu instructus in Italiam abiturus est, ut idem munus ei a regina impetres; scit te pro tuo merito omnia apud reginam posse, nec libenter vellet Martinum sibi eripi, quem amicum sibi caritate, integrum fide, admonitorem consiliis prudentem semper expertus est. Ego tametsi iuvene isto non libenter careo, est enim moribus perquam humanis, tamen nolim ei mea causa quicquam remorae obicere, aut ob meum affectum  
50 illius commoda retardari, amo enim eum non, quia mihi lucro est, sed quia bonus. Bene vale, Unice Patrone et Eruditissime!

Ipsa Epiphania Domini 1538.

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599,24 alterutras ] *O corr. ex ulterutras* 599,27 succurreretur ] *corr. ex succurretur* 599,33 esto ] *corr. ex est* 599,40 negotiis ] *corr. ex nogitiis* 599,42 paria ] *corr. ex parie* 599,49 remorae ] *corr. ex remoror*

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599,39 Nec ... morari ] *Verg. Aen. VI,487.*

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599<sup>3</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger.

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 1 April 1538

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 570–571.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 615–616.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 201–202.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 263–264. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He is sending Conrad Wackers' poems, if he wants to correct anything in it, he should let him know. There is no appropriate word for him to thank Oláh for his humanity the day before yesterday. He has handed over the quaestor's document, but he only received 14 guilders from the 20 because Johann Henckel the Younger had already taken 6 of it. He has paid the creditors back almost in full, but he still owes them three guilders. 2. He has talked to Wackers about Athila a lot, and Wackers says that if Oláh wants to publish it, he should choose Rutger Ressen's or Servaas van Sassen's printing house, and he will take care of the preparations. Nanninck really loved Oláh's poem; he admires Oláh's spiritual strength that he was able to write such an elegant poem while in such deep mourning.

Idem Nicolao Olao salutem plurimam.

[1.] Mitto tibi, Optime Patrone, carmina Conradi<sup>1</sup> nostri, in quibus plerosque libros Erasmi elegantissime complexus est. Si quid praeterea me curare velis, scis tua merita eam tibi in me facultatem dare, ut me pro tuo mancipio summo iure uti posses. Agerem tibi gratias pro recenti ista tua ac nudiustertiana humanitate, si aut tu sustineres, aut ego pares invenire possem. Nunc gratitudo nostra intra pectus nostrum latere cogitur, quia aequalia verba reperire non potest. Dedimus quaestori chirographum<sup>2</sup> in viginti Carolinos,<sup>3</sup> non recepimus autem, nisi quatuordecim, nam Ioannes Henckhellus<sup>4</sup> iam olim sex Carolinos inde praecerperat. Creditoribus ferme omnibus satisfacimus, nisi quod ipse adhuc fatetur aes alienum trium Carolinorum superesse, id tibi, Domine, propterea indico, ut si res illius imposterum arctiores esse coeperint, intelligas illum apud me nihil decoxisse, omnibus enim modis cupio tuae de me exspectioni satisfacere.

[2.] Cum Conrado tuo iussu salutem plurimam attulissem cum tuis scriptis, multa mentio fuit inter nos de tuo *Athila*; multis modis iterum laudavit, qua ex re incredibilem voluptatem sensi. Iussitque me tibi hoc renuntiari, si velles imprimi, se curaturum, ut sua opera vel ex prelo Rutgeri<sup>5</sup> vel Servacii<sup>6</sup> emendatissime exiret, seque valde cupere eam editionem maturari, fatebaturque se perlecto tuo *Athila* melius Hungariae situm intelligere, quam unquam antea, etiam si eam variis tabellis depictam vidisset.

600,3 me] *O corr. ex meam* 600,6 possem] *O corr. ex posses* 600,15 laudavit] *O corr. ex laudavis* 600,17 emendatissime] *O del. ex emendatissime egreti* 600,17 exiret] *O add.*

600<sup>1</sup> Conrad Wackers. 600<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 596. Cap. 3. 600<sup>3</sup> Carolusgulden minted by Charles V, was a coin minted in gold and silver. 600<sup>4</sup> Johann Henckel the Younger. 600<sup>5</sup> Rutger Ressen. 600<sup>6</sup> Servaas van Sassen or Servatius Sassenius was a printer in Leuven. He printed a few of Nanninck's works for example *Declamatio Quodlibetica* in 1549.

- 20 Carmen<sup>7</sup> tuum miris modis placuit, miror vim ingenii, quae plane, ut aiunt, Horatius rerum immersabilis undis<sup>8</sup> inter maximos luctus et curas vivacissime sese exerit, et utolor in morte dulcius canit, ita tibi in acerbissimo funere dulcissima et elegantissima carmina contextuntur, nos paucissima annotavimus magis, ne adultores videremur, quam quod censura ulla opus esset.
- 25 Lovanii prima Aprilis 1538.

601

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
[Leuven], 6 May [1538]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 581.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 616–617.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 202.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 264. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*Damião de Góis, who is handing over the letter, is not only of noble birth but also has unparalleled erudition; if he has the chance, Oláh should talk to him because Damião de Góis often says how much he desires it.*

Idem Nannius Domino Nicolao Olaho etc.

Salutem plurimam. Qui tibi meas litteras praefert, Damianus a Goes,<sup>1</sup> est eques Lusitanus non minus claritudine generis, quam humanitate morum et litteris et litteratorum moribus insignis. Si patientur tuae occupationes, velim, illum in colloquium  
5 admittes, senties illum morum sinceritate, candore, fide, humanitate, modestia tibi simillimum. Saepius de te mecum loquitur, tuae consuetudinis cupidissimus est. Bene vale, Optime Patrone.

Pridiae Nonas Maias. Raptim.

602

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 12 May 1538

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 579–580.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 617–618.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 202–204.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 264–265. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

600,21 immersabilis ] *corr. ex* immersibilis 600,22 ut ] *del. ex* ut ut 601,1 Olaho ] *O corr. ex* Olacho

600,21 rerum ... undis ] Hor. *Epist.* I,2,22. 600,22 olor ... canit ] Cf. Hieron. *Epist.* LX,1 and Hieron. *Epist.* LII,3, and Ovid., *Met.* XIV,430: "carmina iam moriens canit exequialia cygnus"; Sen., *Phaed.* 302: "dulcior vocem moriente cygno."

600<sup>7</sup> Probably Oláh's *In mortem Matthaei fratris elegia*, see TOURNOY 2006, 138. 600<sup>8</sup> The form *immersibilis* was used in the Early Modern Period, see RAMMINGER 2008. 601<sup>1</sup> Damião de Góis, see POLET 1936, 264 and 273; and FEIST HIRSCH 1967.



1. He has finished with the Demosthenes translation and found the courage because he knows not only the erudition but also the benevolence of his patron, Oláh. So far only Melanchthon has attempted to translate Demosthenes, but it was not a very successful translation, and since then only one nerd has tried to amend Melanchthon's translation. Nanninck has followed the punctuation, colons and divisions more conservatively, he is asking Oláh to help him before he publishes it. 2. He hears that the Emperor is coming here with his brother; he asks Oláh to be present as well, or at least he should write through Damião de Góis what he should change in the prolog. He also asks him to help the bearer of the letter, the prior of Tehenburch; they have namely tried to oust him from his lawful estate. 3. After he wrote this letter, Damião de Góis returned with his previous letter, so he is sending it again.

Deditissimus cliens Petrus Nannius Nicolao Olaho.

[1.] En rursus alteram epistolam, cum enim solvendo sim, hoc est: absolverim meam tibi in Demosthene promissam translationem, abiit pudor, vel potius δυσωπία,<sup>1</sup> successit audacia. Novi enim, quem habeo patronum non solum litteratum, sed et clementem et indulgentem. Spero, postquam accesserit titulus tui amplissimi nominis, 5 librum omnino non plausibilem, sed etiam aliqua aeternitate diuturnam fore. Solus Melanchthon cum uno et altero aliquid in Demosthene tentavit,<sup>2</sup> verum adeo plerisque non satisfacit, ut nuper quidam sciolus eadem denuo verterit, sed infinitis partibus infra dignitatem eius, quem aemulabatur, vel potius corrigere studebat. Melanchthonis interpretatio liberior est, saepe enim paraphrasten sapit. Nos religiosiores sumus, 10 servata enim sententia etiam commatum, colon et periodon cum numeris ipsis ferme speciem servavimus. Utinam adesses et tuam acutissimam prudentiam consulerem, antequam exiret in publicum.

[2.] Audio caesarem huc venturum cum fratre;<sup>3</sup> quaeso te per omnia sacra Musarum, habeamus te tunc praesentem, vel per hunc vel Damianum<sup>4</sup> mihi rescribe, quid 15 in prologo mutatum velis. Quia magnus habeor apud meum Holoaum<sup>5</sup> maximum, multi mihi invident, multi quoque multa a me petunt, quod per te sperant confici posse.

Multos reieci, hunc,<sup>6</sup> qui has meas litteras ad te defert, reiicere non potui, nec debui; est enim vir non minus probus, quam litteratus et summa mecum amicitia coniunctus causam apud caesarem hanc debet. Est coenobium quoddam in Tehen- 20 burch, comes eius loci, homo, qui nonnisi septem aut octo pagos habet in tota ditione, hanc legem monachis iniunxit, ne quempiam deinceps reciperent, ne priorem suum mutarent ac observatum est utrumque ad amussim. Postea hic prior eligitur a toto ordine in generalem, ac ideo necessario abiit. Hinc causam spoliandi coepit tyrannus, quasi leges suae violatae essent, ac omnia bona tam ecclesiastica, quam secularia 25 confiscunt. Ipsi contra eum cupiunt agere, non ut contra Lutheranum, sed ut contra iniustum invasorem. Hinc si praeter ullam molestiam operam et consilio possis eum

602,1 Deditissimus ... Olaho ] *O add.* 602,4 quem ] *corr. ex quam* 602,23 utrumque ] *corr. ex utrinque* 602,26 confiscunt ] *corr. ex consiscunt* 602,27 Hinc si praeter ] *corr. ex Hi quod propter*

602<sup>1</sup> 'coyness'. 602<sup>2</sup> *Contra Aristogitonem Demosthenis Orationes duae doctissimae, à Philippo Melanchthone iam primum latinitate donatae*, Haganoae, 1527. 602<sup>3</sup> King Ferdinand I. 602<sup>4</sup> Damião de Góis. 602<sup>5</sup> I.e. Olahum. 602<sup>6</sup> We do not know the name of the Prior at Tehenburch.

iuvare, valde cuperem, sin minus, nolim te vel minimum, vel mea, vel meorum causa vexare.

30 Lovani quarto Idus Maias.

[3.] Litteris scriptis rediit Damianus a Goes, qui te Antverpiae non invenit, quare et litteras<sup>7</sup> per illum ad te missas, eas per eundem monachum virum doctum et probum, de quo supra memini, ad te remitto. Iterum vale, Optime et Eruditissime Patrone.

603

Miklós Oláh to a Friend  
Brussels, 20 May 1538

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 563–564.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 618–619.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

*Nobody knows better than his friend how miserable Hungary's situation has been in the last few years, both due to the domestic political feuds and the Turkish attacks, and his friend has not only seen this, he has also suffered large financial damage as a result of it. He asks him to keep his promise, citing their childhood friendship. He does not know what is going on in Hungary; the other day they were hoping for peace, but it might have been a pipe dream. The ceasefire has also only brought renewed pillaging. He asks him to report to him about everything in detail and write him something healing. He does not have anything to write about Joannes, he will understand his situation from Joannes' own letter.*

Ad amicum.<sup>1</sup>

Quantis minis, calamitatibus et periculis miserum et exhaustum iam penitus viribus regnum nostrum Hungariae per hos annos superiores, partim ab interna nostrorum factione, partim a Turcis sanguinariis Christinae reipublicae hostibus affectum sit, concussum et attritum, nemo est omnium, qui te melius noverit. Non modo enim in regno Hungariae hisce omnibus annis periculosus diversatus es, sed eorum omnium malorum partem maiorem non tantum oculis es conspicatus, quantum cum magno rerum atque fortunarum tuarum dispendio expertus. Quare tui esset officii me de rebus omnibus, quae istic aguntur, et crebro et diligenter certiores facere.

10 Non solum enim amicitia et mutua nostra familiaritas, quibus a puero sanctissime usi sumus, id a te exposceret, sed etiam, quod te id facturum et coram et per litteras fueras pollicitus, quod tuum promissum, ut exsequere, te vehementer rogo. Quid in rebus Hungariae sperandum sit, ignoro. Hactenus quidem magnam habuimus spem liberationis regni et nostrum omnium quietis. Quae quam vana fuerit, tu ipse cogitare

15 poteris. Nam, per Deum immortalem, quid sibi volunt tam frequentes induciae? Quid aliud praestant boni, quam quod occasionem praebeant direptioni, praedae et ruinae regni et omnium bonorum. Quid etiam in hoc tempore induciae istae fecerunt, quam

603,7 es] *O add.* 603,7 conspicatus] *O del.* ex conspicatus es 603,8 expertus] *O del.* ex expertus es 603,15 volunt] *corr.* ex volvunt

602<sup>7</sup> Ep. 601. 603<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

mala omnia et virium nostrarum domesticarum iacturam. Tu, si quid boni ex his annis futurum suspicaris, fac me tui consilii participem. De rebus nostris privatis quid ad te scribere possim, non satis cogitare valeo, nedum scire, hae tam involutae sunt 20 multis et maximis difficultatibus, ut nisi Deus aliquis propitius subveniat, videntur incommodum finem habiturae. Tu in eo es loco, ut omnia penitius cognoscere possis, si quid de his intellexeris, fac, ut sciam, remediumque adscribe, quo usus negotia ipsa nostra feliciores habere possint et progressus et exitus. De Ioanne<sup>2</sup> nihil est, quod ad te scribam. Ex litteris ipsius propriis omnem rerum suarum conditionem intelliges. Si 25 quid me praeterea facere voles, fac, ut animum tuum intelligam. Vale.

Bruxellae 20. Maii 1538.

604

Miklós Oláh to Albert Peregi  
Brussels, 18 June 1538

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 576–577.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 619–620.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

— *He never would have thought that Albert Peregi could change so much because he had always written to him and assured him that he would faithfully do what Oláh entrusted to him. He should see now what a disappointment it has been for him that he has become estranged from him, and he should be his own judge whether this behavior behooves friendship. He would really need his help now, but Peregi is silent, he does not respond. Oláh is not one to sever a friendship without a reason, but it increasingly seems to him that Peregi is of no use to him. He asks him to reply at last and inform him about the state of his affairs, lest Oláh suffer harm due to the nonchalance of others.* —

Ad Albertum praepositum Quinqueecclesiensem.

Nunquam cogitasset, et ne in animum quidem meum venire unquam potuisset tam tui fieri posse dissimilem. Multae tuae ad me frequentes venerunt litterae,<sup>1</sup> quibus semper te eum esse declarasti, et me ita de te persuasum esse voluisti, qui in nulla unquam fortunae varietate meae amicitiae multis in rebus fidelissime erga te publicae 5 oblivisceris, nunquamque committeres, ut te in me ingratum etiam in re quapiam minima esse cognoscerem. Vide, quam et tua haec mihi litteris saepe facta promissio et mea de te concepta spes me fefellerit, posteaquam statu eo, quem nunc habes, auctus es adeo in rebus omnibus, quae ad colendam sanctam inter nos amicitiam pertinent, frigidiorum solito te ostendis, ut non modo te gratum in me virum praestes, sed ne ad 10 litteras quidem meas frequentes, quod etiam hostes vitare maxime solent, respondere cogites. Sis tu tui ipsius iudex, cogita tu te, an hoc tuum factum officii verae conveniat amicitiae.

603,22 Tu] *O del. ex* Tu si 604,5 erga te] *O add.* 604,7 quam] *O del. ex* quam nec 604,9 adeo] *O del. ex* adeo te

603<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 604<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters.

Nunc mihi maxime esset opus tua opera, nunc mihi si quando unquam alias  
15 inservire posses, cum res Hungaricae videantur esse in eo, quem maxime semper  
optavimus, statu. Et tu siles, taces, nihilque ad me das litterarum, ex quibus mea-  
rum rerum conditionem cognoscere possem. Ego, mi Alberte, non sum talis, qui re  
parva amicitiam inter nos sanctissime olim ininitam interruptam esse velim, aut tecum  
20 expostulare, sed magis ac magis in dies confirmari, attamen non parum certe mihi  
meisque rebus incommodari videris, cum praeter meam spem negotiorum meorum  
curandorum et significandorum tam es immemor. Huic mea tota res pendet, hinc  
mihi providere possem, si rerum Hungaricarum seriem ex tuis litteris, uti pollicitus  
es, intelligerem. Quare rogo te, rumpe iam moram et silentium tuum tam diuturni  
temporis, et fac, ut ex te potius, quam ex aliis statum et publicarum et privatarum  
25 mearum rerum cognoscere possim, ne mea negotia ignoratione earum in perniciem  
delabi possint. Vale.

Bruxellae 18. Iunii 1538.

605

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 22 August [1538]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 581–582.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 620–621.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 204–205.

*In French:* POLET 1936, 265–266. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. Nanninck is happy that Oláh is well; so many have been lost in this awful year of the plague. Rutger Ressen is quite sick and has only started to get better recently, while Nanninck is dizzy and nauseous. 2. He has brought this book into the world more like a premature baby, he has not really completed it. So he has taken his Demosthenes out from under the press and modified it for the fourth time already, although he is still only halfway through. But now everything is going well, and the translation will be worthy of Oláh; it will be published before Oláh leaves.

Idem Nannius domino Nicolao Olaho salutem plurimam.

[1.] Vidimus in litteris<sup>1</sup> ad Iacobum Danum<sup>2</sup> mihi et Rutgero Rescio<sup>3</sup> salutem  
adscriptam, quae res nobis iucundissima fuit, multo tamen iucundius, quod tuam  
valetudinem nullo morbo attentatam audivimus. In hoc tam pestifero anno infiniti  
5 ubique pereunt. Rutgerus periculosissime aegrotat, hactenus cum ipsius et omnium  
desperatione nunc aliquanto commodius habet, satis tamen res ancipiti loco est. Ego  
vertigine cerebri laboravi cum fastidio stomachi perpetuo, in studiis nec publicis, nec  
privatis quicquam feliciter potui.

604,15 Hungaricae] *O del. ex Hungaricae nunc* 604,19 mihi] *O del. ex mihi vero* 604,20 incommodari]  
*corr. ex incommodare* 605,1 Olaho] *O corr. ex Olacho* 605,4 tam] *del. ex tam tam* 605,6 ancipiti]  
*O corr. ex anticipiti*

605<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 605<sup>2</sup> Jakob Jespersen. 605<sup>3</sup> Rutger Ressen.

[2.] Hunc infelicem libellum abortivi potius, quam edidi, ad id coactus magnis  
amicorum cohortationibus, qui me ingentia sperare iubebant. Hactenus nihil apparet, 10  
quid autem futurum sit, nescio, id saltem gaudeo, quod amici me suis postulatis  
contumacem non senserunt. Demosthenes tuus, quem prelo subieceram, ita mihi  
placuit, ut eum retractum ab officina Rutgeri, non in spongiam incumbere, ut Ajax ille  
Augusti,<sup>4</sup> sed Latine sordibus naufragium pati coegenti iam quarto illum transfero, et  
ultra dimidium progressus sum. Arrident nunc melius omnia; certe aut erit te digna 15  
translatio, aut immoriar operi, id statum est, nec aliud in manus sumam, priusquam  
illum *Antheum* confecero.<sup>5</sup> Generosissime et Magnificentissime, peream pessime, si  
mihi quicquam difficilius expertus sum; non remorantur sententiae, sed cupio in  
Latinis non nihil respondere Demosthenicis virtutibus, id non nisi extremo et assiduo  
conatu impetrare possum. Ante tamen tuum reditum spero librum evulgatum iri. 20

De rebus novis turpe est ad te scribere, cuius fidelissimae conscientiae reges et  
monarchae sua arcana committunt. Faxit Deus, ut et Hungariam et te talem videamus,  
qualem regia tuorum progenies et tua virtus merenter, et optant omnes, praesertim  
eruditi. Bene vale, Meum Unicum Praesidium et vere Maecenas.

Lovanii XI. Kalendas Septembris.

25

606

Willem Gheershoven to Miklós Oláh  
Groenendaal at Hoeilaart, 1538

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 577–579.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 621–622.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He is sending back the poems Oláh sent him, having greedily copied them all. He is grateful to him for this friendship, he only feels bad because Oláh has ordered him to keep the copied poems in his own cell and not show it to anyone else. He admires Oláh's proficiency in both languages, as well as human affairs, the Bible, and affairs of the court. Beyond all this, he is also modest, which is why he does not tolerate it well when others read his works. 2. If he had the talent to say what he thinks about Oláh's writing in Latin, he would, but he goes mute, and he would rather break off his letter than end it. He is sending even this with shame, lest he force his foolishness on Oláh, unless he did not think it even worse not to send Oláh's poems back to him and respond to him.

605,12 Demosthenes tuus ] *corr. ex* Demosthenem tuum 605,12 prelo ] *corr. ex* paulo 605,16 in manus sumam ] *corr. ex* manus in summa 605,23 qualem ] *corr. ex* quarum 605,23 tuorum ] *corr. ex* tuorum 605,23 merenter ] *corr. ex* meretur

605,13–14 non ... Augusti ] Suet. *De vitis caesarum*, Div. Aug. 85: "respondit, Aiacem suum in spongeam incubuisse". 605,14 naufragium pati ] Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 118.

605<sup>4</sup> Frans van Cranevelt liked citing this line, see Ep. 585. and Ep. 592. Cap. 2. 605<sup>5</sup> Agathon's tragedies, for example *Antheus*, continued in the footstep of Euripides' tragedies. Not long before, Nanninck had translated Euripides' *Andromache*, see Ep. 590.

Reverendo domino Nicolao Olaho etc. patrono suo beneficentissimo Guilelmus canonicus regularis divi Augustini in Viridi Valle salutem plurimam dicit.

[1.] Reddo iam, Venerande et Illustris Domine, missa mihi abs tua dignatione carmina, quae ut avidus desideraveram, ita laetus suscepi et magna quoque alacritate,  
5 nec minori, fateor, animi voluptate descripsi omnia. Habeo itaque Dominationi Tuae gratiam, quam plurimam, pro tam prompta et amica horum communione simul et pro adiectis amantissimis litteris, quae cum singularem et admirandam istam comitatem et humanitatem tuam abunde testentur, unum tamen in eis est, quod male habet animum  
10 nostri claustra sic recludi iubes, ut aliis amicis non liceat exhibere videnda. Qua de re coram aliquando si dignaberis, agam liberius. Et ego quidem hactenus in te mirari soleo praeter non vulgarem utriusque linguae peritiam, tam praeclaram, tamque variam cum in humanis, tum etiam in sacris litteris eruditionem, quae in aulico et tam nobili viro, ut praeterquam raro inveniuntur, ita summam merentur laudem. Iam  
15 vero nihil aeque demiror atque raram et incomparabilem istam animi tui modestiam, qua fieri video, ut adeo gravatim feras legi ab aliis lucubrationes tuas, quibus tamen premendis, quam praeter aequum negotia praetexas et aulam, ipsa tua scripta palam arguunt et multis convincunt modis.

[2.] Quod si mihi ea esset ingenii Latinique sermonis facultas, qua apte possem  
20 proferre, quod sentio, profecto non vererer et ipse meam iudicare sententiam et, quid mihi de tuis videatur scriptis, proderet. At iam satius duco prorsus obmutescere, quam minus digne et non satis pro merito de hoc aliquid dicere. Eadem denique imperitia cogor et hanc epistolam praecedere verius, quam finire. Immo (ut verum fatear) ne haec quidem citra pudorem missurus sum, nec unquam ab hoc animo impetrare potuisse, ut Tibi, Viro longe Doctissimo, meas obtruderem ineptias, nisi parum decorum  
25 et integrum mihi fore iudicasset tua remittere et nihil omnino rescribere. Tuae ergo ingenitae humanitatis erit, qualiacumque haec sunt, boni consulere, et me, quantulus sum, intra famulicium tuum adnumerare.

Dominationem Tuam mihi ex animo semper colendam Deus optimus maximus  
30 felicem servare dignetur et incolumem.

1538.

607

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
[Brussels], [1538]

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 38., fol. 66r–68v.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature. Undated letter attached to two memoriales written on Queen Mary's behalf.

606,6 et] *O corr. ex ut* 606,7 amantissimis] *O corr. ex amantissi* 606,18 convincunt] *O corr. ex connincunt* 606,26 et] *O corr. ex vel* 606,26 et] *O corr. ex vel*

1. King Ferdinand I should send one of his councilors to travel to the mining towns together with the Queen's councilors and commissioners and represent King Ferdinand there. The Queen recommends this person to be Georg Werner, who is well-versed both in the language and local affairs. 2. Because last year the Queen was stripped of her income from the estates of Khust and Mukachevo as well as other estates by force, she is asking for his advice as to how she could recover them. 3. King Ferdinand I recently asked the Queen to send the letter of inscription about the thirtieth in Bratislava, but because the Queen thinks that some want to take advantage of the situation and want to claim the thirtieth for themselves, she asks him not to allow this to happen and not to act against her rights. In addition, the Queen hopes that King Ferdinand I will leave the thirtieth with the Queen, as he declared in his own hand in 1534. 4. Although the Queen holds Mosonmagyaróvár, it is the property of the King and his children, and because it is important in terms of defense, it should be fortified, lest it become an easy entryway for the Turks. The Queen has already spent 4,000 Rhenish florins on fortifying it from her own money, King Ferdinand I should support her in this in his letter – the Queen will do everything she can to support the fortification. 5. The Queen has heard that King Ferdinand I is sending commissioners to chart the mines in Banská Bystrica. King Ferdinand I has written to Queen Mary several times to return the Sopron tithe, but Queen Mary asks him to officially transfer this property to her. 6. Although Zsigmond Stettner, the Mosonmagyaróvár thirtieth tax collector who has abused his office several times when collecting the tax, restrained himself at the King's order last year, the Queen asks that he stop his excessive tax collection, and King Ferdinand I instead transfer the oversight of collecting the thirtieth to the Vienna Treasury.

Serenissime et Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime!

[1.] Serenissima domina mea, Maria regina etc., soror Maiestatis Vestrae Sacrae carissima, domina mea clementissima vigore commissionis mihi datae, haec me <...>entur ex affectu sororio a Maiestate Vestrae Sacra pro hoc tempore praesenti optat. 5

Maiestas Vestra Sacra dignetur unum ex consiliariis suis deligere, qui cum consiliariis et commissariis serenissimae dominae reginae meae ad hoc deputatis et etiam consiliario sacrae caesareae maiestatis, qui una aderit, nomine Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis proficiscatur ad montanas civitates et intersit illis tractatibus et rebus agendis, quae istic curari, provideri ac pro necessitate tractari et consuli debebunt, et specialiter in his, quae pertinebunt ad negotia regni et qui unanimi ac concordi cum aliis commissariis consilio ea maxime curet, quae ad bonum et commodum ambarum Maiestatum Vestrarum et regni Hungariae pertinebunt. Quia autem egregius Georgius Vernerus,<sup>1</sup> Maiestatis Vestrae consiliarius tum propter linguae scientiam, tum quia etiam antea in rebus montanis, veluti commissarius eo missus versatus fuerit, 15 illarumque rerum tractandarum experientiam habeat, petit serenissima regina mea Maiestatem Vestram Regiam, velit hunc Georgium Vernerum nomine suo ad hanc provinciam obeundam mittere.

[2.] Cum res Hungarica in eum pacis statum iam devenerit, quem Maiestas Vestra Serenissima novit, et serenissima regina mea bonis suis, nempe cameris salium Maro- 20

607<sup>1</sup> Georg Werner (ca.1490–1556) was a Notary, and later a Judge in Prešov in the 1530s. From 1534, he was *camerae magister*, and he became Royal counselor in 1536. From 1552, he participated in the reorganization of the Transylvanian financial system, see PÓKA 2011; RENSING 1933; CSEPREGI 2006.

marusiensium ac castris Hwzth,<sup>2</sup> Mwnkach,<sup>3</sup> Diosgyewr,<sup>4</sup> Czepel insula,<sup>5</sup> ac oppidis Veteri Buda<sup>6</sup> ac Kelenfewlde,<sup>7</sup> necnon aliis bonis a multis annis violenter privata fuerit, earumque omnibus proventibus frustrata, dignetur Maiestas Vestra Sacra pro eo amore ac benevolentia fraterna, qua erga serenissimam dominam meam afficitur, dare consilium, modum, viam et auxilium, ut bona praefata per commissarios et consiliarios serenissimae reginae meae, quos ad hoc designavit recuperari, et auctoritate patrocinioque Maiestatis Vestrae Regiae reoccupari possint, ac ut de praeteritis etiam dictorum bonorum introitibus et emolumentis hactenus interceptis serenissima regina mea contentetur, nihilque damni patiatur, quemadmodum Maiestas Vestra Sacra de utrisque rebus praemissis litteris sufficientibus serenissimam reginam meam assecuravit et certificavit.

[3.] Temporibus superioribus Sacra Maiestas Vestra scripserat ad serenissimam reginam meam, ut exemplum litterarum inscriptionum, quas super tricesima Poseniensi haberet, ad Maiestatem Vestram Sacram mitteret etc. Serenissima regina mea nihil hinc aliud opinatur, quam nonnullos apud Maiestatem Vestram Sacram esse, qui privati magis, quam Vestrae Maiestatis commodi gratia tricesimam ipsam Poseniensem pro se vindicare cuperent, eamque ob rem instare et Maiestatem Vestram hac in re sollicitare. Rogat igitur serenissima domina mea Maiestatem Vestram Sacram plurimum, ut talium, qui vel nunc, vel in posterum contra iura sua apud Maiestatem Vestram Sacram agere vellent, sollicitationes et persuasiones admittere nolit, prout serenissima regina mea sperat, Maiestatem Vestram id fraterne facturam, sed quia Maiestas Vestra praeter illam solutionem 18032 Florenorum Rhenensium, qui super ipsa tricesima Poseniensi assignati erant, eandem tricesimam in recompensam etiam urburarum Bistriciensium serenissimam reginam meam optimo iure concernentium, et in valore annuo tricesimae ipsae circiter aequalium, quas Maiestas Vestra Sacra Fucaris<sup>8</sup> inscripsit, usque ad eliberationem et remissionem earum in manibus serenissimae dominae meae reliquerit, quemadmodum id ex responso Maiestatis Vestrae Sacrae chirographo suo Pragae XI. Februarii anno 1534 signato plane constat, Maiestas Vestra Sacra consideratis fraterne praemissis iuribus serenissimae reginae in rebus ipsius tricesimae Poseniensis nihil innovare velit, sed eam prout hactenus usque ad eliberationem et remissionem urburarum Bistriciensium et donec de aliis quoque obligationibus et petitionibus, quas serenissima regina mea a Maiestate Vestra Sacra habet, persolvetur, vel alia via acceptabili a Maiestate Vestra Sacra de his sua serenitas assecurabitur in manibus eiusdem relinquere.

[4.] Arx Owar<sup>9</sup> licet sit nunc in manibus serenissimae reginae meae, proprietatem tamen illius spectat ad Vestram Sacram Maiestatem et liberos eiusdem, qui in dominium illius arcis succedent. Haec quia est in finibus Hungariae et Austriae, non parum adferre poterit utrisque provinciis pro temporis conditione aut quietis, aut

607,30 de] *O del. ex de rebus* 607,37 vindicare] *O del. ex vindicare vellent* 607,58 aut] *O del. ex aut periculi*

607<sup>2</sup> Khust. 607<sup>3</sup> Mukachevo. 607<sup>4</sup> Diósgyőr, part of Miskolc today. 607<sup>5</sup> Czepel island, belongs to district XXI of Budapest today. 607<sup>6</sup> Óbuda, district III of Budapest today. 607<sup>7</sup> Kelenföld, part of district XI of Budapest today. 607<sup>8</sup> Fuggeris. 607<sup>9</sup> Óvár, part of Mosonmagyaróvár today.



perturbationis veluti fores et tutela utriusque provinciae. Cuius rei causa arx ipsa non parum eget fortificatione, maxime in propugnaculis et aggeribus. Ad quae paranda 60 licet serenissima regina mea introitus et redditus omnes arcis eiusdem (demptis his provisionibus et impensis, quae fuerunt ad quotidianam conservationem arcis necessariae) expenderit, et praeter ea ex suis etiam propriis ultra 4°000 Florenorum Renensium addiderit, tamen haec omnia parum fecisse videntur ad tantum opus 65 perficiendum, maxime cum aggeres ipsi propugnaculorum propter fundamentum non satis firmum, quotidie corruant et fossam repleant, aditumque faciliorem (quod Deus avertat) hostibus, si qui adessent, parent. Quare serenissima regina rogat Sacram Maiestatem Vestram uti dominum et fratrem suum carissimum, velit subsidia illa, quae aut nunc aut deinceps, secundum oblationem regnicolarum ex pertinentiis ipsius arcis Owar Maiestati Vestrae solvi debent, ad munitionem et reparationem propu- 70 gnaculorum aggerumque ac aliorum locorum ipsius arcis non validorum deputare et super hoc litteras dare, ut partim ex aliis subsidiis Maiestatis Vestrae pro tempore exhibendis, partim ex hoc subsidio possit pro parte aliqua munitioni arcis eiusdem pro temporis conditione et necessitate semper provideri. Quicquid serenissima regina mea pro parte sua ad huiusmodi munitionem secundum facultatem ac vires suas 75 impendere poterit, faciet id libentissimae, et neque rebus suis, neque viribus parcat, quatenus hae suppetent.

Hoc idem serenissima domina mea fieri a Maiestate Vestra Sacra petit, etiam in bonis aliarum arcium suarum, quarum omnium successio ad Maiestatem Vestram et eiusdem liberos devolvetur. Quumquidem subsidiorum Maiestatis Vestrae ad arces 80 tales finitimas fortificandas deputatio non nova est res, sed aliorum etiam regum Hungariae temporibus pro temporis et locorum conditione facta, immo dum necessitas expetivit, arcium talium finitimarum munitiones totius etiam regni subsidio sunt adiutae et sublevatae. Harum enim conservatio non aliud parit, quam regni et totius reipublicae quietem atque salutem. 85

[5.] Quia serenissima regina mea intellexit Maiestatem Vestram ad instantiam Fucarorum certos commissarios montanarum rerum peritos propediem missuram ad perlustrandas fodinas Bistricienses,<sup>10</sup> rogat serenissima regina Maiestatem Vestram, velit his, qui eo profecturi sunt, commissariis committere, ut dum per consiliarios et commissarios reginalis maiestatis requisiti fuerint, debeant montanas reginales 90 unacum aliis commissariis perlustrare, ac bonum modum et ordinem ostendere consulereque, quo modo montanae ipsae maiestatis reginalis dominae meae clementissimae commodius, et cum minori impensa ad Maiestatem Vestram ac totius regni commodum coli possint.

Saepius Maiestas Vestra Serenissima ad dominam meam clementissimam pro 95 remissione decimarum Soproniensium litteras suas dedit, scire velit Maiestas Vestra, quod iam olim decimas easdem ipsi serenissimae reginae meae pro sex millibus Florenorum inscripserat et obpignoraverat, quas ipsa quoque in eadem summa alteri inscripsit. Rogat igitur serenissima domina mea Maiestatem Vestram, velit inscriptio-

607<sup>10</sup> Banská Bystrica.

100 nem hanc, quam eidem serenissimae reginae fecit, in vigore suo et eandem penes ius  
suum relinquere.

[6.] Sigismundus Stetner<sup>11</sup> modernus tricesimator Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae in  
Altemburgo<sup>12</sup> multas (sicuti serenissima domina mea saepius de hoc informata fuit)  
exactiones indebitas et insolitas ac serenissimae reginae intollerabiles in tricesima illa  
105 facere consuevit, ita ut serenissima regina parte sua iusta, quae eam concernit, fru-  
stretur et in ea damnificetur, facta fuerat anno superiore ex Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae  
voluntate et consensu quaedam limitatio de modo et ordine exactionis trigesimae  
ipsius Altemburgensis, contra quae ipse Sigismundus nunc agit. Quare serenissima  
regina mea rogat plurimum Maiestatem Vestram, velit exactionem ipsius trigesimae  
110 in priore limitatione ex voluntate et consensu Maiestatis Vestrae facta relinquere et  
illa, quae iuste ad serenitatem suam pertinent, non turbari permittere atque com-  
mittere trigesimatori praefato, ut ab huiusmodi exactionibus indebitis, quae praeter  
limitationem prius factam a se nunc fiunt, omnino desistat. Velit etiam Maiestas  
Vestra consiliariis Camerae Maiestatis Vestrae Wiennensi mandare, ut huiusmodi  
115 innovationes serenissimae reginae meae damnosas fieri non permittant.

Eiusdem Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor

Nicolaus Olahus

608

Pieter Nanninck to Miklós Oláh  
Leuven, 9 February 1539

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* ELTE EK, H 46, fol. 37r–38r.

*ms. II:* ELTE EK, Coll. Kaprinay B, Tom. 87, p. 461.

*Published:* TOURNOY 2006, 150–152.

*Notes:* Ms I. is a copy with autograph emendations. Ms. II. is a later copy. (1730)

1. Oláh has his sympathy in his grief for his lost brother, and Nanninck wants to console him, but he cannot even ease his own sadness. He is sending this elegy for his consolation. 2. He has written him many times already what he thinks of Athila and Hungaria, he is not ashamed of his opinion, unless it seems spiteful.

Reverendo domino Nicolao Olaho, thesaurario Albensi, archidiacono Strigoniensi, serenissimi Ferdinandi Romanorum regis atc. ac Mariae reginae a secretis et consiliis, Petrus Nannius salutem dicit.

[1.] Acerbissimos tuos luctus de amicissimo fratre<sup>1</sup> non lacrimis tantummodo, sed  
5 gravi aegritudine animi prosequor, et ex laboribus adversae valetudinis, qua nunc

607,102 tricesimator ] *corr. ex trigesimator* 607,104 tricesima ] *corr. ex trigesima*

607<sup>11</sup> Zsigmond Stettner was Collector of the thirtieth in Óvár, see TAKÁTS 1898, 424. 607<sup>12</sup> The German name of Óvár. 608<sup>1</sup> Máté Oláh died in 1536, see Oláh's epitaphs on his brother's death: HEGEDŰS 1906, 419–421; FÖGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 38–40; NEAGU 2003, 342–344. Oláh's friends sent a heap of condolences, elegies, and epitaphs from the Low Countries to lessen his grief, which Nanninck published in print, see HEGEDŰS 1906, 417; TOURNOY 2006, 135–139. See the manuscripts: ELTE EK H46, fol. 31–43.

affligor, nihil tam triste sentio, quam cruciatus istius maeroris. Et ut libenter studium consolandi prae me ferrem (tametsi tua sapientia et animi fortitudo istiusmodi adminiculis non egeat), ita ipse vix inven<io>, quo maestitiam meam committigem. Quamobrem, ut in te consolando nonnihil ipse acquiescerem, carmen hoc elegiacum super consolationes fraternae mortis, quod ad te mitto, condidi, quaecumque ab 10 animo ita misere afflicto exprimere potui.

[Nunc utinam Pyliae...]<sup>2</sup>

[2.] De tuo *Athila* et Hungariae descriptione<sup>3</sup> quid sentiam, iam saepius litteris meis testatus sum. Cuius me iudicii nunquam paenitebit, nisi quod malignius videor et nimis parce rei laudatissimae laudes impertiisse. Olim carmine testabimur, quantus 15 mihi videre. Plura scriberem, sed doloribus morbi huius ita exrucior, ut vix compos menti<s> sim.

Vale, Unicum Praesidium Meum!<sup>4</sup>

Lovanii nona Februar<ii> anno MDXXXIX.

## 609

Miklós Oláh to Iacobus Tuberus  
Brussels, 4 March 1539

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71. Fasc. 23., p. 238.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 205.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

*He knows very well what problems Tuberus is facing, and he knows that he should be consoling Tuberus, but he is going through such times now that he is more in need of consolation himself, so he should forgive him if he cannot ease Tuberus' sadness.*

Ad Iacobum Tuberum.

Non sum nescius, quibus curis animique sollicitudinibus res tuas adversas perferas et quanto dolore tamdiu a tuis absis. Quod cum mihi cognitum sit, mei esset officii amorisque in te singularis tibi consolationem aliquam adferre, ut si non omnes animi tui molestias tollere, saltem menti ita misere afflictae allevationem aliquam adferre 5 possem. Verum ea sum et ipse animi molestia ex praesentium temporum iniquitate totus circumvallatus, ut ego ipse potius consolatione aliorum egeam,<sup>1</sup> quam aliquam aliis adhibere possim. Si igitur hoc tempore eo, quod tibi debeo, officio minus satisfacere valeo, rogo, id tribuas temporum malignitati, non meo in te animo alienato.

608,8 inven<io>] *ms. II. invenio* 608,13 tuo] *ms. I. O corr. ex tua* 608,17 menti<s>] *ms. II. menti*  
608,19 Februar<ii>] *ms. II. Februarii* 609,2 quibus] *O del. ex quibus animi* 609,5 tollere] *O del. ex*  
tollere possem 609,7 egeam] *O corr. ex egerem* 609,8 possim] *O corr. ex possem*

608,18 Praesidium Meum] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I,1,2.

608<sup>2</sup> See TOURNOY 2006, 150–151. 608<sup>3</sup> I.e. *Hungaria*. 608<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 598. Cap. 3. 609<sup>1</sup> On mourning his brother, see Ep. 608.

- 10 Hoc unum tamen tibi significandum censui te non parvam tristitiae et maeroris tui levandi consolationem tibi afferre, si putaveris, nihil rerum humanarum stabile esse posse, sed variis calamitatibus omnem mortalium vitam subiectam. Vale.  
Bruxellae 4. Martii 1539.<sup>2</sup>

610

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 17 November 1539

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 1.

*Published:* PRAY 1777, 351; PRAY 1806, 78–81; KATONA 1809, 1275–1276. [excerpt]; KÖRMÖCZY 1860, 51–53; BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1906, 419–421; SZILÁGYI 2015.

*In Hungarian:* KOLLÁNYI 1888, 39–40. [excerpt]; BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1906, 419. [regesta]

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He is happy that Nádasdy has welcomed him home, and that he has kept the friendship they had when they were young towards him; he knows that Nádasdy is not a person who would sideline friends when his wealth and opportunities improve. 2. As to his affairs, he really longed to see his friends and homeland, but when he got home, what he saw did not give cause for joy: everything is sad, the state is broken and in danger, friends are fighting and some of them are dead, some feel bad, and the people are complaining and crying. 3. He really wanted to see Brodarics, but fate has denied him this opportunity: he died on the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month. Although they wanted to visit each other, illness and Oláh's engagements did not allow it. 4. He will write to Lucretia in three days; he wants to know if they have written about a husband that is suitable for her. Funnily enough, he is looking for a wife. He is also greeting Nádasdy's wife, wishes them happiness.

Salutem plurimam et servitorum meorum commendationem, Magnifice Domine, mihi Observandissime!

- [1.] Gratulatio Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae, quam litterae<sup>1</sup> ipsius de meo reditu<sup>2</sup> et, ut scribit, felici statu declarant, tam mihi grata fuit, quam gratissima.
- 5 Vicissim calamus et litterae explicare vix possunt, quam gratuler ego quoque de Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae et felici et tranquillo statu, de quo sermonibus hic et iam antea litteris amicorum in externis provinciis factus fueram certior. Conservet Deus Dominationem Vestram Magnificam et dominam coniugem<sup>3</sup> suam carissimam in omni et animae et corporis felicitate quamdiutissime. Quod scribit se eundem esse
- 10 meum fratrem et amicum, qui prius fuerat, et deinceps quoque talem futurum, de hoc sincero et amantissimo Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae in me animo habeo eidem gratias cumulas, et ubi meae erit facultatis, etiam re ipsa referam. Nihil dubito, quin eum in me Dominatio Vestra Magnifica, dum vivimus, praestet semper animum, quem scribit. Nam neque ego causam ullam ab adolescentia nostra praestiti, cur aliud de ea

610,4 quam] *del.* ex quam quod

609<sup>2</sup> Ipolyi read the year of the date 1532 instead of 1539. Oláh sent another letter to Tuberus in 1532, see Ep. 227. 610<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 610<sup>2</sup> Oláh returned from the Low Countries in 1539. This is his first known letter after his return home. 610<sup>3</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

existimarem, neque puto Dominationem Vestram Magnificam ex eorum esse numero, 15  
qui crescente facultate et opibus mores suos mutare consuevere et divitias praeferre  
verae amicitiae. Quod qui faciunt, quam fluxis haereant rebus, non scripta tantum  
maiorum, sed etiam ipsa sanae mentis ratio commonstrat. De me vicissim Dominatio  
Vestra Magnifica certo sibi persuadeat, nulla in re Olahi sui animum non modo in  
Dominationem Vestram Magnificam iam beneficio Dei in ea, quam virtute consecuta 20  
est conditione constitutam, sed etiam in pauperes veteres nostros amicos immutatum  
esse mutatumque unquam iri, sed ubi fieri possit me cupere, Dominationi Vestrae  
Magnificae libenter inservire.

[2.] Verum, ut ad reditum meum, unde digressus eram, revertar: redii quidem au-  
spicio Dei incolumis, tum rebus serenissimae reginae meae quibusdam ita ferentibus, 25  
tum ut aliquando amicos veteres, quorum non parvo tenebar desiderio, et patriam  
tam longo tempore evoluto reviserem. Nihil tamen hic repperi, quod me magnopere  
delectaret, praeter eorum amicorum meorum, quos adhuc videre potui, commercium.  
Video rerum omnium faciem tristissimam. Rem nostram publicam undique labefacta-  
tam, concussam, nutantem et vix spirantem. Omnium animos praedis agendis intentos 30  
esse. Amicos factione distratos, partim iam mortuos, partim male affectos, vel miseros  
potius et spe sola (quod magnus est animi cruciatus) trahentes spiritum. Eos, qui  
post principem nostrum clementissimum rebus praesunt agendis, nescio, quo pacto  
et leves et sordidos, uno et altero excepto. Vulgum adeo miserandae sortis, ut nihil  
praeter luctus, lamenta et lachrimas emittant. Haec delectare quempiam possunt? 35  
Credo Deum nobis iratum merito nos his incommodis rebus punire.

[3.] Non parvo ducebar desiderio dominum Stephanum nostrum Brodericum<sup>4</sup>  
videndi propter veterem nostram notitiam fraternam et aetatem ipsius provectam.<sup>5</sup>  
Hanc quoque Deus facultatem mihi praeripuit, nam septima huius mensis fato ille  
concessisse dicitur. Scripserat. Hanc quoque Deus facultatem mihi praeripuit, nam 40  
septima huius mensis fato ille concessisse dicitur. Scripserat<sup>6</sup> superioribus hebdoma-  
dis se me velle invisere. Nam ego propter serenissimae reginae meae negotia hinc  
hactenus abesse non potui, sed significaverat se venire vel ad Saag, vel etiam ad  
civitates montanas, si quando eo proficiscerer. Ego vero responderam me domi suae  
eum invisurum paucis post tempore ex principis nostri annuentia. Neutrum tamen 45  
mihi fato concessum est. Cuius morte audita non potui non in lachrimas prorumpere.  
Quare, Magnifice mi Domine, sum quidem incolumis, ut Dominatio Vestra mihi  
gratulatur, et in statu priore, mediocri scilicet, sed animo non satis bono affectu,  
tum ob huius domini Broderici nostri mortem, tum ob ea, quae superius dixi, et  
patriae, et rerum nostrarum, dico communium, incommoda. Nec video aliquod, ni 50  
fallar, remedium his adhiberi facile posse, nisi Deus su<a> potentia aliter res nostras  
vertat.

610,26 quorum] *O corr. ex quarum* 610,32 est] *O corr. ex esse* 610,33 quo pacto] *O add.* 610,35  
Haec] *O del. ex* Haec ne 610,44 domi] *corr. ex domui* 610,45 tempore] *O del. ex* tempore Neutrum

610<sup>4</sup> István Brodarics. 610<sup>5</sup> Brodarics died at approximately the age of 60. 610<sup>6</sup> We do not know this  
letter.

[4.] Dominae Lucretiae<sup>7</sup> hoc triduo litteras<sup>8</sup> ipsas mittendas curabo. Si scriptae sunt  
de marito aliquo illi curando, scire cuperem.<sup>9</sup> Nam mea quoque refert id scire, qui,  
55 ut iocum seriis addam, uxorem circumspiciam etc. Me et servitia mea Dominationi  
Vestrae commendo. Et cum domina mihi observandissima, domina coniuge carissima

Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta  
iam sua nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur  
vobis parta quies, nobis maris aequor arandum.

60 Viennae 17. Novemberis anno 1539.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae servitor

Nicolao Olahus custos Albensis etc.

[Epitaphium domini Vaciensis]<sup>10</sup>

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino meo domino Thomae de Nadasd regnorum  
65 Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae etc. bano, ac comiti comitatus Castriferrei etc.  
domino observandissimo.

611

Miklós Oláh to János Zomor  
Vienna, 12 January 1540

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1540.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature. Seal has broken down.

*The citizens of Kremnica and the other mining towns have to hold an inquiry into their own affairs and continue it. He believes Szomori remembers when Oláh talked about this with Szalay in Bratislava, and he asked him to take care of it; then it seemed that he was favorably disposed towards it. He asks him to support those Kremnica citizens and other subjects of the Queen who look him up, and they will not be ungrateful; he will mention Szomori to the Queen in return.*

Salutem plurimam et mei commendationem, Egregie Domine et Amice Honorandissime!<sup>1</sup>

Cives Cremnicenses et aliarum civitatum montanarum serenissimae dominae reginae meae habebunt, ut ego arbitror, in proximis iudiciis quibusdam causis suis

610,56 coniuge] *O del. ex coniuge sana*

610,57–59 Vivite ... arandum] Verg. *Aen.*, III,493–495.

610<sup>7</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross). 610<sup>8</sup> We do not know this letter. 610<sup>9</sup> Lucretia Caballis was Oláh's secret love, their extramarital child was the little Lucretia who occurs in Oláh's letters as well as in his last will as the daughter of Tamás Oláh. While Oláh returned to Hungary, Lucretia Caballis married Count of Nogarola (Leonhard Noguero), see FAZEKAS 2002, 228; KERKHOFF 2008, 60–61; HEISS 1971, 422, and ÖStA HKA Ungarische Gedenkbücher Bd. 383. 209v–210r. 610<sup>10</sup> On the letter edition, as well as the edition of the poem, see FÓGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 27; NEAGU 2003, 333. 611<sup>1</sup> János Zomor or Szomori (†1570) was Royal attorney general (*director causarum*) between 1542 and 1562, and he became *personalis* between 1562 and 1570, see FAZEKAS 2021, 159; FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 143.

invigilare easque prosequi. Arbitror Dominationem Vestram memoria tenere, me 5  
Pozonii cum domino nostro Ioanne Zalay<sup>2</sup> comite Pozoniensi etc. fuisse hac in re  
locutum et Dominationem etiam Vestram rogasse, ut quatenus cum honore suo fore  
id posset, vellet et maiestatis reginalis et subditorum ipsius, si quae emergerent,  
negotia suscipere eorumque curam habere. Tam dominus noster comes Pozoniensis,  
quam Dominatio Vestra fuerunt ad meam hanc petitionem tunc benevoli. Rogo 10  
igitur eandem, ut si aut Cremnisienses, aut alii cives et subditi maiestatis reginalis  
Dominationem Vestram requisiverint, velit eorum patrocinium suscipere, qui non  
erunt ei ingrati. Dum autem ego ad maiestatem reginalem salvus, ut in Dei spero  
clementia, pervenero, sicuti domino comiti fueram locutus, faciam suae maiestati de  
vobis mentionem. Dominatio Vestra valeat feliciter, quae commendet servitia mea 15  
domino comiti.

Viennae 12. Ianuarii anno 1540.

Vester Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis  
secretarius et consiliarius regius etc. sua manu

[On the outer side:] Egregio domino Ioanni Somory vicemagistro tavernicorum re- 20  
giorum etc. domino et amico honorandissimo.

612

Miklós Oláh to Bálint Sárközy  
Vienna, 9 December 1540

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, R 319 – No. 1224.  
*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh is certain that Bálint Sárközy remembers what Oláh told him in Bratislava, i.e. that if a citizen of a mining town needs help at the court of law, Sárközy should support them. He thus now asks him to help the citizens of the mining town, who will not be ungrateful. The Queen does not currently have any lawsuits pending. Oláh will travel to the Queen together with the King, and he will talk to her about Sárközy; Oláh will recount in person or via mail what the Queen answers. He will share the details of the Bratislava affair with magister canonicus Máté Bósi before he leaves from here.*

Salutem plurimam, Egregie Domine et Amice Honorande!<sup>1</sup>

Memoria tenere Dominationem Vestram puto me Pozonii ei locutum fuisse, ut  
si cives civitatum montanarum aut alium quempiam subditum maiestatis reginalis  
aliquid causarum habere in iudiciis contingeret, vellet eos habere commendatos pa-  
trociniumque ac defensionem eorum suscipere. Quemadmodum igitur prius ita nunc 5  
quoque Dominationem Vestram rogo, velit montanarum civitatum cives habere com-  
mendatos. Et si quam prosequi causam habuerit, eamque requisiverit ipsorum curam  
suscipere, qui non erunt Dominationi Vestrae ingrati. Quod autem ad solius maiestatis  
reginalis causas agendas ac defendendas attinet, nunc maiestas sua nihil habet, quod

611 <sup>2</sup> János Szalay. 612 <sup>1</sup> Bálint Sárközy of Foktő.

- 10 sciam, litium. Proficiscar cum maiestate regia ad maiestatem suam reginalem, cum qua de persona Dominationis Vestrae loquar, ut si quid habitura esset, maiestas sua in Hungaria causarum in eo opera Dominationis Vestrae utatur. Quicquid autem sua maiestas responderit, vel solus ipse referam Dominationi Vestrae, cum Deo dante revertar, vel per litteras quamprimum significabo.
- 15 In negotio meo Poseniensi scribam ad Dominationem Vestram ante quam hinc sim discessurus, et relinquam informationem apud dominum magistrum Matheum<sup>2</sup> decimatorem et canonicum Poseniensem. Dominatio Vestra feliciter valeat.  
Viennae 9. Decembris 1540.

20 Vester Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis consiliarius regiae maiestatis etc. sua manu  
[On the outer side:] Egregio domino Valentino litterato de Fokthew etc. domino et amico honorando.

613

Miklós Oláh to Gergely Feyner  
Vienna, 10 December 1540

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1540.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*They should make sure the letters about the Prešov affairs get to János Dubraviczky. They will get the mining assistance from him; it will be 4-500 Hungarian florins, handed over by Dubraviczky. He has written letters to János Zomor and Bálint, as requested, and he is attaching them – he does not think they will object to coming under protection. They should tell Wolfgang Guglinger that he (Oláh) has done his duty, but he cannot write to Guglinger now.*

Salutem plurimam, Nobilis Amice Carissime!<sup>1</sup>

- Remisi hunc civitatis vestrae<sup>2</sup> servitorem cum litteris, quae erant ad rem vestram publicam necessaria, mittatis ad dominum Dobrawiczki<sup>3</sup> has litteras praesentibus adiunctas. A quo habebitis subsidium illud, de quo ego vobis dixeram, per me ad cultu-  
5 ram fodinae Glauthenperg a maiestate regia, domino meo clementissimo imperatum. Id autem erit ad summam circiter quadringentorum aut V<sup>c</sup> Florenorum Hungarica-  
limum. Quamquidem summam dominus Dobrawiczki unacum mineris<sup>4</sup> argenti per vos ei redditis ad Stholucae<sup>5</sup> continuatum est expositurus. Vos quoque rogo, non destitis vobis et commodo vestro publico. Deinceps quoque, si quid in rem vestram com-  
10 munem aut apud regiam aut reginalem maiestates principes nostros clementissimos

612,10 suam] *O add.* 613,8 redditis] *corr. ex redditus*

612<sup>2</sup> Máté Bósi was Canon of Bratislava between 1520 and 1549. 613<sup>1</sup> Gergely Feyner (†1552) was Notary of Banská Štiavnica. He was a citizen of Prešov and had a remarkable library, see BÉKEFI 1906, 267 and 522; and IVÁNYI 1911, 304–305. 613<sup>2</sup> Prešov. 613<sup>3</sup> János Dubraviczky was a Deputy Count of the Chamber (*Unterkammergraf*) of Kremnica, see HEISS 1971, 211. 613<sup>4</sup> ‘mine’, see RAMMINGER 2008. 613<sup>5</sup> Uncertain reading.



praestare potero, faciam id libenter. Ad Ioannem Somory<sup>6</sup> et Valentinum litteratum,<sup>7</sup> uti me rogastis, scripsi; quas litteras cum praesentibus accipietis. Arbitror eos non gravatim et vestrae civitatis et aliarum montanarum patrocinium suscepturos. Me autem id fecisse significetis etiam domino Wolffgango Ginglinger<sup>8</sup> amico nostro, ad quem aliis rebus occupatus nunc scribere non potui. Valetate et me civibus vestris 15 commendate.

Viennae 10. Decembris 1540.

Vester Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.  
consiliarius regius sua manu

[On the outer side:] Nobili domino Gregorio Feynero notario et civi Scemniciensi etc. 20 amico carissimo.

614

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Kremnica, 17 February 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1541/1.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

— *He has heard that they have captured a certain Martinus Zybolent, who declared himself a serf of Várday, and that his hearing will be held tomorrow. Allegedly there are some credible witnesses whose testimony will be enough to exonerate him or at least reduce the sentence. He asks that the witnesses are allowed in and to grant their request to testify. And if the sentence is harsher, it should be reduced at his and Várday's request.* —

Salutem et mei commendationem, Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandissimi!

Intelligo quendam Martinum Zybolent,<sup>1</sup> qui se in colonum reverendissimi domini nostri Strigoniensis<sup>2</sup> iamdudum addixisse dicitur, apud Dominationes Vestras captum esse, et die crastina iudicium in ipsius causa per easdem fieri. Dicitur autem nonnullos 5 fidedignos testes habere, quorum attestaciones in sublevamen immo potius in liberationem causae ipsius plurimum facerent. Quare rogo Dominationes Vestras, velint testes ipsius Martini Zybolent admittere examinareque et quatenus aequitas postulaverit eis locum dare. Etsi etiam aliquid gravius contra ipsum Martinum colonum adductum praefati reverendissimi domini nostri Strigoniensis ius ferre videretur, tum ipsius 10 reverendissimi domini Strigoniensis boni patroni Dominationum Vestrarum, tum meae petitionis intuitu, ita moderare iudicium et sententiam ipsam velint, ut et ipsius domini Strigoniensis et meae petitionis respectus aliquid habitus a Dominationibus

614,13 aliquid ] *O corr.* ex aliquis 614,13 habitus ] *O del.* ex habitus esse

613<sup>6</sup> János Zomor, see Ep. 611. 613<sup>7</sup> We do not know him more closely. 613<sup>8</sup> Farkas Guglinger or Wolfgang Guglinger was a citizen of Kremnica. In 1540, he is named as *archigrammaticus* of Kremnica and schoolmaster in Banská Bystrica, see BÉKEFI 1906, 125, 462, and passim. 614<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 614<sup>2</sup> Pál Várday.

Vestris esse videatur. Quod ipse dominus Strigoniensis omni patrocínio suo, ego vero  
15 meis officiis ab Dominationibus Vestris promerebimur. Dominationes Vestras feliciter  
valere opto, quibus me commendo.

Ex Cremnicio 17. Februarii 1541.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis consiliarius regius etc.

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis  
20 Schemniciensis etc. dominis et amicis honorandissimis.

615

Miklós Oláh, Bartholomäus Haller and János Dubraviczky  
to Banská Bystrica Town Council  
Kremnica, 17 February 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 19. Nr. 11.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*They say at Queen Mary's order that they should make sure the inheritance of her cook, Georg Rockelfinger, should be paid out on both his mother's and his father's side, which is with them, in Banská Bystrica. Rockelfinger's inheritance should be handed over to Oláh without delay, so that the plaintiff can receive it, as is fair.*

Namhafft, ersam unnd weiß lieb hern unnd freundt, unnsere freundlich diennst  
sein euch zuvor!

Unns hat unnsere genedigiste fraw<sup>1</sup> bevolhen, euch zu sagen, das ir Jeorg Rockel-  
finger,<sup>2</sup> ir mt.<sup>3</sup> kuchenmaister, umb sein angepurrender tail seines erlebten vetterli-  
5 chen unnd mütterlichen erbs bey euch, in dem Neuensol, unverzogenliche bezalung  
verschaffenn solt. Derhalben von wegen höchstgenanter unnsere genedigisten frawen  
unnsere bevellich fur unns selbst freundlich pittendt, ir weltt ime Rockelfynger soll-  
chen seinen gepurrendenn tail one verner verzug zu hern Nicolaus Olaus hannden  
verschaffen unnd ime unclaghafft machen, wie dan an im selbst recht unnd pillich  
10 ist. Das wel wir unns anstat unnsere genedigsten frawen zu beschehen verlassen und  
thun, was euch lieb ist.

Datum Cremnitz den XVII. tag Februarii anno Domini XXXXI<sup>o</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Bartholmes Haller vom Hallerstain<sup>4</sup> etc.

15 Jonnes Dubrawiczki<sup>5</sup>

[On the outer side:] Den namhafften, ersamen unnd weisen hern, richtern, rat unnd  
gemain der stat Neuensol, unnsere hern unnd freundenn.

615,13 Nicolaus... etc.] *O add.* 615,14 Bartholmes... etc.] *auth add.* 615,15 Jonnes Dubrawiczki] *auth add.*

615<sup>1</sup> Queen Mary. 615<sup>2</sup> Georg Rockelfinger. We only know one document on him, his father's last will from 1536, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 256. 615<sup>3</sup> I.e. ihrer Majestät. 615<sup>4</sup> Bartholomäus Haller von Hallerstein (1486–1551) was Secretary to Mary of Hungary. 615<sup>5</sup> János Dubraviczky.

616

Miklós Oláh, Bartholomäus Haller, János Dubraviczky  
to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Kremnica, 20 February 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBS, Missiles 1541/1.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*They have some cases for which they need the Banská Štiavnica town notary, Anton Paus. They ask that Paus is allowed to take care of their affairs before he looks after those of the city.*

Namhafft, ersam unnd waiß lieb hern unnd freundt!

Es sein ettlich sachen fur uns kumen, darzu wir euers statschreibers, Anthonii Pausius,<sup>1</sup> notturfftig wern. Derhalben unnsrer beger, ir wölt denselben auff's erst zu unns auff die Cremnitz verschaffen. Das wöl wir unns zu bescheen verlassen, unnd thun, was euch lieb ist. 5

Datum Cremnitz den XX. tag Februarii anno Domini XXXXI<sup>o</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Bartholomes Haller von Hallerstain

Joannes Dubrawiczky etc. 10

[On the outer side:] Den namhafften, ersamen unnd weisen hern, richtern unnd rat der stat Schemnitz, unnsern guten freundenn.

617

Miklós Oláh, Bartholomäus Haller, János Dubraviczky  
to Banská Bystrica Town Council  
Kremnica, 22 February 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 19. No. 10.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures.

*They have heard from the Brezno Town Council that Wasserbrot, a citizen of Banská Bystrica, owes 400 guilders, which he received for mining works, but he cannot pay his debt, so the Brezno Town Council is asking them to write to the Banská Bystrica Town Council and ask them to help them against Wasserbrot without delay. On behalf of the Queen, they seek out the Brezno Town Council against Wasserbrot if they are right.*

Namhafft, ersam unnd weiss lieb hern und freundt, unnsrer freuntlich diennst sein euch zuvor!

616,7 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 616,8 Bartholomes ... Hallerstain] *auth add.* 616,9 Joannes ... etc.] *auth add.*

616<sup>1</sup> In 1538, Anton Paus was preceptor in Banská Bystrica and taught Ferenc Révay's sons. From 1540, he became Town Notary (*Stadtschreiber*) of Banská Štiavnica, and he was in the service of the Thurzós and the Fuggers. See FRANKL 1873, 7–8; LICHNEROVÁ–ŠPÁNIOVÁ 2019; and KALUS 1999, 290.

Unns haben die vom Briess<sup>1</sup> clagweiss angepracht, wie das an Stentzel Wasser-  
brot,<sup>2</sup> euer mitwoner, ob vierhundert gulden auff arbeit unnd anders seines pergwer-  
5 cks halben hinterstellig schuldig sey, der sie auff manigfaltig guttlich erforderung  
bisher von im nit haben mögen bezalt werden, uns gepetten, euch zu schreiben unnd  
bevelhen, ine one verzug gegen ime Wasserbrot zu verhellffen, dieweil dan ir begern  
an im selbst pillich ist. Von wegen unnsrer gnedigsten frauen<sup>3</sup> unnsrer bevellich fur  
unns selbst freuntlich pittendt, ir wolt genanten vom Briess auff ir ansuchen, soviel  
10 sie recht haben, gegen ime Wasserbrot unverzogenlich verhellffen, daran geschicht ir  
khu. mt.<sup>4</sup> wil und mainung und von rechts wegen pillich.

Datum Cremnitz den XXII. tag Februarii anno Domini XXXXI<sup>o</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Bartholmes Haller vom Hallerstain etc.

15 Jonnes Dubrawiczky etc.

[On the outer side:] Den namhafften, ersamen unnd weisen hern, richtern unnd rat  
der stat Neuensol, unsern hern unnd freunden.

618

Miklós Oláh, Bartholomäus Haller and János Dubrawiczky  
to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
[Kremnica], 10 March 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1541/1.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*As far as they know, the final hearing in the case of Martinus Zybolen, a citizen of Banská Štiavnica, will be on Friday, on juridical day. Várday asks them to be merciful if he will be condemned. In return, they will be of service to them, too.*

Namhaufft, ersam, weis hern und freunt, unser freuntlich dinnst zuvor!

Wir sein bericht, das ir Marthin Siboltin<sup>1</sup> auff morgen freytags<sup>2</sup> ein entlichen  
rechtstag angesetzt habt. Derhalbenn von wegen unsers gnedigen hern erzbischoffen  
vonn Grann<sup>3</sup> angesucht euch seiner halben zw pitten, ob er was strefflichs gehandelt  
5 het, ims umb seiner g.<sup>4</sup> willen gnad zu erzeigen, diewill dan s. f. g.<sup>5</sup> ewer und unser  
gnediger her ist und liebes erzeigen kan und unser g. f.<sup>6</sup> dinen mag. Ist derhalben  
unser freuntlich pit, ob der gefangen was strefflichs gehandelt het, ir wolt ime aus  
angezaigten ursachen gnad erzaigen. Sunst was euch lieb unnd dinstlich ist, sein wir  
zw thun gewilt.

617,13 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 617,14 Bartholmes ... etc.] *auth add.* 617,15 Jonnes ... etc.] *auth add.*

617<sup>1</sup> Brezno. 617<sup>2</sup> Stanislaus Wasserbrot was a commercial agent in Banská Bystrica, see LACKO 2019, 387; PROBSZT 1958, 160–161. 617<sup>3</sup> Queen Mary. 617<sup>4</sup> I.e. königliche Majestät. 618<sup>1</sup> Martin Zybolen, see Ep. 614. 618<sup>2</sup> Friday, 11 March, 1541. 618<sup>3</sup> Pál Várday. 618<sup>4</sup> I.e. Gnade. 618<sup>5</sup> I.e. seine fürstliche Gnade. 618<sup>6</sup> I.e. gnädigen Fürst.

Datum den X. tag Marzi anno Domini XXXXI<sup>o</sup>. 10

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.  
Bartholmes Haller vom Hellerstain etc.  
Jonnes Dubrawiczky etc.

[On the outer side:] Den namhafften, ersamen unnd weyssenn herrn, richtern und  
rat der stat Schemnitz, unnsern gutten freundenn. 15

619

Miklós Oláh, Bartholomäus Haller, János Dubraviczky  
to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Kremnica, 27 March 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1541/1.  
*Notes:* Original letter with signatures.

*Their letter of 26 March seems to have been answered with all the recent news. They thank them, and they should not change their behavior towards them.*

Ersam, namhafft und weyss lieb herrn und frundt, unnsere frundtlich dienst sein  
euch zuvor!

Euer schreiben den XXVI. tag Martii nechst verschinen sambt den aingeschlossen  
newen zeytungen<sup>1</sup> ist unns wolle geantwurt, bedannckhen unns derselben, haben von  
ander orten auch dergleichen, wo unns was zukumbt, soll euch unverhalten von 5  
unns beleiben. Sonnst was euch lieb ist, sein wir zu thun willig.

Datum Cremnitz den XXVII. tag Martii anno Domini XXXXI<sup>o</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.  
Bartholomes Haller vom Hallerstain etc.  
Jonnes Dubrawichky etc. 10

[On the outer side:] Den namhafften, ersamen und weisen herren, richtern und rat  
der stat Schemnitz, unnsere guetten frundten.

620

Miklós Oláh and Bartholomäus Haller to Kremnica Town Council  
Zvolen, 7 May 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1541/1.  
*Notes:* Copy.

618,10 Datum ] *corr: ex Datatum* 618,11 Nicolaus ... etc. ] *O add.* 618,12 Bartholmes ... etc. ] *auth add.*  
618,13 Jonnes ... etc. ] *auth add.* 619,8 Nicolaus ... etc. ] *O add.* 619,9 Bartholomes ... etc. ] *auth add.*  
619,10 Jonnes ... etc. ] *auth add.*

619<sup>1</sup> We do not know these attached letters. According to a note on the outside, one of them must have referred to the siege of Pest.

Miklós Oláh and Bartholomäus Haller inform the Kremnica Town Council that János Dubraviczky was sent to the Archbishop of Esztergom in connection with the urbura on 26 April, and he was also sent to the general of King Ferdinand I in Rome in connection with the Queen Mary and the armed people of Kremnica, that they should be allowed to go home. Dubraviczky has written a letter to them and informed them that although he has fallen ill, he had shown their petition regarding the case both to the Archbishop and to Roggendorf, and he is awaiting their response. In the meantime, the counties have promised to keep their troops armed for another month, and Dubraviczky is trying to make sure together with Oláh and Haller that the troops are not sent home in the end, so they are sending money for their troops for another month after all. They ask if they should send Dubraviczky their payment along with their own, or if Kremnica and the other cities will take care of getting the money to their troops. They inform them that on 26 April the troops were definitely already gathering in preparation of the siege of Buda.

Namhafft, ersam unnd weiss lieb herrn unnd freund, unnsere freuntlich dienst zuvor!

Ir habt guet wissen, das wir herrn Johan Dobrawytzky den 26. tag Aprilis nechst verschinen mit credentzen unnd bephelch an den ertzbischoffen von Gran<sup>1</sup> der urbar unnd an rö. khü. mt.<sup>2</sup> öbristen in das velltleger unnsere gnedigisten reverenzen unnd euers kriegsvolcks halben wider anhaims zu lassenn abgefertiget haben. Auff solliches ist unns vechten spat schreiben von ime, hern Dobrawytzky, kumen, das er als paldt krankch worden unnd zum Sass zu pet lig, aber er hab nicht destminder zu dem ertzbischoffen unnd dem herrn von Rogendorff,<sup>3</sup> geschicht ine sein schachayt unnd verhinderung, auch unnsere begern antzaigen lassen, darauff wart er teglich antwort. Dieweil aber die spanschafft all ir volckh noch ein monnat zu halten zugesagt haben, besorg er, der her Dobrawytzky, unnd wir auch, das mann unnsere volckh auch nicht lassen werde, derhalben wellen wier auff montag schierst dem herrn Dobrawytzky gelt auff ein monat auff unnsere volckh schickhenn, damit kain saumnus an uns erschein. Ob er des nit erlassen wurde, ine haben betzalung zu thun, derhalben wir euch guetter unnd freuntlicher mainung auch antzaigen wellen, ob ir euer gelt mit dem unnsere genanten herrn Dobrawytzky oder fur euch selbst schicken wolt, euch unnd die anndern stet darnach zu richten haben, man soll sich auff 26. Aprill gewislich fur Offen<sup>4</sup> gelegert haben. Was uns weytter zu wissen wirt, soll euch unverhalten bleiben, sunst was euch lieb ist, sein wir zu thun gewilt.

Datum auff dem schloss Altensol den 7. tag des monats May anno Domini 1541.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.  
Bartholmes Haller vom Hallerstein etc.

[On the outer side:] Den namhafften, ersamen unnd weisen herrn, richter unnd rat der stat Cremnitz, unnsere gueten freunden.

620<sup>1</sup> Pál Várday. 620<sup>2</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 620<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm von Roggendorf. 620<sup>4</sup> Buda.

621

Godschalk Ericksen, Miklós Oláh and Bartholomäus Haller  
to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Banská Bystrica, 24 August 1541

*Manuscript used: ŠABB PBŠ MMBS, Missiles 1541/2.*

*Notes: Original letter with signatures and seals. One of the three seals has broken off.*

*As they already know well, the King's campaign for Buda has failed, but they hope all has not been lost yet. They ask them to send the two excellent councilors together with their town notary to Banská Bystrica by 25 August, as they have already written to the Kremnica Town Council. Then János Dubraviczky and the Fugger factor are here, and together they want to have a quorum, so they should not miss it.*

Unnser freundschaftt unnd alles guts zuvor, besonder liebe freundt!

Wiewol wir durch euer und etliche andere freunden schreiben vernumen haben, das ro. khu. mt.<sup>1</sup> etc., unners allergnedigisten hern kriegsvolgkh fur Ofen ain niderlag und schaden gelitten sollen habenn.<sup>2</sup> Wiewol wir verhoffen, die zeitung nicht so schwer sol sein, jedoch sol man nichts verachten unnd in zeitten rat unnd guete 5 mittl zu weiter errettung suchenn. Derhalben ist an euch unser freundtlich pit unnd ernstlich ermanung, das ir auß euerm mittel zwo aneliche rats perschon mitsampt euerm statschreibern morgen, zeitlich den funfundzwanzigisten Augusti, bey unns hieher auf den Neuensol gewißlich schickhen, wie wir den erbarn richter und rat der stat Chrennitz auch geschriben haben. Dann wir hie haben hern Johan Dobotzkhi<sup>3</sup> 10 unnd der Fuggern factor<sup>4</sup> unnd wollen also samentlich mit guettem eindrechtigen rat beschliessen unnd ernstlich furn<emen>, das unnsERM gnedigisten obrighait zu ehern unn<d> unns allen zu rettung unnd gut mit hilf des Allmechtigen geraichen sol. Darumb wollet in khainen wege nichten außbleiben, ist unser ernstlich wil unnd begerrung hiemit dem Almechtigen bevolhen. 15

Datum Neuensol den XXIII. tag Augusti anno XLI.

Godschalk Eryke<sup>5</sup>

Nicolaus Olahus etc.

Bartholmes Haller vom Hallerstain etc.

[On the outer side:] Den ersamen, unnsERN besondern lieben freunden, n.,<sup>6</sup> richter unnd 20 rat der stat Schemnitz.

Cito, cito, cito.

621,1 unnd] *scr del. ex unnd alles* 621,17 Godschalk Eryke ] *auth add.* 621,18 Nicolaus ... etc. ] *O add.* 621,19 Bartholmes ... etc. ] *auth add.*

621<sup>1</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 621<sup>2</sup> The siege of Buda ended on 21–22 August, 1541. For contemporary accounts on the siege, see KASZA 2021. 621<sup>3</sup> János Dubraviczky. 621<sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely. 621<sup>5</sup> Godschalk Ericksen. 621<sup>6</sup> I.e. Name.

Miklós Oláh and Johann Spölin to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Linz, 22 November 1541

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBS, Missiles 1541/2.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*The scribe of the Imperial Chancellery, Ägidius Staub, has written to Oláh, and he has already approached both of them in person several times, to ask them to help with his inheritance because nothing has happened so far. They order them on behalf of Queen Mary to proceed to enforcement as soon as possible, or they should write them the cause of the delay.*

Unnsern grueß mit guetem willen zuvor, Ersam, weiß, sonnder gut freundt!

Der ro. ku. mt.<sup>1</sup> etc. unnsers allergnedigisten herrn hofcanntzleischreiber, Egidius Staub,<sup>2</sup> hat mich, Nicolausen Olah, etc. laut beiligund copi schrifttlich<sup>3</sup> unnd unns bed auch muntlich abermallen seines erbtails wegen angelanngt, ime verholfn zu sein, 5 damit er ainmal darauß unnd damit an ain ort khumbe, wie ir aus seiner yetzigen, auch zuvor euch durch uns und annder irer mt.<sup>4</sup> rate zuegeschickten schriftten unnd bevelh vernomen und zu vernemen habt, damit wir aber verrers anlauffens von ime vertragen. Er auch nit ursach neme, wo ime auf so vielfeltig sein supplicirn unnd anrueffen, so gar khain ausrichtung beschahe, solhes clagweiß wider euch an die ro. 10 ku. mt. und unser gnedigiste frawen zulanngen, das euch zu nachtail unnd grossen ungnaden gedeihen wurde. Ist in hochgedachter unnsere gnedigisten frawen namen abermalen unnsere bevelh unns ennthalten freuntlich begerendt, ir wetlet in diser sachen zum peldisten so nutzlich ausrichtung thuen oder doch ursach, warumben ir das nit schuldig zu sein vermaint oder thun wolle, anzaigen und uns zueschreiben. 15 Das wellen wir uns von hochernenter irer mt. wegen gewislichen und enttlichen versehn, und beschicht auch daran irer ku. mt. bevelh.

Geben zu Lintz den 22. tag Novembris anno etc. im 41<sup>ten</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Johan Spölin etc.<sup>5</sup>

20 [On the outer side:] Den ersamen, weisen, unnsere gueten freundtn, n.,<sup>6</sup> richter unnd rate der kunigklichen perckhstat Schemnitz.

622,18 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 622,19 Johan ... etc.] *auth add.*

622<sup>1</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 622<sup>2</sup> Ägidius Staub was a Chancery clerk (*Kanzleischreiber*) at the Imperial Diet of Speyer in 1544. Between 1539 and 1550, he was a Court Chancery clerk, see ÖStA HHStA OMeA SR Fasc. 181. Nr. 16, 17, 22, 23, 27. 622<sup>3</sup> See Ägidius Staub's *memoriale* to Oláh, BS Missiles 1541/2. 622<sup>4</sup> I.e. Majestät. 622<sup>5</sup> Johann Spölin studied law in Nuremberg, later becoming Queen Mary's Counselor. He was sent to Worms as Mary's Legate, together with Wolfgang Haller and Johann Viglius, see HEISS 1976, 73; and BODENMANN-KESS-STEININGER 2013, 234. 622<sup>6</sup> I.e. Name.



Miklós Oláh to The Seven Mining Towns  
Vienna, 26 January 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 168. Nr. 31a.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

1. Oláh received their letter, addressed to both of them, in Prague on 18 January, in Johann Spölin's absence, when King Ferdinand I was about to go to the imperial diet in Speyer. They have shown King Ferdinand I the petition included in the letter the cities wrote and forwarded it to Queen Mary via mail. King Ferdinand I has promised to protect them and the Queen's other followers in the Queen's absence. He has no doubt that the Queen will make a ruling in Adam Puchwaldt's case, he is expecting her decision any day now. 2. As he understood from their letter, the representatives of the cities have written to the Queen several times. King Ferdinand I is trying to make sure that an army is directed to the Kingdom of Hungary so that he can strike back at the Turks, which will hopefully make progress, and nothing will prevent Oláh from informing them in person. They should be patient and use their heads, lest they suffer any harm due to treachery. He writes to Ruprecht Haller, Balthasar Himmelreich, and Puchwaldt to make sure the Seven Mining Towns suffer no harm.

Mein freuntlichen grueß mit guetem willen zuvor, ersam, weis, sonder lieb herren und gut freundt!

[1.] Eur schreiben, so ir jungstlich mir und doctor Johan Spolin<sup>1</sup> gen Prag zuegethan, hab ich in abwesen gemelts hern doctor Spolins den 18. tag dits monats gleich in aufbruch, als di ro. ku. mt.<sup>2</sup> daselbst zu Prag und auf den reichstag gen Speir werdts verrucken wellen, empfangen, dasselb eur schreiben und darinn gemelt begern und eur obligen, der ro. ku. mt. furtragen, und unnser gnedigisten frauwen in daz Niderlannd auf der posst zuegeschickt, darauf sich sein ro. ku. mt. gantz gnedigclich erboten, sovil muglich ist, handlung furzunemen, wie dann ir mt. im werckh ist, damit ir und annder irer mt. getrewe beschutzt und unbeschwardt sein sollet. So zweiflt mir auch nit, unnser gnedigiste frawe werde aines hauptmans halben auch gewiß unnd zum furderlichsten verordnung thuen, mir darauf antwurt zueschreiben, der ich taglichs gwartundt bin und euch mit ainem tauglichen und nutzlichen versehen.

[2.] Wie ich dann deshalben ee mir eur schreiben zuekhomen, zuvor irer mt. auch zum offermalen geschriben, dann sich warrlich di ro. ku. mt. sonnst seer bemuet und in grosser embsiger uebung ist, ainen gewaltigen zug in Hungern und dem Turggen widerstandt zu thuen, das sich ain Got wel, waz guts zu verhoffen ist, unnd mag sich zuetragen, sofer mich nit waz groß verhindert, euch das selbst muntlich aufs veist zu berichten. Wellet demnach noch die clain zeit geduldt tragen und bei gueter huet und warnung sein, damit euch nit etwo durch verraterey unnd annder poß practicken ainicherlai nachtail oder schad, das Got verhuetten welle, beschehe. Inmassen ich herren Ruepprechten Haller<sup>3</sup> etc., hern Balthasar Himlreich<sup>4</sup> und Puechwallder<sup>5</sup> auch schreib und sy ermon, sovil muglich, ir vleissig gut aufsehen zu haben, damit euch

623<sup>1</sup> Johann Spölin. 623<sup>2</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 623<sup>3</sup> Ruprecht Haller. 623<sup>4</sup> Balthasar Himmelreich was a Deputy Count of the Chamber (*Unterkammergraf*) in Kremnica in 1539, see HEISS 1976, 69. 623<sup>5</sup> Adam Puchwaldt was Captain (*Hauptmann*) of Zvolen, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 14.

khain schad beschehe etc. Das wolt ich euch auf eur schreiben zu antwurt und, des  
25 ain wissen emphacht, gueter mainung also anzaigen. Dann warinnen ich euch allen  
freuntlichen und dienstlichen willen erzaigen und beweisen khan, sollt ir mich willig  
haben.

Geben zu Wienn den 26. tag January anno etc. im zwayundvierzigstenn.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

30 [On the outer side:] Den ersamen unnd weisen, meinen sondern leiben herrn unnd  
gueten freuntten, n.,<sup>6</sup> richtern und raten der siben hungarischen perckhsteet sament  
unnd sonnderlichen.

624

Miklós Oláh to Ruprecht Haller  
Zvolen, 29 May 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1542.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He has arrived here at the Queen's order, and he has brought Nicolaus Prossinowzky, the Queen's servitor with him, they only need Ruprecht Haller now. He thus orders him to come here tomorrow and declare that he has received the Queen's order from him. If there is anything in Klee's matter, the citizens will delay it so they can get information in the meantime, lest anything happens that would be damaging for the Queen.*

Salutem plurimam et mei commendationes, Nobilis et Strenue Domine et Amice  
Honorandissime!<sup>1</sup>

Ex commissione ac mandato maiestatis reginalis, dominae nostrae clementissi-  
mae veni huc. Adduxi mecum dominum Nicolaum Prossenowczki,<sup>2</sup> suae maiestatis  
5 reginalis servitorem, opus itaque est hic praesentia Dominationis Vestrae. Quare  
rogo eandem, ut die crastina huc venire et hic constitui velit, ut maiestatis reginalis,  
dominae nostrae clementissimae voluntatem et mandatum a me intelligat. Si quid istic  
esset negotii in causa Cleh,<sup>3</sup> quam dominum Georgium Raychesdorffer<sup>4</sup> sollicitare au-  
dio, illud domini cives differant interea, dum aliam habuerint informationem, quibus  
10 maiestatis suae reginalis nomine Dominatio Vestra committat, ut id omnino faciant,  
et ne quid in praeiudicium ac damnum maiestatis suae reginalis decernant. Dominatio  
Vestra bene valeat, quam in crastinum diem huc exspecto.

<sup>623,29</sup> Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* <sup>624,8</sup> Cleh] *O corr. ex Cheh*

<sup>623</sup> <sup>6</sup>I.e. Name. <sup>624</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ruprecht Haller. <sup>624</sup> <sup>2</sup>Nicolaus Prossinowzky or Prossenoffsky was Deputy of Queen Mary in the Moravian States after the Queen left Znaim in 1531. He later became Captain (*Schlosshauptmann*) of Zvolen in 1542, see HEISS 1976, 117; MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 15. <sup>624</sup> <sup>3</sup>Martin Klee and his brother, Michael Klee were influential traders in the Kingdom of Hungary, see TÓZSA-RIGÓ 2012, 340; and MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, passim. <sup>624</sup> <sup>4</sup>Georg von Reicherstorffer (ca.1495–1554) was a Saxon agent and Secretary of Queen Mary, becoming Secretary of King Ferdinand I in 1527. In 1528, he became Royal Councilor, and in 1537, a Counselor of the Hungarian Chamber. He is also known for his description of Moldova in 1541 and the complete description of Transylvania in 1550. See FAZEKAS 2021, 196; KASZA 2019, 108; and SZABADI 1994.

Ex Veteri Zolio 29. Maii anno 1542.

Vester Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

[On the other side:] Nobili et strenuo viro domino Ruperto Haller ab Hallerstain 15  
dapifero maiestatis reginalis dominae meae clementissimae etc. domino et amico  
honorandissimo.

625

Miklós Oláh and Ruprecht Haller to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Zvolen, 1 June 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1542.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*They have noticed that the Banská Štiavnica Town Council are receiving daily news about Esztergom through their emissaries as well as from other sources. Therefore, they are asking them to share these with them as well, and they want to help in the measures against the Ottomans to protect the entire area surrounding the mining towns.*

Unnsern fruntlichen grues mit guetem willen zuvor, ersam, lieb herren und guet  
frundt!

Nachdem sich die leuff diser zeit gantz sorglich und gefarlich ertzaigen, haben  
wir vernomen, wie ir durch eur gesandnten und annder taglichen neue zeitung von  
Graan<sup>1</sup> und von anndern orten habet. Ist demnach unnser bit und begern an euch, ir  
willet uns, was ir nun also furter vernemen werdet, solhes jeder zeit unvertzogenlich  
antzaigen. Daentgegen wellen wir auch dermassen unser aufsehen haben und alles,  
das jhenig mit pestem muglichen vleis furnemen, helffen, das euch und dem gantzen  
lannd der perggstet zu guetem und wuerklichem schutz und scherm gedeihen mag.

Datum im sloß Altennsol den ersten tag Junii anno etc. im XLII<sup>ten</sup>. 10

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Ruprecht Haller etc.

[On the outer side:] Denn ersamenn, wissen, n.,<sup>2</sup> richter unnd ratt der statt Schemb-  
nitz unsren guetenn frainden zu hannden.

626

Miklós Oláh and Nicolaus Prossinowzky to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Zvolen, 21 June 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1542.

*Notes:* Original letter with seals.

625,<sup>11</sup> Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 625,<sup>12</sup> Ruprecht ... etc.] *auth add.*

625<sup>1</sup> Esztergom. 625<sup>2</sup> I.e. Name.

They are sending the reply to their petition attached to this letter, from which they will understand what Lévai's widow is requesting. As far as he remembers, the King gave 1,500 florins last year as a result of Oláh's intervention, but they do not know if they were not too lenient regarding the sentence due to David, as Anna Lévai writes. In any case, after the latest assembly in Zvolen they came to an agreement, as Anna Lévai writes, to avoid larger expenses and damages later. Beside the reconciliation, they also made a promise to Lévai's provisor and David's heirs.

Prudenti et Circumspecti Domini, Amici Nobis Honorandissimi, salutem plurimam et mei commendationes!

Litteras vestras simul et generosae dominae Annae de Lewa<sup>1</sup> relictæ accepimus.<sup>2</sup> Itaque ad petitionem vestram exemplum responsi præsentibus inclusum ad vos mittimus, ex quo intelligetis, quid ipsa domina relictæ scribat et optat. Maiestas quidem regia, dominus noster clementissimus anno superiori ad meam Nicolai Olahi intercessionem et sollicitationem, uti aliquot vestrum sciunt, de multa illa, ni fallor, 1500 florentium vobis gratiam fecit. Nescimus tamen, si etiam de iudiciis et damno Davidi litterati, uti domina ipsa de Lewa scribit, illarum gratiam fecerit, quod ex litteris regiiis, quas ego Nicolaus Olahus vobis ordinaveram, perspicere deberit. Utcumque tamen se res habeat, si post dietam præteritam Novizoliensem,<sup>3</sup> uti ipsa domina de Lewa scribit, concordastis, nisi provisor ipsius et Davide litterato, nobis ita videretur etc. propter vitandas maiores expensas et earum damna, quæ vobis nisi tempore inferri hac ratione possent. Iuxta concordiam et promissionem factam provisorii de Lewa et hæredibus Davidis litterati satisfaceretis. Quid tamen melius vobis factu sit, vos exsignate. Quibus nos omne bonum et commode cupimus, quos et feliciter valere optamus.

Ex arce Zoliensi XXI. Iunii anno Domini MDXLII.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis consiliarius regie maiestatis etc.

Nicolaus Prossenowzky de Wynkow  
eques auratus comes et capitaneus Zoliensis

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspectibus dominis iudicii ac iuratis civibus civitatis Semniciensis amicis nobis honorandissimis.

627

Miklós Oláh, Nicolaus Prossinowzky and Ruprecht Haller  
to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Zvolen, 24 June 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBS, Missiles 1548 (!).

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

626,9 litterati] *corr. ex litterato*

626<sup>1</sup> Probably Anna Thurzó, Gábor Lévai's widow. Lévai fell at the siege of Buda and Pest in 1541, see KASZA 2021, 220; and Ep. 619. 626<sup>2</sup> We do not know these letters. 626<sup>3</sup> The diet in Banská Bystrica was held in February and March of 1542.

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*They have heard that some citizens of Banská Štiavnica are moving with their family and fortune from Banská Štiavnica to some place else, which is a great loss not only for the city of Banská Štiavnica but also in terms of maintaining the mines. Therefore, on behalf of Queen Mary they order them to prohibit this migration to your citizens and order them to move back to Banská Štiavnica together with their livestock, and for everyone to do their job. Otherwise they will face punishment.*

Unnser fraindtlich grueß mit guettem willenn zuvorann, ersam, weis, besonnder lieb hern unnd fraindt!

Demnach wier bericht werdenn, wie sich etlich auß ewern mitwanern sambt irenn weib unnd khindern, auch ire habend, guettern vonn der Schembnitz ann anndere ordtt ziehenn, das dann nit allein gemainer statt Schembnitz dem ganntzenn lanndt 5 unnd ir khu. mt.,<sup>1</sup> unser allergnedigsten frawenn camer, sonnder auch zu erhaltung der pergkhwerch zw grossem nachtaill reicht, ist desshalb inn namenn hochgemelter khu. mt., unnser allergnedigsten frawen unnser bevelh an euch, ir wollet sollichs wekhziehen nit allem niemannndt gepattenn, sonnder auch ewern mitwannern, so sich also wekhzogenn, ernstlich bevelhenn unnd gepietten, daß sie sich mit irer personn hab unnd guettern unverzogenlich wider auf di Schembnitz stellenn unnd ireß hanndls unnd pergwerchs außwartenn, dann, wo sie in sollichem ungehorsam erscheinenn, wurdit ir khu. mt. verursacht in annder weg, wie sich in sollichem geburdt, gegen in zu hanndln. Damit thw wier euch und unns all dem almechtigen Got bevelhen. 15

Datum Altsoll 24. Juni 1542<sup>ten</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.  
Nykulass Prosynowsky etc.  
Rupprecht Haller etc.

[On the outer side:] Den ersamen und weysssen, n.,<sup>2</sup> richter unnd ratt der statt Schembnitz, unnsern sonder liebenn frainnden.

628

Miklós Oláh and Ruprecht Haller to Banská Bystrica Town Council  
Banská Štiavnica, 6 July 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 168. No. 55.

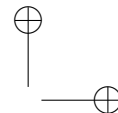
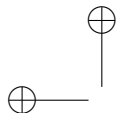
*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*Banská Bystrica was only willing to postpone the lawsuit between the widow of János Dubraviczky and Georg Schäffer until the following Tuesday, in spite of a petition made by the widow. However, the widow was not able to appear on this day because she had to comply with her conscription obligation, so Oláh and Ruprecht Haller ask on behalf of the Queen that the Banská Bystrica Town Council adjourn the next hearing until after the dissolution of the army.*

627,17 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 627,18 Nykulass ... etc.] *auth add.* 627,19 Rupprecht ... etc.] *auth add.*

627<sup>1</sup> I.e. königliche Majestät. 627<sup>2</sup> I.e. Name.

277



Unnser fraindtlich grues zuvorann, sonnder lieb hernn unnd fraind!  
 Demnach wier euch vergangen tagenn auff der fraw Dobrawitzkhy<sup>1</sup> bitt an-  
 gelanngt irem derselbenn zeit angesetztenn rechtstag zwischenn ier unnd Geor-  
 genn Schaffer<sup>2</sup> etlicher beweglichenn ursachenn halbenn auff ein zeit zu verlenngern  
 5 unnd zw erstrekhenn, darauff unns dann gemelte fraw abermals angelanngdt unnd  
 zw erkennen geben, wie ier gemeltenn rechtstag nit lenger, dann bis auff nechst  
 khunfftigenn erichtag<sup>3</sup> erstrekht unnd verlenngerdt habt. Diewayll ir aber auß denn  
 ursachenn, wie wier euch zuvor zugeschribenn, mit denn irenn zw erscheinenn nit  
 10 muglich lange sehenn, daß sie iere lewdt, so sie zw sollichem prauchenn mueß,  
 nit ainhams, sonnder, wie meniglich wissenndt, auff ro. khu. mt.<sup>4</sup> ernstlich bevelh  
 in das leger schikhen muessenn. Ist derhalb auff begern gemelter frawen unnser  
 pit, ir wollet sollichenn rechtstag biß zw dem abzug des khriegsvolkhs verlenngern  
 unnd erstrekhenn, doch dermassenn versehung thuen, damit solliche verlenngerung  
 gemelter frawenn nach Georgen Schaffer nit zw nachtayll oder schadenn raichenn  
 15 maeg, wie ierer zu thun woll werdt wissen. Damit waß euch fraindtlich lieb ist.

Datum Crembnitz den VI. Juli anno 42.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.  
 Ruprecht Haller etc.

[On the outer side:] Denn ersamen unnd weysenn, n.,<sup>5</sup> richter unnd ratt der statt  
 20 Newsoll, unnsern guetten fraindenn etc.

629

Miklós Oláh and Ruprecht Haller to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
 Banská Štiavnica, 16 July 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 168. Nr. 56.  
*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signatures and seals.

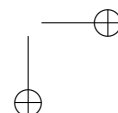
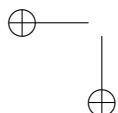
*The widow of the late Dubraviczky has informed them that in the lawsuit between the widow of János Dubraviczky and Georg Schaffer, citizen of Banská Bystrica, the next court date has been set for the following Tuesday. However, Banská Bystrica is fully aware that the King has ordered troops to be sent to Esztergom by 20 July, and because Mrs Dubraviczky is affected by this and cannot appear as a result, he asks for the hearing to be adjourned.*

Unnser freundlich grueß unnd alles guets zuvor, sonnder lieb herrn unnd freundt!  
 Unnß hat herr Jhann Dabrawitzki<sup>1</sup> seligen verlaßne wittib<sup>2</sup> angelanngt unnd  
 zue versteen geben, wie auf ir freundlich anlanngett zwischen irer unnd Geörgen

628,17 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 628,18 Ruprecht ... etc.] *auth add.*

628<sup>1</sup> Probably Helena Kóváry, who was János Dubraviczky's wife (already a widow this time), see PALÁSTHY 1891, 274. 628<sup>2</sup> Georg Schaffer or Schäffer was a member of the Banská Bystrica Town Council from 1527, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 145 and passim; and KUZMA 2004. 628<sup>3</sup> 11 July. 628<sup>4</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 628<sup>5</sup> I.e. Name. 629<sup>1</sup> János Dubraviczky. 629<sup>2</sup> Helena Kóváry.

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Schaffer,<sup>3</sup> burger im Newennsoll, ain rechtstag yedem tail alda vor euch zu erschinen  
auf negst khomenden dinnstag<sup>4</sup> amgestellt unnd benennt worden, dieweil euch dann 5  
bewisst, daz die ro. kho. mt.<sup>5</sup> etc. ernnstlich bevolhenn unnd auferlegt hat, das ain  
yeder sein geburenden tail kriegsvolckh am sexten tag vor Jacobi<sup>6</sup> zu Grann<sup>7</sup> bereit  
unnd verttig habenn mueß. Derhalben gemelte fraw Dobrawitzkin diser zeit auch  
dermaßen mit sölichem beladen, das ir auf abgemelten tag vor euch zu erschinen nit  
muglich sein soll, unnd unns derhalben gebetten, euch zuschreiben, und bitten, das 10  
ir auf ditz mal gemelten tag also aufziehen und furan zeit verlenngern wolt, welches  
wir dann angesehen der nöttwendigen ursach halben also zu thun bitten. Damit waß  
euch lieb ist.

Datum Crembnitz denn 16. Julii anno etc. im 42<sup>ten</sup>.

Dominationes Vestrae velint differre negotium hoc ad aliud tempus et usque ad id, 15  
ad quod ipsa domina Dominationem Vestram postea rursus requisiverit. Nam nunc  
est occupata tam in missione servitorum suorum ad expeditionem hanc generalem,  
et praeterea fratres quoque ipsius et consanguinei sunt omnes in hac expeditione.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Ruprecht Haller etc. 20

[On the outer side:] Denn ersamen unnd weisen herrn, n.,<sup>8</sup> richer und rat der stat  
Newensol, unnsern sonnder guetten freunden zu hannden.

630

Miklós Oláh and Ruprecht Haller to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Banská Štiavnica, 8 August 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1542.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*Oláh and Ruprecht Haller have heard that some subjects of the Queen as well as the Banská Štiavnica Town Council is refusing to provide a written receipt of the loan they have received for the maintenance of their mines from the Queen's Chamber at the request of the Banská Štiavnica Town Council. They therefore order them on behalf of the Queen to help Peter Hilleprandt, Thadeus Bartfelder, or Peter Ungerfeindt, to whom they have turned in this case, to request that the Banská Štiavnica Town Council provides a written receipt without delay, as Banská Štiavnica Councilor Banngratz and the town notary had already been ordered to do so in person a few days ago.*

Unnsrer freuntlich grueß zuvor, lieben herrn unnd gueten freunt!

Demnach wir bericht, wie sich etlich ir khu. mt.<sup>1</sup> etc. unnsrer allergnedigisten  
frawen unnderthanen und eurer mitburger beschweren und widern umb daz furlehen,

629,15–18 Dominationes ... expeditione ] *O add.* 629,19 Nicolaus ... etc. ] *O add.* 629,20 Ruprecht ...  
etc. ] *auth add.* 630,3 eurer ] *auth add.*

629<sup>3</sup> Georg Schäffer. 629<sup>4</sup> 11 July, according to the previous letter, Ep. 628. 629<sup>5</sup> I.e. römische königliche  
Majestät. 629<sup>6</sup> 20 July. 629<sup>7</sup> Esztergom. 629<sup>8</sup> I.e. Name. 630<sup>1</sup> I.e. königliche Majestät.

so inen auf ir hoch bit aus ir khu. mt. chamer zu unnderhaltung irer perckhwerch  
5 furgelihen, ire schriftlich bekhanntnuß zu geben, wie dann schon etlich gethan. Ist  
derhalb in ir khu. mt. etc. namen unnser bevelh an euch und fur unns unnser  
fruntlich bit, wie euch Petter Hiltpranndt,<sup>2</sup> Thadeuß Bartfelder<sup>3</sup> oder Petter Unn-  
gerfeindt<sup>4</sup> inn sollichem umb hilff anlengen wurd, ir wellet inen zu sollichem  
verhelffen und dermaßen verschaffen, das gemelte widersprünge waltpurger<sup>5</sup> ire  
10 solche ire bekhanntnuß an weitter auffzug geben, wie wir euch dann vor etlichen  
tagen mundtlich durch euren ratsfreundt, Banngratz<sup>6</sup> und dem statschreiber,<sup>7</sup> zu  
entbotten und aufgelegt haben etc. Damit was euch freuntlich lieb ist.

Datum Crembnitz den 8. tag Augusti anno im 42<sup>ten</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

15

Ruprecht Haller etc.

[On the outer side:] Denn ersamen unnd weysen herrn, n.,<sup>8</sup> richter unnd rat der stat  
Schembnitz, unnsern sonnder gueten freunden zu hanndenn.

631

Miklós Oláh to Elek Thurzó  
Kremnica, 28 August 1542

— *Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 196 – Irregistrata – Levelek – Thurzó I. Elek – Oláh Miklós, fol. 16r–17v. —

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Although Elek Thurzó no doubt has already learned about everything, he is also sending him what he knows. As he knows, the bishopric of Transylvania is vacant, or better to say, it is usurped by Queen Isabella. The King has promised many times, not only to Queen Mary but also in three different letters, to promote Oláh and give him a vacant bishopric. His friends are keeping him going, but he has already noticed that the rulers prefer those who have become their followers recently compared to their old loyal people. So if Thurzó thinks there is hope to get this bishopric, he should lobby for it with the King in a letter or through Hans Hoffman. 2. As far as he knows, George Martinuzzi wants to sell in exchange for the bishopric what he would otherwise give away for free; in this case Serédi has been suspended, and his competitor is Orbán Batthyány. Oláh asks Thurzó to help him, if nothing else works, the way he did once upon a time against Tamás Szalaházy for the bishopric of Nitra. However, if the case has been decided, and there is no hope, he should let him know, too, so he does not rage in vain.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, Patrone Observandissime, servitiorum meorum commendationem!

630,14 Nicolaus ... etc. ] *O add.* 630,15 Ruprecht ... etc. ] *auth add.*

630<sup>2</sup> Peter Hilleprandt or Hillnprandt was Deputy Count of the Chamber (*Unterkammergraf*) of Banská Štiavnica between 1529 and 1543, MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 13; PROBSZT, 1958, 66. 630<sup>3</sup> Thadeus Bartfelder was citizen of Banská Štiavnica, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 575. 630<sup>4</sup> Peter Ungerfeindt or Hungerfeindt was Deputy Count of the Chamber (*Unterkammergraf*) of Banská Štiavnica, see DENIS 1807, 358. 630<sup>5</sup> Waldbürger 'citizen of a mining town'. 630<sup>6</sup> Probably Pankraz. We do not know him more closely. 630<sup>7</sup> Anton Paus. 630<sup>8</sup> I.e. Name.



[1.] Tametsi non dubitem omnia Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae per dominos Fucaros<sup>1</sup> et alios suos amicos significari, quaecumque vel in Germania vel aliis externis provinciis agantur, volui tamen eidem ego quoque significare, quae amici mei mecum 5 communicant, quae Dominatio Vestra Magnifica ex scriptis praesentibus annexis intelliget. Hinc nihil est aliud, quod scribam, praeter furnariorum et carbonariorum strepitum et sordiciem.

Novit optime Dominatio Vestra Magnifica episcopatum Transsylvaniensem vacare,<sup>2</sup> sed quid vacare dicam, cum regina Ioannis regis vidua<sup>3</sup> eum possideat. Id 10 quoquo non ignorat, quo modo maiestas regia, dominus meus clementissimus de mei promotione spem saepius dederit non modo medio serenissimae reginae, dominae meae clementissimae, sed etiam per Dominationem Vestram Magnificam et litteris suis, ut opinor, ternis, quibus non tantum certificat, verum etiam promittit in verbo suo regio de primo episcopatu vacaturo mihi conferendo. 15

Amici mei, qui mihi benevolunt, et verbis et litteris crebris me sollicitant, ne mihi deessem. Ego etsi sciam, quam difficulter polleant principes nostri, quorum animum longa iam conversatione et experientia didici, hoc tempore benemeritos et in servitiis veteranos promovere, eorumque maiorem ipsos habere rationem, qui ex latrocinio et prodicione veteri ad novam accedunt nescio quam oboedientiam, quam quorum fides 20 et integritas est eis cognita. Tamen ne aut amicis me assidue stimulantibus aut mihi omnino deesse videar, rogo Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, ut si putaverit spem aliquam hac in re esse, dignetur apud maiestatem regiam vel per litteras, vel medio domini Ioanis Hoffman<sup>4</sup> vel alterius amici sui partes suas, ut maiestas sua de praedicto beneficio mihi provideat. Non cupio aliud a Dominatione Vestra Magnifica in mei 25 promotionem inpendi, quam millesimam partem eius operae atque diligentiae, quam ego in rebus et servitiis Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae mihi commissis semper praestiti. Quod si fiet, arbitrabor et meis rebus satis augmenti accessisse, et mihi vicem repensam.

[2.] Non ignoro Fratrem Georgium<sup>5</sup> huc tendere, ut episcopatum praefato vendat, 30 quod alioqui gratis dare deberet, si quae est in eo pietatis religio, et ipsum Seredi<sup>6</sup> esse hac in re intermissum, Urbanumque Bathyani,<sup>7</sup> si recte rem intelligo, competitorem esse. Attamen credo iam longa rerum et hominum novorum experientia maiestatem regiam satis edoctam esse, quid facere debeat et quam non fuerit hactenus, nec suae maiestati, nec regno suo tutum et commodum, novos homines fidelibus perpetuis 35 praeponere. Qua ex re futurum esse arbitror, ut sua maiestas cautius sit deinceps in promovendis hominibus novis actura. Dignetur igitur Dominatio Vestra Magnifica

631,8 sordiciem] *corr.* ex sordaciem 631,10 possideat] *O corr.* ex possideret 631,12 saepius] *O add.* 631,18 iam] *O add.* 631,24 vel ... sui] *O add.* 631,31 gratis] *O del.* ex gratis facere

631<sup>1</sup> Fuggers. 631<sup>2</sup> The bishopric of Transylvania had been vacant since 1540 or 1542. Neither Gerendi's (†1540), not Statileo's (†1542) appointment was confirmed by the Pope. 631<sup>3</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon. 631<sup>4</sup> Hans Hofmann. 631<sup>5</sup> George Martinuzzi or Juraj Utješević (1482/1484?–1551) was loyal to King John I. He was a Pauline monk from 1512 and had a brilliant career: he was Treasurer and later Bishop of Oradea, then he became Count of Bihar county in 1534, Governor in 1541, and finally Cardinal and Archbishop of Esztergom in 1551. For more on him, see OBORNI 2017. 631<sup>6</sup> Gáspár Serédi. 631<sup>7</sup> Orbán Batthyány.

pro meis servitiis in mei favorem apud maiestatem suam rem experiri, quae si aliter non successerit, velit addere illam artem, qua sapienter usa olim fuerat, dum oppugnatorem haberet Thomam<sup>8</sup> quondam episcopum in episcopatu Nitriensi etc. Non deerunt fortasse amici, qui etiam me nolente subvenient.

Quod si nullam spem nunc fore, vel iactam iam aliam esse Dominatio Vestra Magnifica putaverit, dignetur mihi significare, rogo, ne inscius rei delirare, et frustra lapidem Sisyphi volvere videar. Quod mecum aliquando fuerit actum, sibi factum esse Dominatio Vestra Magnifica non ignorat. Novit enim meam erga eandem a puero observantiam et serviendi animum. Si quid itaque Dominatio Vestra Magnifica agendum esse putaverit et egerit, dignetur me certum reddere, ut sciam res meas ad id dirigere. Ego hic sum licet invitus, non imbrum aut belli incommodorum terrore, sed quia eius cantilenam me canere oportet, cuius curru vehor. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam Deus conservet felicissimam et incolumem et reducat, cui servitia mea iterum commendo.

Cremniciae 28. Augusti 1542.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae servitor

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

55 [On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Alexio Turzoni de Bethlenfalwa iudici curiae et locumtenenti regio etc. domino et patrono observandissimo.

632

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Zvolen, 14 September 1542

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1542.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Wolff Nadler has told them that Martin Klee and himself brought their complaint against each other in front of the Queen's councilors and commissioners in Vienna last July. Klee then requested a stay in their dispute regarding the valuation until the commissioners arrive, which they expect to happen in the coming days, and so the issues can be discussed lawfully due to the postponement. However, despite all this they have been informed that Klee and his servants have continued with the valuation, so he orders Klee on behalf of the Queen not to continue with it on his own and not to cause damage but wait for the arrival of the commissioners. If they refuse to do so, the Queen as their landlord has the right to bring them to justice.*

631,47 dignetur ] *O del. ex dignetur mihi* 631,50 incolumem ] *O del. ex incolumem Cui*

631,49 cantilenam ... vehor ] Cf. old Hungarian proverb: "kinek szekere farkán ülsz, annak nótáját dudoljad." KV 1866., see ERDÉLYI 1851, 362. No. 7112. See also Ep. 466.

631<sup>8</sup> Tamás Szalaházy.

Unnser freundlich grueß zuvor, liebenn herrnn unnd freundt!

Demnach unuß Wolff Nadler<sup>1</sup> anzeigt unnd furbracht hat, wie Martin Clee<sup>2</sup> unnd er im monnat July negst vergangen<sup>3</sup> zu Wienn vor khu. mt., unnser allergnedigisten frawen rätten unnd comissarien, unnsern herrn unnd freunden ir beschwerdt, so sy gegenainandern gehabt, furbracht haben. Darauff dann gemellter Clee ain schriftli- 5 cher abschidt ervolgt unnd, sovil die new schatzunng betrifft, ain stillstanndt biß auf gemellter herrn comissari ankhunfft (der wir dann téglich gewarttig sein) auffgelegt wordenn, damit dieselbenn in irer khu. mt. namen die sachen weiter erledigen, unnd waß billich darinnen hanndlen mugen. Aber unangesehen des allen, so vernemen wir, daz sich der Clee oder sein dienner unnderstätt unnd vermaint, weiter dann die 10 erst schatzung zu greiffen. Ist derhalben in namen hochgedachter khu. mt.,<sup>4</sup> unnser allergnedigsten frawenn, nochmalß unnser bevelh (wie dann zuvor auch beschehen), daz ir dem gemeltten Clee nit weiter allain, sovil die erst rechtlich schatzung vermag, gestatten, auch khainß wegs ir ku. mt. camer zu nachtail eingriff thunn laßen, sonnder di sachen also biß auf gemellter herrn comissari ankhunfft beruehen laßen wolt. 15 Wa aber annders ervolgte khundt, ir ermessen, daz sich ir khu. mt. alß euer richter oberkeitt pilliche ursach gegen euch zu beschweren und zu ersuechen haben, wurden. Haben wir euch freundtlicher maynung nit wellen verhallten, euch habenn darnach zu richten, damit waß euch freundtlich lieb ist und Got bevolhen.

Datum Altensol den 14. September anno etc. 1542<sup>ten</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Denn ersamenn unnd weisen herrnn, n.,<sup>5</sup> richter unnd rat der stat Schembnitz, unnsern gutten freunnden.

633

Miklós Oláh and Ruprecht Haller to Krupina Town Council  
Zvolen, 24 September 1542

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, R 314 – 87. – No. 2.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*Miklós Oláh and Ruprecht Haller order the city of Krupina on behalf of the Queen that instead of the tax of 66 denarii that had been ordered by them and the Captain [of Zvolen], which they have not yet paid, they should first collect the emergency tax of 75 denarii per household that had been voted for by the diet for the maintenance of the troops, as well as the one-florin tax, without delay, and send it to Zvolen.*

Unnser freundlich grueß zuvorann, lieben freundt!

Demnach wir, auch der herr haubtman<sup>1</sup> euch verganngnen tag aufferlegt die 66 denarii newen anschnit herauff Alltensol zu verordnen, darauff wellen wir euch nit

632,21 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.*

632<sup>1</sup> Wolff Nadler was a *Waldbürger* (citizen of a mining town) in Banská Štiavnica, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 600. 632<sup>2</sup> Martin Klee. 632<sup>3</sup> July 1542. 632<sup>4</sup> I.e. königlichen Majestät. 632<sup>5</sup> I.e. Name. 633<sup>1</sup> Probably Máté Gynn who was Captain of Zvolen between 1541–1543.

verhallten, wie vor wenig tagen ein bevelh vonn der unngerischen landtschafft, herrn  
5 unnd edlleuten ann alle stuel dis lanndts, desselben neuen anschnitts halben khumen,  
darinen sy in ro. khu. mt.<sup>2</sup> etc., unnser allergnedigsten herrn namenn bevelhen, daz  
man von ydem hauß, so vormalß in dem verganngnen anschnitt ain gulden geben,<sup>3</sup>  
yetzt widerumb vonn stundann 75 denarii zallt nemen solln, damit das khriegsvolckh  
weiter unnderhalten mug werden. Ist derhalben ir khu. mt. etc., unnser allergnedig-  
10 sten frawen namen unnser bevelh, dieweil ir die 66 denarii, wie obgemelt, vonn yedem  
hauß noch mit erlegt habt, das ir annstat derselbenn 66 denarii die vorgemellten 75  
denarii vonn yedem hauß, wie obgedacht, unverzogenlich einpringen unnd herauff  
Alltensol verordnen wollt, damit solch gelt sambt andern zu weiter unnderhaltung  
des khriegsfolckh gebraucht mug werden. Haben wir euch freuntlicher maynung,  
15 euch haben darnach zu richten nit wellen verhallten.

Datum Alltenssol<sup>4</sup> den 24. September anno etc. im 42<sup>ten</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

Ruprecht Haller etc.

[On the outer side:] Denn ersamenn unnd weysenn herrnn, n.,<sup>5</sup> richter unnd rat der  
20 stat Kherppenn, unsern guetten freunden zw hanndenn.

634

Miklós Oláh and Godschalk Ericksen to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Kremnica, 22 January 1543

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1543.

*Notes:* Original letter with seals.

*They are hereby letting them know that they have sent two couriers from Kremnica to the court of Bratislava on account of the Queen's highly urgent affairs. Since those from Banská Štiavnica have affairs to settle both in connection with their own city and with other mining towns, beside the Queen's affairs they will also represent the cases in connection with the mining towns; they hope that they will return within a few days. In the meantime, the Treasurer and Mr Buchsbaum are here in Kremnica, whose task is to discuss with the people of Banská Štiavnica the cases they will bring forward.*

Unnsern freuntlichen grueß mit guetem willen zuvor, ersam, weiß, sonnder gut freunt!

Wir fuegen euch hiemit zu wissen, das wir zween als heut von hinen und in gar  
genotigen unnser gnedigsten frawen geschafften gen Prespurg zum rechten reiten  
5 und khomen müssen, weil dann ir auch sachen und handlungen euch unnd di andern  
perckhsteet betreffendt im rechten habt, wellen wir dieselben neben unser gnedigi-

633,7 gulden] *auth del. ex gulden gelt* 633,17 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 633,18 Ruprecht ... etc.] *auth add.* 634,5 andern] *auth add.*

633<sup>2</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 633<sup>3</sup> On this tax and the decisions of the diet in Banská Bystrica see FRAKNÓI 1875, 312. 633<sup>4</sup> Later handwriting below it: Alltenssol. 633<sup>5</sup> I.e. Name.

sten frauen, geschafften anfordern, hoffen auch, ob Got will in wenig tagen wider hereinzukhomen. Mitlerweil beleiben der herr schatzmaister<sup>1</sup> und her Puchspaum<sup>2</sup> hie innen, di haben verrer sachen mit euch zu handeln, wie ir von inen vernemen werden. Das wolten wir euch, dess ain wissen emphacht, also anzaigen unnd nit 10 verhalten. Damit sei die gnad Gottes mit uns allen. Amen.

Geben Cremnitz den 22. tag Januarii anno etc. im 43<sup>ten</sup>.

Gotschalck Erycke etc.

Nicolaus Olahus etc.

[On the outer side:] Den ersamen und weisen, unsern sondern gueten freunden, n.,<sup>3</sup> 15 richter unnd rate der küniglichen perkhstat Schembnitz.

635

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Bratislava, 10 February 1543

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 50. Konv. B., fol. 29.

*Published:* SZÁDECZKY 1880, 596.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Fueled by the hope that King Ferdinand I has often praised Oláh's intention to move up, he is not ashamed to ask him to secure him a place or position in the vacant Eger or Transylvanian bishoprics, which task he would fulfill faithfully and diligently. 2. So he asks him to please give him one of the two above-mentioned remunerations. If he missed anything before, he will strive to make up for it many times over. He is looking forward to his gracious answer and sends his greetings.

Sacratissima Maiestas Regia Domine, Domine Clementissime, fidelitatis et servitiorum meorum perpetuorum in clementiam Maiestatis Vestrae Sacratissimae humillimam commendationem!

[1.] Spe ea ductus, quam mihi Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra de mei promotione saepenumero clementer facere dignata fuit, non erubui clementiam et munificentiam 5 eius nunc supplex implorare, cum Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae in episcopatibus Agriensi et Transsylvaniensi nunc vacantibus<sup>1</sup> datam esse videam occasionem, qua in me suam clementiam declarare possit, et mihi locum ac conditionem dare, ex qua non quidem fidelius, quam in hunc diem (id enim totis viribus curavi), sed diligentius 10 et commodius servire valeam.

635,5 erubui] *O del. ex erubui supplex*

634<sup>1</sup> The Treasurer of Bratislava was Blasius Gross, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 430. 634<sup>2</sup> Buchsbaum was an agent of the Fuggers, see MEIER-PIIRAINEN-WEGERA 2009, 266. 634<sup>3</sup> I.e. Name. 635<sup>1</sup> Oláh aspired to an Episcopate for a long time. He wrote about this desire to Imre Kálnai in 1530, see Ep. 98. The Episcopate of Eger was unfilled after Ferenc Frangepán died in January 1543. The Episcopate of Alba Julia was unfilled after Miklós Gerendi died in 1540, and the interregnum lasted until 1551. In addition, all the Transylvanian Saxonian priests converted to Lutheranism in 1543.

[2.] Supplico igitur Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae humillime, dignetur ex sua clementia altero beneficiorum praefatorum mihi providere. Si quid hactenus a me intermissum est servitii apud Maiestatem Vestram, curabo id omnibus viribus provi-  
sus eiusdem clementia cumulate reponere. Gratosum a Sacratissima Maiestate Vestra  
15 exspecto responsum. Quam Deus optimus maximus felicem et incolumem conservet.

In cuius clementiam me et fidelia servitia mea iterum atque iterum supplex commendo.

Ex Posonio decima Februarii anno 1543.

Eius Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humilis et fidelis servitor

20 Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae maiestati regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. domino meo clementissimo.

636

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Bratislava, 24 February 1543

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1543.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He has talked to Dalmadi about their case. The noblemen who claim that the possessions belong to the Banská Štiavnica people are not here because as soon as the opinions against Miklós Dóczy were heard in favor of the possessions of the Banská Štiavnica people, these noblemen went home. Dalmadi has still made an agreement with them that they are ready to profess in front of the assembly that the possessions belong to those in Banská Štiavnica.*

Salutem plurimam, Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandissimi!

In negotio Dominationum Vestrarum locutus sum hic cum Thoma Dalmadi.<sup>1</sup> Nobiles illi, qui bona ipsa Dominationibus Vestris fateri haberent, non sunt hic in praesentia, statim enim postquam sententia est lata contra Nicolaum Doczy<sup>2</sup> in favo-  
5 rem ipsorum nobilium ratione eorundem bonorum, pro quibus Dominationes Vestrae  
agerent, domum sunt reversi. Conclisit tamen cum eis ipse Dalmadi, ut mihi refert,  
quod parati sunt, cum primum Dalmadi ipse post haec iudicia fuerit reversus, bona  
ipsa Dominationibus Vestris coram conventu fateri. Haec volui eisdem significare,  
ut sciant me tam in his, si opus fuisset, quam in aliis earum rebus quemadmodum  
10 hactenus feci, cupere eis gratificari et moremgeri auxilioque esse. Dominationes  
Vestrae feliciter valeant.

636 <sup>1</sup>Tamás Dalmadi was *procurator civium montanarum et mercatorum Moraviensium*. On his legal activities, see BUNYITAY–RAPAICS–KARÁCSONYI 1906, 561; LUKINICH 1939, 538; and VIROVECZ 2020. 636 <sup>2</sup>Miklós Dóczy (1525–1565) was a member of the Dóczy–Lipčsey family, which was elevated by the Hunyadi family. According to Ferenc Forgách’s commentary, Miklós Dóczy participated in the battle of Szeged in 1552. See NAGY 1858, 334–336.

Ex Posonio 24. Februarii anno 1543.

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis consiliarius regius etc.

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudicii et iuratis civibus civitatis Scemniciensis dominis et amicis honorandissimis.

15

637

Ulrich von Eytzing and Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Bratislava, 11 March 1543

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA, FHKA AHK HFU Akten 3, Konv. 1543, fol. 2r–3v.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

1. *Queen Mary has asked King Ferdinand I and the Hungarian lords to suspend the agreement that was made in Banská Bystrica last year and proposed that Slovenská Ľupča, Víglaš, and Dobrá Niva, which had fallen into the Queen's hands during the last war, stay with the Queen until the estates that had been occupied previously are returned to her. At the last Bratislava diet King Ferdinand I presented the case to the Hungarian lords, and the King has also written to the lords mentioned. However, Miklós Dóczy and Lipcsey have raised a complaint in connection with Slovenská Ľupča, while Imre Verbóci has raised a complaint in connection with Dobrá Niva, and Dóczy and Lipcsey have asked Judge Royal Tamás Nádasdy and his magistrates for enforcement. Ulrich von Eytzing and Oláh are turning to King Ferdinand I on behalf of the Queen so that he orders Tamás Nádasdy and András (Bonaventura) Báthori, as well as other lords, not to take any measures (a hearing or enforcement) in this case until the King arrives. 2. According to the wishes of King Ferdinand I, which he shared with Oláh in Bratislava, Tamás Nádasdy has been brought to court in connection with Khus and the salt chamber of Maramureş, and Zsigmond Balassa has been brought to court in connection with the castle of Diósgyőr. No decision has been made, but as soon as one is, they will inform him about it.*

Allerdurchleüchtigster, grosmachtigster khunig, allergnedigster herr, ewr ro. ku. mt.<sup>1</sup> sein unnsere underthenigist, gehorsamist diennst ungespart leibs unnd guets züvoran beraitt!

[1.] Allergnedigster khunig, nachdem eür ro. ku. mt. liebste swester, unnsere gnedigste fraw eur. ro. ku. mt., auch den hungarischen herren zuegeschriben mit 5 erfreyung des beslus unnd verainigung, so im Newensoll<sup>2</sup> vergangen jars bescheen,<sup>3</sup> damit ainen jedlichen, die abgedrungen seine güetter sider khunig Ludwigen<sup>4</sup> hochloblicher gedachtnus widerumben restitüiert unnd zuegestellt sollen werden, darauf sich eur. ku. mt. liebste swester, unnsere gnedigste fraw gegen eur. ku. mt. unnd den hungarischen herren auch erbetten, das sloß Lipschey,<sup>5</sup> Wiglesch<sup>6</sup> unnd Debryn,<sup>7</sup> 10 die unnsere gnedigsten frawen in den vergangen kriegsleüffen zu hannden kumen, in eur. ku. mt. hannden zu geben, diser gestallt, das eur. ku. mt. derselben liebsten swester abgedrungen wittibgüettern, gleicher gestalt zu derselben eur. mt. hannden

637<sup>1</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 637<sup>2</sup> Banská Bystrica. 637<sup>3</sup> On the Banská Bystrica diet, see FRANKÓI 1875, 303–322. 637<sup>4</sup> King Louis II. 637<sup>5</sup> The Castle of Lipcse (today Slovenská Ľupča) belonged to the Dóczy family. 637<sup>6</sup> Víglaš. 637<sup>7</sup> Dobrá Niva.

nemen soll, unnd wem alsdann ernannte drew slosser der pillichait nach zuegehern,  
15 das soll bey eur. ku. mt. steen, inen dieselbigen zu uberantworten, doch damit eur. mt.  
liebsten swester auch züvor irer mt. derselben abgedrungen wittibgüetter von den  
innhabern durch eur. mt. hannden zuegestellt werden. Wie dann das alles eur. ku.  
mt. in jungstem lannttag zu Preßburg dasselb den hungrischen herrn angezaigt, auch  
die kayserlich mt. daz alles ernentten herren geschriben, aber dass unangesehen,  
20 so hat der Dotzi Niclosch,<sup>8</sup> unnd Lüpschey unnsere gnedigiste fraw umb das sloß  
Lüpschey, dergleichen den Warwetzky Emrich<sup>9</sup> umb daz sloß Debrin vor den herren  
unnd beysitzeren des hungrischen rechten beclagt, nachdem unns aber auf unnsere  
gnedigisten frawen erbietten gegen eur. ku. mt. unnd den herren von Hungern  
bescheen nicht gebürn wellen, vor gericht oder in ander weg in ainicherlay rechtfer-  
25 tigung oder verantwortung darüber einzulassen, so haben doch Dotzi unnd Lüpschey  
innhalt des newsolerischen besluß, wie wir bericht sein, die execution von eur. ku.  
mt. stathalter<sup>10</sup> unnd den anderen herren am rechten sitzundt genomen. Derhalben  
so bitten wir eur. ku. mt. in namen derselben liebsten swester, die welle an eur.  
ku. mt. stathalter Natasti,<sup>11</sup> auch Andreem Wadory<sup>12</sup> lanndshaubtman unnd ander  
30 herrn unns ernstlich bevelch geben, in diser handlung unnd execution zu exequirn,  
stillzuhalten bis auf eur. ku. mt. selb ankunfft, alsdann werden eur. ku. mt. von wegen  
derselben liebsten swester auf ir billich unnd khuniglich erbieten in dem allem wol  
wissen zu hanndln.

[2.] Wir haben auch nach eur. ku. mt. zu Preßburg unns angezaigte gnedigiste  
35 mainung unnd gegeben ratt herrn Thomaß Natasti umb daz sloß Huscht<sup>13</sup> unnd  
die saltzcamer von Marmaruscht,<sup>14</sup> auch den Walaschi Sigmundt<sup>15</sup> umb daz sloß  
Diuschier<sup>16</sup> für recht geladen, aber beder diser sachen noch kain entschafft erlanngt,  
sobald das aber beschiecht, wellen wir, wie dise rechtfertigung beliben, eur. ku.  
mt. underthenigist zueschreiben unnd berichten thuen, unns eur. ku. mt. mit dem  
40 gehorsamisten bevelhen.

Datum Preßburg den 11. tag Martii, anno etc. im 43<sup>ten</sup>.

E. r. ku. mt. unnderthenigist

Ulrich freyherr von Eytzing manu propria  
Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc.

45 [On the outer side:] An die romisch, auch zu Hungern unnd Behaim etc. khuniglich  
mayestatt, unnsern allernedigistn herrn.

637,43 Ulrich ... propria] *auth add.* 637,44 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.*

637<sup>8</sup> Miklós Dóczy. 637<sup>9</sup> Imre Werbőczy (1516–1548) became famous for his victory against Kason Bey at Kozár (Döbrököz) in 1542, which was recorded by Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, *Verbőczy Imrehnek Kászón hadával kozári mezőn viadalja* (1542), see SZILÁDY 1881, 282–287. 637<sup>10</sup> At the end of 1542, the Royal Governor was Elek Thurzó. 637<sup>11</sup> Tamás Nádasdy. 637<sup>12</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 637<sup>13</sup> Khust. 637<sup>14</sup> Maramureş. 637<sup>15</sup> Zsigmond II Balassa (†1559) was *ispán* of Borsod county and Castellan of Diósgyőr. 637<sup>16</sup> Diósgyőr.



Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Bratislava, 16 March 1543

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 2.

*Published:* KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI 1909, 232–234.

*Notes:* Autograph letter, missing cover.

1. It has not been decided yet if Nádasdy will be condemned or acquitted; Oláh is not out for Nádasdy's blood, this is only claimed by those who are out for Oláh's blood. Oláh is very much on Nádasdy's side, he wishes him well, and he does not want to do anything that would alienate them from each other. 2. He would pay attention to Antal's case if he was not weighed down by the trouble with his own little house in Székesfehérvár: the walls have been destroyed, there is not one seed of fruit or drop of wine, but the guard, the bell ringer, and the provisors still have to be paid. The chapter is writing him letters that resemble invectives; Tamás Várday, Mihály Mérey, and Máté Hencz have taken 32 barrels of wine from him, András Choron took another 32, while Imre Werbőczy has occupied his estates in Somogy county. His purse is empty until the next harvest, but the canonry has to be maintained. He asks him to make sure that six, or at least four barrels of wine are returned to him. 3. He does not know much about the imperial affairs. The Emperor is said to be going to Italy in May; Schepper went to Utrecht in February to negotiate; the English King made a pact with the Emperor to declare war against the French; the Scottish King has died, and a new one has been elected; and King Ferdinand I is taking care of his own as well as their shared affairs in Nuremberg. 4. He almost forgot about the purgatory: he did not want to accuse Nádasdy of denying the existence of the purgatory, but he should write to him what he meant by *seculum* so that Oláh can understand his point better.

Salutem plurimam et servitiorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domini mihi Observandissime!

[1.] Litteras Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae heri accepi redditas mihi per Anthonium litteratum.<sup>1</sup> Nec condemnavi, nec absolvi Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, lis adhuc sub iudice est. Productas litteras regias videntur domini iudices sufficientes 5 comprobare, sed procuratori reginali secus videtur. Quicumque dixerunt me sanguinem et facultates Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae sitire, ut duobus concludam verbis: mentiti sunt. Illi fortasse, qui hoc confixerunt, si qua eis daretur occasio, magis me sitirent, qui honoris, sanguinis et facultatum Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae iuste augendarum fuerim semper et nunc quoque sim cupidissimus. Non igitur me 10 alium putet Dominatio Vestra Magnifica, quam Christianum et bonum, quatenus gratia Dei optimi maximi mihi data fuerit, virum honestumque amantem ac veterem tuum Olahum, facturumque omnia, quae ex fide honoreque meo facere et possim, et debeam. Quorum Dominationem Vestram cupidissimam esse scio, si vere me amat, uti amare mihi persuasum habeo. In absentia Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae non 15 minus aut plus praestiti in rebus maiestatis reginalis dominae utriusque nostrum clementissimae fidei et integritatis officique, quam in praesentia id est, quod debui. Quod Dominationem Vestram Magnificam non vitio, sed laudi, ut opinor, mihi

638,9 qui] *O del. ex qui et*

638<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

daturam existimo, se tenet me, uti scribit, pro fratre. Cuius officium ego certe pro  
20 viribus semper exsequar. Nec volo ullum esse locum inter Dominationem Vestram  
Magnificam et me alienationis animorum, de qua scribit, sed potius augmenti amoris  
et benevolentiae, ac meorum in Dominationem Vestram Magnificam obsequiorum.  
Id enim non modo caritas evangelica, sed etiam ea aetas nostra, quam nunc agimus,  
exposcere videtur. Quare, Dominatio Vestra, haec ita esse sibi persuadeat. In his, de  
25 quibus controversia est, alius reperiri posset modus, si meum valeret consilium et  
Dominatio Vestra Magnifica vellet.

[2.] Anthonii litterati, pro quo Dominatio Vestra Magnifica mihi scribit et mandat  
propter notitiam etiam veterem, quae mihi cum domino Thoma<sup>2</sup> custode nunc in  
purgatorio existente apud dominum et fratrem nostrum communem Brodericum<sup>3</sup> non  
30 vulgaris erat, omnis a me ratio haberetur, nisi magna me premeret necessitas et cura  
providendae domunculae meae Albensis. Paries solus est illius relictus et is quoque  
dirutus, nullum granum frumenti, ne guttula quidem vini, subcustodem,<sup>4</sup> campanato-  
rem,<sup>5</sup> et alios quosdam iuxta constitutionem vetereministros ecclesiae provisorem  
et familiam certam in domo alere debeo. Nihil istic est, quod pecuniis promptis  
35 non ematur praeter aerem et aquam. Capitulum aliquot iam invectivas epistolas ad  
me scripsit verbis acerbis. Dominus magister Thomas,<sup>6</sup> personalis praesentia regiae  
maiestatis<sup>7</sup> et Hencz Mathe<sup>8</sup> 32<sup>9</sup> vina mea occuparunt, ex quibus nullum hactenus  
restituerunt. Andreas Choron similiter 32 vina. Nunc iterum Emericus Werbewczy<sup>10</sup>  
possessiones meas Thazar,<sup>11</sup> Mernye, Zenthmyclos<sup>12</sup> et Wade<sup>13</sup> cum pertinentiis ea-  
40 rum in comitatu Simigiensi occupavit. Pro quibus remittendis scripsi ad eum,<sup>14</sup> quas  
si non remisit, mitto etiam ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam nunc litteras  
domini locumtenentis et consiliariorum regionum, quas dignetur, praeter id, quod ex  
officio suo est, etiam propter aequitatem et servitia mea ad significationem postea  
meam exsequi. Haec propterea scribo superiora, quod ex hac crumena mea, satis  
45 certe a tot annis, quibus furizotanium<sup>15</sup> ago, exhausta usque ad messem et vindemiam  
futuram. Pecuniis paratis onera custodiae perficere et domum familiamque illam  
me alere necesse sit. Quod quam difficile sit ex pecuniis menstruis me praestare,  
Dominatio Vestra Magnifica cogitare potest. Curet eadem, et faciat, rogo plurimum,  
apud ipsum Anthonium, ut si non ipsa sex saltem quattuor vina reddat ad usum

638,23 aetas ] *O del. ex aetas ita* 638,29 existente ] *corr. ex existentis* 638,33 veterem ] *corr. ex veterum*  
638,33 ministros ecclesiae ] *O add.* 638,35 praeter ... aquam ] *O add.* 638,37 quibus ] *O del. ex quibus*  
nihil 638,40 quas ] *O del. ex etsi quas* 638,45 furizotanium ] *O corr. ex forizitanum* 638,47 quam ] *O*  
*del. ex quam mihi*

638,35 praeter ... aquam ] Cf. Thom. Aquin. *Sent. De anima* lib. 3. l. 1. n. 9.

638<sup>2</sup> Probably Tamás Mindszenti, who was the chaplain and secretary of István Brodarics, see KASZA  
2015, 228. 638<sup>3</sup> István Brodarics. 638<sup>4</sup> 'aedituus secundarius', see DU CANGE 1883. 638<sup>5</sup> 'ringer', see  
RAMMINGER 2008. 638<sup>6</sup> Tamás Várday, see LACZLAVIK 2013b, 29; LACZLAVIK 2013a, 24–25. 638<sup>7</sup> Mihály  
Mérey. 638<sup>8</sup> Máté Hencz of Asszapatak. 638<sup>9</sup> Probably instead of 32 vasa vini. See Ep. 139. Note 3.  
638<sup>10</sup> Imre Werbőczy. 638<sup>11</sup> Taszár. 638<sup>12</sup> Miklósfá. 638<sup>13</sup> Vadépuszta. 638<sup>14</sup> We do not know this  
letter to Imre Werbőczy but another letter connected to this debate is Ep. 637. 638<sup>15</sup> Hapax, probably from  
*forizare* meaning 'for a negotiandi causa frequentare', see DU CANGE 1883; and SZOVÁK 1983–2017.

domus, ne sit unde ministri illi se sustentent ad aliquot exiguum tempus. Faciam, quod 50  
Dominatio Vestra Magnifica iubet, et facerem absque hoc, nisi praemissa necessitas  
me urgeret. In futura vindemia, si hanc Deus et Turcae salvam nobis concesserint,  
non ipsum Anthonium, Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae intuitu, deseram etc.

[3.] Ex imperio nihil certi habeo. Non ignorat Dominatio Vestra Magnifica con-  
ventus imperiales tarde solere aliquid parere. Gallus nihil non molitur, nisi Deus 55  
per sua instrumenta mentem illius in meliorem frugem vertat. Caesar ex Hispaniis  
et Germania contra facit apparatus, fama est illum ad principium Maii in Italiam  
venturum. In Flandria Cornelius ille Scepperus<sup>16</sup> noster circa principium Februarii  
profectus erat Traiectum<sup>17</sup> civitatem caesaris ad Mosam, ut cum nuntiis principum  
electorum Rheni et Lanthgravii tractaret in causa Elevensis<sup>18</sup> ducis. Verum illinc 60  
quoque ad bellum magis quam ad pacem videtur res inclinari. Rex Angliae,<sup>19</sup> ut  
dicitur, acceptus est ad amicitiam caesaris et aperte Gallo in favorem caesaris bellum  
denuntiavit, Normanniamque Galli invadere parat. Rex Scotiae<sup>20</sup> mortuus est, et in  
locum eius alius electus.<sup>21</sup> Maiestas regia,<sup>22</sup> dominus noster clementissimus est, ut  
in hunc diem adhuc accepi, Nurembergae. Sollicitat suam et nostram rem, quae stat 65  
eo in loco, quem Dominatio Vestra Magnifica videt et me scit melius. Spes nostrae  
conservationis in Deo optimo maximo, in cuius manu sunt omnia et sine cuius  
voluntate ne capillus quidem capitis nostri decedit, sita est, et in principibus nostris, et  
nobis quoque ipsis, si quid ex corde extremo hoc tempore facere velimus. Haec sunt, ad  
quae Dominatio Vestra Magnifica rescribi voluit, cui mitto cum praesentibus aliquos 70  
poetarum novos lusum nunc ad me missos. Quod reliquum est, Dominationem Vestram  
Magnificam Deus maximus conservet felicem et fortunatam, cui servitia mea iterum  
commendo.

Ex Posonio 16. Martii 1543.

[4.] Paene oblitus eram purgatorii, de quo Dominatio Vestra Magnifica scribit. In 75  
minimo contendit mihi persuadere se esse in illo hominum genere, qui purgatorium  
negent, scribendo futurum seculum. Seculum enim et purgatorii dicitur et illud aeter-  
num. De utro velit intelligere, quod scribit, significet, ut facilius me inducat in suam  
opinionem.

Dominationis Vestrae servitor

80

Nicolaus Olahus custos Albensis etc. sua manu

De Anthonio litterato, quid fecerit Magnifica Dominatio Vestra, velit significare,  
eum enim ad responsionem eiusdem remisi.

638,50 ne ] *O corr. ex ut* 638,66 eo ] *O add.* 638,67 maximo ] *O del. ex maximo sita est* 638,69  
tempore ] *O del. ex tempore facere* 638,69 facere ] *O corr. ex vacere* 638,74 Posonio ] *O del. ex Posonio*  
1543 638,76 se ] *del. ex se non*

638<sup>16</sup> Cornelis de Schepper. 638<sup>17</sup> Utrecht. 638<sup>18</sup> According to Pray, Levensis, i.e. Levice, but it does not  
make sense. 638<sup>19</sup> King Henry VIII. 638<sup>20</sup> James V of Scotland died on 14 December, 1542. 638<sup>21</sup> His  
successor was Mary Stuart or Mary I of Scotland. 638<sup>22</sup> King Ferdinand I.

639

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Bratislava, 1 June 1543

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 3.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He has taken care of Lukács Törpendi's case and sent him back to Nádasdy. If another servitor of his appeared asking for any kind of favor from him, there is nothing he would not do. He is sending his regards to both him and his wife.*

Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine mihi Observandissime!

Lucae Therpendi<sup>1</sup> negotium confeci, quem remisi ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam. Si quis etiam alius eiusdem servitor aliquando occurrerit, qui meam qualemcumque operam petiverit, nihil est, quod facere possim, quod non faciam. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam unacum domina coniuge<sup>2</sup> sua amantissima, domina mea observandissima feliciter valere cupio ad propagationem liberorum.

Posonii prima Iunii anno 1543.

Servitor Olahus etc.

10 [On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo comiti terrae Fogaras, supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino mihi observandissimo.

640

Pál Várday to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 10 November 1543

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – Várday Pál – Oláh Miklós – 1543. 11. 10.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Martinuzzi's servitor has brought letters for the King, and he has also attached letters for Várday and Oláh, which Várday is now forwarding to him. If he wants to respond to him, he should do so through Várday, the servitor will return to his master from here.*

Reverendissime Domine et Frater Observandissime, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Servitor quidam domini Fratris Georgii<sup>1</sup> huc veniens attulit litteras maiestati regiae inscriptas, quibus adiunctae erant alterae ad Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam. Ambas, ut manibus nostris assignatae sunt, huc annexas Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae mittimus, velit acceptum a maiestate regia ad eas responsum, et si quid praeterea Dominatio Vestra scribere voluerit, ad nos dirigere, praestolabitur hic

639<sup>1</sup> Lukács Törpendi or Terpendi. He was Tamás Nádasdy's servitor. 639<sup>2</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 640<sup>1</sup> George Martinuzzi.

nuntius responsum regium, quo allato rediturus est ad dominum suum. Reverendis-  
simam Dominationem Vestram optamus valere feliciter.

Posonii 10. die Novembris 1543.

10

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae bonus frater

Strigoniensis manu propria

Quamvis non abhorreret is nuntius a profectione ad curiam, visum est tamen nobis  
ita expedire, ut responsum regium hic exspectet, cum et alioqui nihil haberet, quod  
esset illi commissum, ut omne referat.

15

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo Nicolao Olaho electo ecclesiae Zagrabiensis et  
cancellario regni Hungariae etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

## 641

László Drakulya to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 11 December 1543

### *Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 49. Fasc. F. No. 6., p. 18–21.

*ms. II:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 49. Fasc. F. No. 6., p. 14–17.

*Notes:* Two copies have been preserved. Ms. I. is a copy with Oláh's emendations. Both copies contain the family tree of his relative, László Drakulya. The family tree in the earlier copy was copied or sketched by Oláh, see page 20. The two family trees differ from each other.

1. *László Drakulya's parents told him that he and Oláh shared a grandfather, namely Dracula or Vlad Ţepeş, to whom King Matthias married one of his female relatives. This Vlad was famous for his cruelties, and he had three sons, one of whom was Voivode Mihnea, the second was Oláh's father, and the third was Drakula's father.*  
2. *After Vlad was killed by the boyars, Mihnea became voivode, and he had 60 boyars killed in revenge. After this, he deemed it safe to tell King Vladislaus II everything and offered his Transalpine fortifications to him, in exchange for which the King should give him estates in Hungary. In the end, Jakšić killed Mihnea in Sibiu, and as Oláh knows well, this has harmed them greatly. From all this Oláh can see that their ancestors always had great power and were the allies of the Christian rulers. It would be good if Oláh told all this to the King so that once he rules everything, he should also look after them (Drakula and Oláh).*

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime!<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Ego enim, quemdamodum a parentibus meis<sup>2</sup> accepi, vere et ingenue cognationem meam refero, nec aliter se res habet.<sup>3</sup> Avum igitur Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis<sup>4</sup> et meum Mathias rex<sup>5</sup> ceperat et unam cognatam suam avo meo in uxorem<sup>6</sup> dedit, sicque ipsum Wlaad vaidat<sup>7</sup> nomine Ladislaum avum nostrum in vaivodatam Transalpinum miserat, eique contulit. Nominatus autem nomine hoc

640,12 Strigoniensis ... propria ] *auth add.* 641,4 avo meo ] *ms. I. O corr. ex ei*

641 <sup>1</sup> On this letter, see SZILÁGYI–NAGY 2022. 641 <sup>2</sup> His father was Ludovicus Dracula. 641 <sup>3</sup> On the Dracula family, see NAGY 2010. 641 <sup>4</sup> According to Drakulya's family tree, he was Vlad Ţepeş, but László Drakulya is wrong: Vlad was neither Oláh's grandfather nor ancestor. 641 <sup>5</sup> King Matthias I. 641 <sup>6</sup> Marina Hunyadi. 641 <sup>7</sup> Vlad Ţepeş.

Drakulya ob nimiam ipsius crudelitatem fuit, quod super ipsum ad extremum vitae  
suae diem usque permansit. Ipse igitur avus noster Wlaad vaida sive Dracula tres filios  
habuit, quorum unus fuit Myhne vaida,<sup>8</sup> secundus vero pater<sup>9</sup> Vestrae Reverendissi-  
mae Dominationis, tertius autem pater meus nomine Ludovicus Drakulya vaida, et  
10 quia nimis crudelis fuit, eam ob rem a boieris trucidatus fuit, et sic posterius ipsius huc  
devenerunt.

[2.] Cum autem Myhne vaida denuo ad vaivodatum vocatus fuit, ex voluntate  
patris Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis et mei ad officium vaivodatus profectus  
15 fuit. Hinc itaque Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio facile coniecere potest et diiudi-  
care, nos circa regnum illud iustitiam habere, Myhne igitur vaida ob interitum avi  
nostri, simul et semel 60 boiaros occidi et trucidari iussit. Peracta igitur crudelitate,  
persuasum habens se rem impune non laturum, omne suum negotium cum rege  
Ladislaio contulit et communicavit medio Petri Groffh<sup>10</sup> vaivoda Transylvaniensem  
20 tunc existentem, ut scilicet ipse Myhne munitiones Transalpinenses ad manus regis  
daret, rexque ei pro bonis ipsius in Hungaria alia bona ut conferret. Quomodo vero ip-  
sum Myhne Demetrius Iaxyth<sup>11</sup> Cibinii fraudulenter ferro confodi iussit,<sup>12</sup> id Vestram  
Reverendissimam Dominationem latere non opinor. Cuius quidem interitus nobis  
25 omnibus male assit, negotium igitur istud a domino Matheo<sup>13</sup> quoque fratre Vestrae  
Reverendissimae Dominationis tali ordine accepi et ita, ut audivi, vere refero, cuius rei  
memoriam Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio forsitan habere potest. Bene igitur iam  
Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio intelliget, quod regnum illud antecessores nostri  
magna cum potentia semper obtinuerunt et possiderunt semperque cum Christianis  
30 principibus coniuncti fuerunt. Bonum igitur esset, si Vestra Reverendissima Domina-  
tio nacta occasione rem istam sacrae regiae maiestati exponeret, nam mihi quidem  
magna fiducia est, quod regia maiestas, volente Deo, omne suum imperium obtinebit  
et sic forsitan de nobis quoque provideretur.

[family tree]

642

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Prague, 21 January 1544

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34385.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh has understood from Batthyány's letter what he wants him to do: if the King sends him as a legate or on  
some other official trip, Oláh should promote Batthyány's affairs alongside the ruler. Now the King is sending*

641,8 sive Dracula ] *ms. l. o. add.* 641,28 possiderunt ] *corr. ex possederunt*

641<sup>8</sup> Mihnea cel Rău. 641<sup>9</sup> István Oláh, see DÖRNER 1994; and SZILÁGYI 2021. 641<sup>10</sup> Péter of  
Szentgyörgy and Bazin (1498–1510) was Voivode of Transylvania between 1498 and 1510, see C.  
TÓTH–HORVÁTH–NEUMANN–PÁLOSFAI 2017, 88. 641<sup>11</sup> Dmtar Jakšić. 641<sup>12</sup> See Ep. 333. and SZILÁGYI  
2018, 427. 641<sup>13</sup> Máté Oláh.

Battyhány to Zagreb, to the Slavonian assembly. Oláh asks Battyhány to promote the recovery of both the possessions of Oláh's friends and his own tithes, as the King has ordered. The King has not responded to the letter regarding Battyhány's payment, but Oláh will be on it. The King says about donating Gyulai's estates that this cannot be done while Gyulai's son is alive; so Oláh now turns to Battyhány, thinking that the King will listen to the servitors' advice once Gyulai dies.

Salutem plurimam et mei commendationem, Magnifice Domine et Amice Honorandissime!<sup>1</sup>

Ex litteris<sup>2</sup> Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae mihi redditus intellexi, quibus in rebus meam desideret operam. Si quae res et occasio occurrerit, in qua Dominatio Vestra suae maiestati<sup>3</sup> servire possit, sive in legatione obeunda, sive in aliis negotiis 5 curandis, ego ero apud maiestatem suam regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum sollicitator Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae. Maiestas sua hanc eiusdem oblationem serviendi clementer et audivit et accepit. Nunc sua maiestas Dominationem Vestram ad conventum Sclavonium Zagrabis celebrandum designavit. Quam rogo, velit ibi bonis meis amicis et promotor esse in decimis meis restituendis, sicuti maiestas 10 sua mandavit. Ad litteras ad Albertum praepositum<sup>4</sup> pro restitutione salarii dandas nondum sua maiestas respondit, ego tamen suam maiestatem sollicitabo. De bonis Gyulai<sup>5</sup> Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae dandis respondit sua maiestas, quod interea, dum vivit adhuc filius illius unus,<sup>6</sup> non potest cuiquam conferre bona illius legitime. Advertar igitur Dominationem Vestram de illius vivi adhuc filii vel morte, vel vita, 15 et quamprimum eius exitum significet, maiestatem suam arbitror rationem servitorum Dominationi Vestrae habituram. Ego vero in his, quibus a me fieri poterit, ero sincerus amicus et servitor Dominationis Vestrae, quae valeat feliciter, et me habeat commendatum.

Ex Praga 21. Ianuarii anno 1544.

20

Vester Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc. sua manu

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophori de Bathyan pincernarum regalium magistro, et consiliario regio etc. domino et amico honorandissimo.

643

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Speyer, 25 April 1544

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34386.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

642,11 Ad litteras ] *corr. ex* De litteris 642,13 Dominationi ] *O del. ex* petendis Dominationi 642,20 ]  
*O corr. ex* 11

642<sup>1</sup> Kristóf Batthyány (†1571) was Royal Grand-cup-bearer from 1534 until his death, see FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 91. 642<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 642<sup>3</sup> King Ferdinand I. 642<sup>4</sup> Albert Peregi. 642<sup>5</sup> István Gyulai was *viceispán* of Varasd county and a retainer (*familiaris*) of the Batthyány family. See TERBE 2010, 60, and 66. 642<sup>6</sup> János Gyulai (†1567), Ferenc Batthyány became his guardian.

As soon as an opportunity arises, Batthyány will see Oláh's diligence in representing Batthyány's interests with the ruler. Batthyány should come through in connection with restoring Oláh's tithe; he will pay everything back multiple times. It is not only in Oláh's interest to get the tithe back, the castles of his church also need it, and the prosperity of the Slavonian kingdom also depends on them. He has presented the letter written to Peregi about reinstating Batthyány's payment, but the King wants to consult others on this in Bratislava; he is attaching the letter. Ferenc Batthyány has already written about all the other news.

Salutem et mei commendationem, Magnifice Domine Amice, et Frater Observandissime!

Litteras<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae accepi. Quantum in me erit, experietur Dominatio Vestra re ipsa meam et commendationem et operam apud maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum eidem non defuturam, quandocumque occasio se praestiterit.<sup>2</sup> De benevolentia Dominationis Vestrae in decimis meis restituendis inter omnes alios diligenter praestita habeo eidem gratias maximas, omni obsequio et officio fraternitatis Dominationis Vestrae eam cumulate rependam. Rogo, curet apud alios et per se faciat, ut hae ipsae decimae mihi restituantur, non in meum magis usum, quam arcium ecclesiae et mearum, in quibus, uti scit Dominatio Vestra, salus non minima regni Sclavoniae pendet. Litteras ad Albertum praepositum<sup>3</sup> expedivi pro restitutione salarii Dominationis Vestrae, sed maiestas regia cupit, ut eadem inter alios consiliarios Posonii sit. Litteras ipsas mitto cum praesentibus ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam. In aliis etiam rebus, in quibus existimavero me honori et ornamento Dominationi Vestrae obsequi posse, meam ab eo operam desiderari non patiar. Nova, quae hic sunt, credo dominum Franciscum,<sup>4</sup> fratrem suum Dominationi Vestrae perscripturum. In rebus monasteriorum faciat Dominatio Vestra bonum responsum, quae valeat feliciter meque habeat commendatum.

Spyrae 25. Aprilis 1544.

20

Vester Nicolaus Olahus Zagradiensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophero Bathyany consiliario et pincerarum regiae maiestis magistro etc. domino amico et fratri observandissimo.

## 644

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Speyer, 29 May 1544

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34387.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He has received Batthyány's letter, who is complaining that Oláh has not written to him about the state of his case. He has in fact been taking care of his affairs and has also written about it, but he likely sent the letter to Zagreb, thinking that Batthyány was there. He has settled with the King for Batthyány to receive his payment,*

643,8 curet] *O del. ex curet et*

643<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 643<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 642. 643<sup>3</sup> Albert Peregi. 643<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Batthyány.



but he has to serve the ruler in Bratislava; he has sent a letter to the lords of the Chamber about the payment. Ferenc Batthyány will tell him the rest, he is leaving for home now.

Magnifice Domine et Amice Honorandissime, salutem et mei commendationem!

Litteras ultimas<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae his diebus accepi, quibus eadem conqueritur se nullas hactenus a me in negotio suo accepisse litteras. Ego negotia Dominationis Vestrae, in quibus ad me scripserat, non neglexi, eaque perfeci, et quid efficere potui, iamdudum eidem perscripsi. Tamen existimans Dominationem Vestram esse in 5 Sclavonia, litteras meas<sup>2</sup> in ipso negotio ad eandem scriptas Zagrabiam Dominationi Vestrae praesentandas misi, unde accidisse arbitror, quominus eas Dominatio Vestra hactenus acceperit. Apud maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum egi,<sup>3</sup> ut salarium Dominationi Vestrae persolveretur, sed ita, ut praesens Posonii in servitiis suae maiestatis existat. Super cuius solutione litteras etiam maiestatis suae ad dominos 10 camerarios miseram. Quicquid igitur etiam deinceps ad voluntatem Dominationis Vestrae facere potero, libenter sum facturus. Etsi quando ad eam rarius scripsero, id boni consulat, non enim semper habeo otium propter alias meas occupationes. Attamen semper sum studiosus Dominationis Vestrae, meque suum amicum et fratrem esse existimet. Nova autem, quae hic a me sub silentio sibi scribi postulat, et quae scribere 15 possemus, referet Dominationi Vestrae frater eiusdem dominus Franciscus,<sup>4</sup> qui prope diem hinc domum revertetur. In reliquo Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere opto.

Spyrae 29. Maii 1544.

Dominus vester frater Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Magnifico et domino Christophero Bathyany consiliario regio ac 20 pincernarum regalium magistro etc. domino et amico honorandissimo.

645

Miklós Oláh to Leonhard von Vels  
Prague, 25 July 1544

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 168. No. 42.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Schlacher, an illustrious Banská Štiavnica citizen, laments that his 16-year-old stepson, who had gone to take care of some affairs, was caught by Dubowsky's servitors. They thought they would find silver on him, although of course there was none on him, and he has been in captivity ever since. Schlacher asked Oláh to talk to Vels and make sure the youngster is released; Dubowsky should receive the same order from the King.*

Generose et Magnifice Domine Observandissime, salutem et obsequiorum commendationem!

644,19 Dominus ... etc.] *O add.*

644<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 644<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 643. 644<sup>3</sup> See MNL OL, P 1314 – 34386a. 644<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Batthyány.

Lamentatur is circumspectus Quirinus Schlaher<sup>1</sup> civis Scemniciensis, qualiter superioribus temporibus quendam adolescentem annorum nactum sedecim, privignum  
5 suum negotiorum suorum quorundam causa Wratislaviam proficiscentem servitores  
domini Ioannis Dobowczyk<sup>2</sup> ob suspicionem quandam eductionis argenti, cum ne  
minimum quidem argenti granum apud eundem repertum fuisset, in via publica  
sociis ipsius interemptis cepissent et in hunc usque diem in dura captivitate idem  
10 dominus Doboczky eum teneret. Unde rogavit me idem Quirinus, ut pro eodem  
adolescente Dominationem Vestram Magnificam interpellarem, cui non potui meam  
operam denegare. Rogo itaque Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, velit et aequitatis  
et in mei gratiam cum domino Ioanne Doboczky agere, ut praefatum adolescentem  
ex captivitate liberum dimittere, et dimitti facere velit; sicuti etiam idem dominus  
15 Ioannes Doboczky ex litteris regiae maiestatis, domini nostri clementissimi, hac in re  
ad eum datis id in commissis et mandatis habeat. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam  
feliciter valere opto.

Datum Pragae vigesimaquinta Iulii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria

20 [On the outer side:] Generoso et magnifico domino Leonardo libero baroni a Fels,<sup>3</sup>  
supremo magistro curiae ac capitaneo exercitus regiae maiestatis in Hungaria generali  
etc. domino observandissimo.

646

Miklós Oláh to Chapter of Zagreb  
Vienna, 8 September 1544

*Manuscript used:* NAZ, Acta capit. Antiqua Fasc. 92. No. 38.

*Published:* LASZOWSKI 1917, 189–192.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

1. He has received two of their letters, in which they indicate that they wanted to visit Oláh to congratulate him on his appointment. Indeed, it would have been proper for the limbs to get to know the head once he was appointed; he also wanted to visit them, but the King kept sending him elsewhere. 2. He indeed really wants to take up his seat, but his official tasks keep taking him away. But they should not worry, they can always count on him, and they should not take his absence the wrong way. What is more, they should make sure to preserve his benevolence towards them. 3. And if they had not given him cause, Oláh never would have wanted to hurt

645,15 habeat ] *corr:* ex habet 645,19 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

645 <sup>1</sup> Quirin Schlacher or Schlachter was a *Waldbürger* in Banská Štiavnica and later became Mayor of the city. In 1544, he launched a foundation for Lutherans students in Wrocław, see MEIER–PIIRAINEN–WEGERA 2009, 598; SCHEIBLE 1996, 276; and PROBSZT 1958, 139. 645 <sup>2</sup> Probably Johannes Dubowsky. We only know him from a document from the year 1535 (Archiv of Banská Bystrica), see MEIER–PIIRAINEN–WEGERA 2009, 231. 645 <sup>3</sup> Leonhard von Vels, nephew of Bernhard von Cles, made a successful military career. He participated in the siege of Vienna in 1529 and became a successor of Wilhelm von Roggendorf as Grand Master of the Court (*Oberhofmeister*), see KASZA 2021, 29.

them; Oláh would have deserved a visit from them before they occupied the territory. Regarding the occupation they say that they never would have dared to do so without the authorization in Bornemissza's letter – but Bornemissza is doing many things he has not authorized. 4. They accuse him of having behaved dishonourably towards them, when in fact the opposite is the case. He has instructed his vicarius and other officers not to do anything that would cause a commotion among the farmers, they should be protected according to their own laws instead. 5. He praises their diligence in connection with reinforcing the bulwarks and walls of the castle. As for the church services, they should make sure they do not dishonour the church, and the archdeacons should faithfully take care of the things their master has entrusted to them. 6. If the King's affairs allow it, Oláh will visit them this autumn. He has presented their letter to the King, and they will learn the King's response from his letter to them. 7. Following his wishes, he entrusts his predecessor's estate (his sacerdotal vestments, crozier, cross, etc.) to them, they should not lose any of it; they should also seal the chest in which they put it, as should Tompa and Czeglédi from Oláh's side.

Reverendi ac Honorabiles in Christo Fratres Dilecti, salutem!

[1.] Binas parvo intervallo eodem fere exemplo accepimus litteras<sup>1</sup> Vestras, quibus scripsistis saepe studium vobis fuisse nos invisendi, nobisque et nostrae huic vocationi non litteris tantum, aut privata salutatione, sed publico omnium vestrum suffragio et applausu congratulandi, se id commode, et non nobis in publicis regiae maiestatis 5 negotiis in exteris regnis agentibus, facere licuisset. Equidem conveniebat, ut postquam divina vocatione ad hoc munus episcopale electi sumus, membra suum caput cognovissent. Et in hisque ad coalescendum totum corpus facere visa fuissent, bene, cohaerere, verum quando regia maiestate ita volente, in publicis suae maiestatis et regni coacti fuerimus magnis itineribus, voluntatem suae maiestatis in exteris etiam 10 et procul dissitis regnis sequi. Vestra haec excusatio facile a nobis veniam impetrabit, maxime cum per privatas personas aliquam partem vestrae erga nos observantiae et officii exsecuti fueritis.

Quod autem gratias Deo agitis de nostra hac vocatione, deque suscepta episcopatus nostri cura, quod novissimis hisce diebus olim florentissimum, nunc paene 15 desertum, lacerum ac mire vastatum episcopatum coacti fuerimus humeris nostris suscipere. Huius bene praecantis optimeque ominantis animi vestri studium pro parte vestra erga nos observantia est nobis pergratum. Quicquid in nobis donorum aut virtutis est, id totum soli Deo ferimus acceptum. Nihil hinc nobis laudis, vel gloriae arrogantes, non ignoramus nos in eum finem his etiam posterioribus et turbatis 20 temporibus vocatos esse, ut omnibus, quoad fieri posset, vita, exemplo et doctrina prodessemus. De omnibus bene mereremur, et ea, quae hactenus suis locis dimota fuerant, in certum ordinem redigeremus, in quo divino favore et diligentes erimus, quantum ex nobis fieri poterit, et ratio ac temporis conditio admittet.

[2.] Illud omnium, quod et vos precari videmini, nobis gratissimum foret, si 25 unquam daretur occasio nobis apud ecclesiam istam nostram, vobiscum una residendi, et officium, ad quod vocati sumus, coram peragendi, ut per omnia capite membra cohaerent. Verum quando id modo per eas occupationes publicas regiae maiestatis

646,15–16 olim ... desertum] Cf. Ep. 13. Cap. 3., and Ep. 175. Cap. 2.

646<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter.

et regni, quibus obstricti sumus, et quibus curandis Dei ordinatione coniecti simus, fa-  
30 cere non concedatur. Non est tamen prorsus abiciendus animus, nostrum hoc munus,  
quod a regia maiestate nobis demandatum est, non erit ecclesiae, vobisque et regno  
ullo incommodo, quin fructum certum, si non omnino copiosum, utilem tamen est  
suo tempore allaturum.

Sclavoniam et ipsum episcopatum nostrum magna vastatione esse oppressum  
35 dubitare non possumus. Quam quidem vastationem et hostilem furorem solis peccatis  
nostris debemus. Nec tamen usque adeo despondendus est animus, ut Deus reconciliatus,  
nostrique misertus, nolit avertere praesentia pericula, si modo coniecta in illum  
fiducia summis votis ipsius misericordiam sincero corde imploraverimus.

Quod vero nostram erga vos benevolentiam precamini, rancorem deprecamini,  
40 non est, quod dubitetis, eam ullo unquam tempore aut loco vobis defuturam. Si modo  
eam, ita ut decet, et ut vos facturis offertis, recte factis contenderitis, indignationis  
nulla a nobis dabitur occasio. Tantum date vos quoque operam, ne unquam nostrum  
erga vos favorem et benevolentiam ingratitude pensetis. Non enim convenit inter  
45 caput et membra bene cohaerentia dissidium oriri, nec bene geritur inter eos bellum,  
inter quos mutuus consensus radicari debuerat. Caput in membra nullum agat dissidium,  
modo membra in his, quibus debent, oboediant capiti.

[3.] Susurronum verbis aures nostrae nunquam ita patuerunt, ut illis praeter  
iustum fidem habuissemus. Nunquam iniqua persuasione talium a nobis cuiquam  
incommodabitur, scimus, cui credendum, et cuius verba silentio sint praetereunda. Et  
50 nisi facto materiam offensionis praebuissetis, nihil a nobis fuisset vobis nocitum. Sed  
ita forte placuerat vobis, ut per occupationem terrarum mensae nostrae veniremus  
in mutuam cognitionem, et his initiis rerum gratularemur nostrae vocationi, quod  
certe ex animo doluimus, non tantum propter nos, quantum propter vos, quibus, ut  
par est, bene volumus. Nunquam sane sperassemus vos his rerum primordiis debitam  
55 erga nos observantiam praebituros. Merebamus omnino, ut ante quam res ad vim et  
occupationem veniret, nos tanquam caput fidelium membra requisivissetis. Quas quidem  
terras praedecessor<sup>2</sup> olim noster iuridice multorum sententiis confirmata veritate  
obtinuerat, et in earum possessione complures annos usque ad extremum halitum pacifice  
perstiterat. Id quod etiamnum certi ex iudicibus eius causae praeter litteratoria  
60 testimonia, ita fuisse testantur. Si, ut scribitis, praescriptionis metu occupaveratis, id  
oportuerat vobis fecisse vivente adhuc olim praedecessore nostro, quem etiam ob id  
violentiae accusatis, iusque vestrum contra illum stabilire, nos quoque ob id coacti  
reoccupare, et iniuriam iniuria regerere, ne unquam iuribus nostris praescriberetur.  
Quod autem allegatis, nunquam vos eam occupationem facturos fuisse, si Gregorius  
65 Bornemyzza<sup>3</sup> per litteras non praebuisset auctoritatem. Bornemyzza multa fecisse

646,31 ecclesiae] *O add.* 646,31 vobisque] *O corr. ex vobis*

646,47 Susurronum ... patuerunt] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 822. I.IX,22. Ibyci grues: "ne susurronibus eiusmodi praebeant aures." MYNORS 1989, 191.

646<sup>2</sup> Simon Erdödy died on 2 June, 1543. 646<sup>3</sup> Gergely Bornemissza (1526–1555) participated at the defense of Eger in 1552. In 1553, he became Captain of Eger. One year later, he was captured by the Turks and executed in the Yedikule Fortress in Constantinople.

dicitur, de quibus nullam a nobis habuit commissionem, quaeque denuo reformanda necessario erunt. Sed eam occupationem ad eius permissionem non fuisse factam, vel ex eo coniciere possumus, quod diu post eius discessum sub nostro nomine occupaveritis.

[4.] Accusare nos videmini, quod non satis convenisset officio pastoralis haec ita 70 a nobis geri commissum esse; si tamen recte perpenderitis, haec nos possemus merito vobis obicere. Perpendite enim et intra vos iudicate, an convenisset vobis violentiam hanc primum in nos exercere et incipere. Nos, uti debuimus, curavimus saltem, ut spoliati in intergram possessionem rerum nostrarum reponeremur. Nec volumus 75 admittere, quod membra capiti indebite insultarent. Itaque vos magis accusandi essetis neglecti officii vestri, qui primum hunc lapidem movistis, quam nos, qui nolumus a iure nostro multis ab annis quiete possesso deturbari. Quomodocumque tamen factum sit, haec primum mihi illata iniuria oblivione apud me delebitur, si officium vestrum, quod in nos debetis, praestiteritis. Quod vos facturos speramus, nec commissuros, ut nostra de vobis fidei et observantiae praestandae expectatione frustremur. 80

Haec non ideo vobis inculcamus, ut velimus iuribus vestris derogatum iri, quae reliquo tempore aliter, aliisque modis curari poterunt. Quamobrem sitis animi quieti, et nihil de nobis alieni expectetis. Commissimus enim tam vicario<sup>4</sup> nostro temporali, quam aliis officialibus nostris, ut nihil ulterius innovent, neque colonis vestris aliquid 85 incommodi aut turbationis inferri patiantur, atque eos in eorum iure possesso perinde tueantur, ac nostros subditos non multo minor namque cura nobis impendit, vos et vestros in suis iustis iuribus defendere, quam nostros subditos.

[5.] Operam atque diligentiam vestram in reformatione propugnaculorum et moeniorum arcis factam non possumus non magnopere probare, utpote, quae et nobis usui sit futura, et vobis in omnibus adversitatibus tutissimum refugium. Nam castro defecto 90 ad omnem ingruentem fortunae procellam cogere mini more aliarum ecclesiarum canonicorum profugere, et sub alienis tectis extorres molestissimam vitam agere. Et ideo vos hortamur et monemus, ne hoc vestrum iuvandi et nobiscum una muniendi castris studium intermittatis, quin eo diligentius et ferventius incumbatis, quo magis metuatis adversae fortunae intentata mala. Mater enim nostra ecclesia, a qua nos 95 omnes et pendemus et vivimus, non nisi communi auxilio et munitione conservari potest.

Quod ad cultum divinum attinet, vos requirimus, sitis in eo diligentes, ne vituperetur ministerium ecclesiasticum, fiant omnia in ecclesia suo ordine, bono modo, de quibus domino Paulo, vicario nostro in spiritualibus, superioribus diebus scripsimus 100 abundantius, cuius admonitioni salubri sitis non secus quam nobis, ut par est, oboedientes.

Quales autem vos erga invicem esse oporteat, non est, quod multis verbis ingeramus. Ipsi namque scitis caritate membra coalescere, qua reforescente, ut solvantur membrorum compagines, oportet. 105

Archidiaconos, qui inter vos sunt, hortamur in Domino, curent fideliter gregem domini sibi commissum, quemadmodum non ita nuper specialiter illis commissimus,

646 <sup>4</sup> Pál Szondi.

ne cessatione et negligentia sua, indignos se declarent officio. A nobis nec favoris,  
nec benevolentiae erga vos praetermittetur quicquam, modo eadem et vos vicissim  
110 erga vos praestetis. Ita demum membra capiti suo cohaerebunt, si invicem bene  
consentient.

[6.] Si per has regiae maiestatis et regni publicas occupationes fieri poterit, con-  
stituimus hoc autumno venire ad vos, ut aliquando capiti liceat membris suis iungi,  
et mutuo convictu frui. Ubi mutuo conspectu, colloquio et convictu licuerit uti, ut  
115 speramus, non vos paenitebit nostri.<sup>5</sup>

Litteras vestras, quas ad regiam maiestatem misistis, praesentavimus et omnem  
quam potuimus et debuimus operam in supplicatione vestra exaudienda praestitimus,  
quod et deinceps libenter facturi sumus. Quale autem responsum a sua maiestate  
habueritis, ex eiusdem litteris intelligetis. Nostra in re vestra, tam apud regiam maie-  
120 statem, quam alibi curanda opera vobis non deerit, si quid prodesse, vobisque auxilio  
esse poterimus. Eaque de nobis existimetis exspectetisque, quae de altero fratrum  
vestrorum et vos exhibite tales, quibus benevolentia nostra fraterna et favor conferri  
possit. Precamur vobis pacem et caritatem Christi. Valet.

Datum Vienna octava Septembris MDXLIII.

125 [7.] Quoniam autem in ea signatura regiae maiestati et nobis oblata, quam domi-  
nus olim episcopus, praedecessor noster, aliquam pluribus ante obitum suum diebus  
scribi et memoriae tradi commiserat, omnia ornamenta sua pontificalia, puta mitram,  
pastorare, crucem in pectore gestari solitam, candelabra, annulos aureos, reliquaque  
id genus pontificii decoris, ecclesiae isti iam nostrae Zagrabiensi dari mandaverat,  
130 volumus vobisque commitimus, habete ea in vestra sacristia, ubi per praefatum olim  
praedecessorem nostrum relicta fuerant, sub bona et fideli custodia, ne quid ex illis  
pereat. Arca, in qua reposita sunt, signetur sigillis certorum ex vobis, praepositi  
lectoris, cantoris et custodis, inter quae apponat suum nostris vicibus, magister Geor-  
gius Thompa,<sup>6</sup> administrator bonorum istius episcopatus nostri et Czegledi.<sup>7</sup> Nostra  
135 namque interest curam conservandarum rerum ecclesiae nostrae praecipuam habere.  
Nam scitis, haec ornamenta non alium concernere, quam me, quem ex Dei ordinatione  
maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus, in praelatum et pastorem istius eccle-  
siae praefecit. Cupimus itaque a vobis, ut regestrum istarum rerum omnium, coram  
praefatis hominibus nostris conscriptum ad nos mittatis quantocius fieri poterit.  
140 Valet iterum in Christo feliciter.

Vester uti frater Nicolaus Olahus  
episcopus Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendis ac honorabilibus capitulo ecclesiae nostrae Zagra-  
biensis etc., fratribus in Christo dilectis.

646,134 et Czegledi] *O add.* 646,141–142 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

646<sup>5</sup> According to his itinerarium, he did not visit the Chapter of Zagreb in fall of 1544. More on this period,  
see FAZEKAS 2003; and VARGA 2014. 646<sup>6</sup> György III Tompa (†1552) was Oláh's administrator in Zagreb.  
Between 1547–1550, he was Bishop of Bosnia, and between 1550–1552 Bishop of Pécs, see VARGA 2010b.  
646<sup>7</sup> János Czeglédi

Miklós Oláh and Ulrich von Eytzing to Johann Spölin  
Vienna, 11 September 1544

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA Specialia, Fasc. 344., fol. 68.

*Notes:* Copy.

*They received his letter of 28 August on 7 September, in which he asks for their stance on certain points on Queen Mary's behalf. In response, they state that a contract was made between the late Emperor Maximilian and King Vladislaus II in connection with the marriage between the House of Austria and the Hungarian Crown and matters of high importance, which, following the death of King Vladislaus II, the late King Louis confirmed according to the wishes of the entire Hungarian Crown, which was again confirmed based on the same contract by King Ferdinand I during his coronation in Székesfehérvár, when he took the [throne] of the Kingdom of Hungary. They recommend that all related debates that would take place between Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I, and Queen Mary, particularly regarding brotherly unity and love, should be avoided henceforward. Royal succession has not changed from what was known before, either.*

Unnsern grus zuvor, hochgelerter, sonnder lieber her unnd freundt!

Unns ist vonn euch ain sendtschreybenn des datum den 28. Augusti diß 44 jars gestellt auf sibendenn Septembris berurts jars zuekhomenn, darinnen ir in namenn unnd von wegen der durchleuchtigisten, großmechtigisten fursstin unnd frawenn Maria<sup>1</sup> etc. khünigin, unser allergnedigistenn frawenn etlicher puncten, so demselben eurm missive eingeleibt, euch bericht zu uberschickhen unnd zuekhomen zu lassenn begerent. Daruf ir unns zu vernemenn, das weillundt kaiser Maximilian<sup>2</sup> hochloblicher gedechtnus unnd kunig Ladislaws<sup>3</sup> ainen contract unnd vertrag<sup>4</sup> die heirat unnd vermahlung zwischenn dem haus Osterreich unnd der cron Hungern, auch ander vill hochwichtig vertragsarticl belangennndt gegenainander aufgericht und beschlossenn, welchen weillannndt khunig Ludwig,<sup>5</sup> ermelltes Ladislaws eeleiplicher sün unnd nach seinem, des Ladislaws, abgannng regierender herr und kunig, in der cron zu Weisenpurg<sup>6</sup> mit wissen und willenn der ganzen cron Hungern confirmirt unnd bestat, volgennds unnser allergnedigister herr, jetz romischer unnd regierender kunig etc., in antretung des reich Hungern obberurten contract gleichermassen inn seiner mt. cronung daselbs zu Weissenpurg von newenn bestat unnd confirmirt. Darauf unnser rath unnd guetbedunckhen bey oft bestimpten vertrag unnd dem, so darinnen diser unnd anderer artickhl ordenlich unnd außtruckhlich vergleicht unnd aufgefurtt zu verharen unnd nit weiter hinder sich zu verhietung lengers aufzugs disputation unnd unnser gnedigsten frawenn uncostenn zu grundten, unnd sonderlich, das auch diese sachenn zwischen der ro. unnd ir ku. mt. unnser allergnedigistenn herrn unnd frawen, so brueder unnd schwester seien inn einigkheit unnd bruderlicher lieb, hingelegt mocht werdenn. Daraus nun dieses ewers begern, sonder zweifel

647,4 frawenn] *del. ex frawenn frawenn* 647,11 welchen] *auth corr. ex welchei* 647,12 regierender] *auth corr. ex regierder*

647<sup>1</sup> Queen Mary. 647<sup>2</sup> Emperor Maximilian I. 647<sup>3</sup> King Vladislaus II. 647<sup>4</sup> On the contract in 1515, see DYBAŠ–TRINGLI 2019. 647<sup>5</sup> King Louis II. 647<sup>6</sup> Székesfehérvár.

guetter bericht zu erfindenn, dan uns sonst die succession unnd absteigendenn  
25 linien soviler kunigclicher geschlecht, dergleichenn allter brieflicher gewarsamenn  
und außgegangnenn bevelhen kheiner andernn, dan jetzt gehorter massen bewusst,  
dass habenn wir euch auf ewer schriftlich begernn hiemit vorstendigenn unnd durch  
seliche unnsere schriftlichen antwurt nit pergenn wollen. Thuen euch hiemit, was  
euch vonn uns fruntlich lieb und dienst ist.

30 Datum Wien den aidlifften Septembris anno etc. im XLIII<sup>ten</sup>.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagabaviensis<sup>7</sup> etc. manu propria  
Ulrich freyherr von Eytzing manu propria

[Probably on the outer side:] Dem edlenn unnd hochgelerten hern Johann Spolin,<sup>8</sup>  
beider rechtenn doctor, kunigin Maria etc. unnsere gnedigistenn frawen rath, unserm  
35 sondernn gueten frundt.

648

Miklós Oláh to Chapter of Zagreb  
Vienna, 29 September 1544

*Manuscript used:* NAZ, Fasc. 31. Nr. 82.

*Published:* Šišić 1915, 327.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Their petition has not been without result, they will receive their response from the King, and Oláh will also be of help in the rest of the affairs. As for the castle to be built in Sisak: they should make sure that the noblemen and the locals do not resist but support the construction, which is indeed quite necessary. 2. As for the 80 florins that they are expecting to receive from the King, he does not remember it, so they should confirm it with the bond, then they will get what they are owed. Regarding the canons and the gunpowder that is to go to Sisak, Oláh's support will not be lacking. Oláh has convinced the ruler that two years' worth of the taxes of the people of Zagreb should be spent on building the fortification.

Reverendi ac Honorabiles in Christo Fratres Dilecti, salutem!

[1.] Accepta de manu Feyerthoy,<sup>1</sup> fratris vestri supplicatione vestra, nostra in  
conspetum regiae maiestatis, domini clementissimi pro vobis intercessio non fuit  
inefficax, id quod ex litteris suae maiestatis ad vos datis clarius cognoscetis. De cetero  
5 quoque in rebus vestris nostra opera non erit defutura, tantum agite, ut membra  
per omnia capiti suo consentiant et cohaereant. Quod ad praestandum de bonis  
episcopatus nostri exstruendo fortellitio Zyzek<sup>2</sup> subsidium attinet, ipsi nostis, quanta  
nobis incumbat finitimorum castrorum episcopatus necessitas. Commisimus, ut si  
quid exigi poterit, erogatur ad eorum conservationem et praesentem necessitatem

647,28 euch ] *auth del. ex euch auch* 648,7 fortellitio ] *corr. ex fortalitio*

647<sup>7</sup> I.e. Zagrabienensis. 647<sup>8</sup> Johann Spölin. 648<sup>1</sup> János Fejérthóy was Canon of Zagreb and Simon Erdódy's secretary. He later became Oláh's secretary in Vienna, see ZVARA 2013, 50–51; FAZEKAS 2019, 25; and FAZEKAS 2021, 355–356. 648<sup>2</sup> Sisak.



evitandam, quicquid a nobis praestari poterit, id reliquo tempore non negabitur et 10  
ne ceteri nobiles et regnicolae nostro exemplo subsidium promissum negare possint,  
fingite a nobis vos iam accepisse, ne hac occasione arrepta causentur se negaturi, nec a  
nobis quidem negabitur olim, quicquid praestabile erit. Huiusmodi autem subsidium,  
etiam si poterius offeretur, nullo tamen non tempore erit gratum et necessarium.

[2.] De octingentis Florenis, pro quibus reddentibus regiae maiestati supplicastis, 15  
sua maiestas non meminit, nisi produxeritis efficax aliquod testimonium aut litteras  
obligatorias suae maiestatis, quae testentur suam maiestatem vobis tanto debere;  
quibus quidem litteris obligatoriis visis, nostra etiam intercessione accedente, id faciet  
sua maiestas, quod iustum erit. De bombardis autem et pulveribus in subsidium castel-  
li Zyzek dandis apud regiam maiestatem intercedemus, noster favor et benevolentia in 20  
rebus vestris non defutura est, modo tam in divinis servitiis, quam etiam observantia  
erga nos propensum animum vestrum exhibeatis. Valet.

Datum Viennae vigesima nona<sup>3</sup> Septembris anno 1544.

Hoc pro praesenti necessitate apud suam maiestatem effecimus, ut biennio omnes  
taxas et lucrum Camerae suae maiestati a colonis vestris provenire debentes ad 25  
aedificationem castelli Zyzek deputaret, prout ex litteris exemptionis suae maiestatis  
cognoscetis.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendis ac honorabilibus capitulo ecclesiae nostrae Zagra-  
biensi etc. fratribus in Christo dilectis. 30

649

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Vienna, 29 November 1544

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34388.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

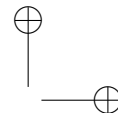
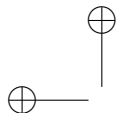
*Having understood from his letter what benevolence he has in terms of the administration of Oláh's tithe, he has instructed Tompa to send a reliable person to Batthyány to take the tithe from him. Batthyány should kindly hand over both last year's tithe as well as this year's, if possible. What Batthyány has asked him, representing his interests with the King, he has not been able to do yet, but he will get on it now.*

Magnifice Domine, Amice Observandissime, salutem!

Accepta ex litteris<sup>1</sup> propensa voluntate Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae admi-  
nistrandarum decimarum nostrarum commisimus e vestigio aliis litteris nostris ma-  
gistro Georgio Thompa<sup>2</sup> administratori bonorum episcopatus nostri, ne quam tardi-  
tatem in earum negotio admittat, sed statim mittat ad Magnificam Dominationem 5

648,23 nona ] *corr.* ex secunda 648,24–27 Hoc ... cognoscetis ] *O add.* 648,28 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

648 <sup>3</sup> Emended according to Šišić 1915, 327. 649 <sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 649 <sup>2</sup> György Tompa.



Vestram certum suum hominem, qui huiusmodi decimas a Magnifica Dominatione Vestra oblatas excipiat. Rogamus itaque eandem, velit gratia mutuae amicitiae tam praeteriti, quam etiam praesentis annorum decimas, (prout se facturum obtulit) reddere.

- 10 Quod autem petit nos Magnifica Dominatio Vestra, ut in negotio suo apud regiam maiestatem bonum amicum et patronum ageremus, nostra hactenus in rebus eiusdem intercessio non defuit, neque de cetero erit defutura. Valeat eadem feliciter.

Datum Vienna 29. mensis Novembris MDXLIII.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagradiensis etc. manu propria

- 15 [On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophoro de Batthyian pincernarum regalium magistro etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

650

Miklós Oláh to Chapter of Zagreb  
Vienna, 31 December 1544

*Manuscript used:* NAZ, Acta capit. Antiqua Fasc. 92. No. 39.

*Published:* LASZOWSKI 1917, 231–232.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He was sad to learn from their letter what unspeakable crimes the Ban's men are committing against the poor farmers of the church, so he made sure right away that the King issues an order to the Ban, and if that also fails to make a difference, they will compensate them in another way. He is sending this together with the mandate.*

Venerabiles in Christo Fratres, nobis Dilecti salutem!

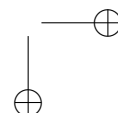
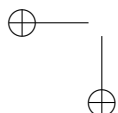
- Acceptis non sine animi nostri dolore ex litteris<sup>1</sup> et supplicatione vestra oppressio-  
nibus et nefandis facinoribus, quibus miseri coloni ecclesiae istius nostrae per gentes  
domini bani<sup>2</sup> afficiuntur, continuo mandatum regiae maiestatis ad ipsum banum  
5 exarandum curavimus, non dubitamus, vel hac posteriore commissione, si prior minus  
fuisset efficax, mandato suae maiestatis pariturum. Si ne id quidem adhibenda erunt  
certa remedia, quibus damna miseris ecclesiae colonis illata, alicunde resarciantur.

- De cetero quoque quoties nostram opem vobis necessariam esse putabitis, modum  
iuvandi vestri nobis perscribite, nunquam frustra auxilium nostrum implorabitis.  
10 Valet.

Datum Vienna paenultima mensis Decembris 1544.

649,11 amicum et ] *O add.* 649,14 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

650<sup>1</sup> See the Chapter's to King Ferdinand I, LASZOWSKI 1917, 230–231. 650<sup>2</sup> Miklós Zrínyi or Nikola IV Zrinski (1508–1566) was a Croatian nobleman, serving as Ban of Croatia between 1542 and 1556, and *magister tavernicorum regalium* from 1557 until his death. He is famous for his heroic death at the siege of Szigetvár. More on him, see VARGA 2016.



Hoc mandato regiae maiestatis, quod cum his nostris ad vos misimus, utimini mature contra ipsum banum.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Venerabilibus, capitulo ecclesiae nostrae Zagrabiensis etc., fratribus in Christo nobis dilectis.

651

Miklós Oláh to Hieronymus Adorno  
[Korneuburg?], 8 January 1545

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, Türkei I. Karton 6. Konv. 1., fol. 12–13.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He has received Adorno's letter, in which he writes about his instruction and letter of accreditation; indeed, Oláh would have arranged for these already because he is not usually careless. After he read the instruction, he immediately sent Adam the text he had noted down in his own hand because Adam knows how to write to the Turks and the Pashas on behalf of the ruler. But he does not know what happened next because Adam was waiting for further instructions, which Oláh thought Adorno had already sent to him, so he was at ease about it. Adorno should hurry Adam, and they should prepare the instruction at last, which will also need to be accompanied by a letter of recommendation.*

Salutem et mei commendationem, Reverende Domine uti Frater Honorandissime!<sup>1</sup>

Accepi in campo tuas litterulas,<sup>2</sup> quibus scribis de instructione tua, quibus scribis de instructione tua<sup>3</sup> et litteris credentiis tibi ad praesentem legationem necessariis. Ego omnia haec iamdudum expedire potuissem. Non soleo enim negligens esse etiam in minoribus rebus, nedum in his arduis et maximi momenti, sed secundo statim 5 die, postquam maiestas regia, dominus meus clementissimus de tua profectioe et legatione deliberavit, iuxta deliberationem suae maiestatis instructionem ipsam in consilio nostro securo perlegi. Suaque maiestas iussit, ut eam cum litteris necessariis Adamo nostro Carolo<sup>4</sup> expediendam darem. Nam ipse sciret, cum alias quoque iussu maiestatis suae tales expeditiones tractasset quomodo ad Turcam et bassas nomine 10 suae maiestatis scribendum esset. Ego illico secundum mandatum maiestatis suae regiae instructionem ipsam manu mea notariam ipsi Adamo misi. De qua etiam postea interrogavi eum, et dixit se eam habere. Haec etiam tibi dixi me fecisse. Praeterea scis me te admonuisse, ut ea, quae tibi ad hanc expeditionem necessaria essent, in

650,14 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.* 651,10 tractasset ] *O del.* ex tractasset et non ignoraret 651,13 Haec ] *O corr.* ex Hoc pacto

651<sup>1</sup> Hieronymus Adorno (†1545) was Provost of Eger and legat of King Ferdinand I to Constantinople. 651<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 651<sup>3</sup> I.e. *Instructio pro Odoardo et Adorno*, edited by Ferdinand I on 28 December, 1544. Adorno was sent to Constantinople to arrange a peace agreement with the Turks for one year, but he died in March, on the way to Edirne, see LACZLAVIK 2014, 97. 651<sup>4</sup> Adam Karl was the Latin Secretary of the Imperial Court Chancellery between 1536 and 1545, see FAZEKAS 2021, 31. See Oláh's poem to him: HEGEDŰS 1906, 406; FÖGEL–JUHÁSZ 1934, 26; NEAGU 2003, 328.

15 articulos conscriberes et ad quos scribendum esset, signares, eaque dares Adamo. Propterea nescio, unde fit, quod expeditus non sis. Adamum ego propterea haesisse Wiennae putavi, quod litteras a maiestate regia exspectaret et te expediret. Dixit enim mihi se exspectare aliquas expeditiones a maiestate regia, quas ego tuas fecisse putavi. Libenter reversus fuissem ad te etiam ex hoc medio itineris, sed cum manu  
20 regia litterae subscribi debeant, etiam si revertissem, nihil profecisse visus fuissem. Quare aliud tibi consilium dare non possum, quam quod loquere cum Carolo, si adhuc Wiennae est, expediat statim littaras credentiae tam ad Turcam, quam ad alios, quos vis, et dies ut noctes mittat per postam ad maiestatem regiam unacum instructione, si eam quoque nondum expeditur signandas. Ex Praga reversus<sup>5</sup> ad te vel dominum de  
25 Fels<sup>6</sup> remitti sine mora poterent. Tu interim eas istic exspectare possis, ego properabo quantum possum ad maiestatem regiam et loquar suae maiestati, sed si etiam eo venero, nescio quomodo concluderis cum maiestate regia, vel domino de Fels de titulo tuo, sine quo litterae expediri non possent. Optabas enim nominari consiliarius et orator. Fac itaque in omnem eventum me dies et noctes per postam certiozem, quid  
30 concluderis de titulo. Praevenire me posta poterit, si illum hodie expediveris. Sed age prius cum Adamo, si nondum Wienna movit.

Culpa autem nescio in quem rem <ven>ire<sup>7</sup> potest? In me certe nulla. Nam postquam Adamus haberi firmationem per me ei datam, quod etiam tibi significari debebas cum eo agere et ipse debebat te expedire. Ad quos autem litterae dari debuerint credentiae. Etiam ex ipsa instructione ipse videre potuerit. Et tu eum admonere  
35 debebas. Dixi enim tibi maiestatem regiam iussisse, ut ipse expediret instructionem et litteras huius legationis haberi. Vale feliciter et sollicita Adamum vel scribe sine mora, ut prius Pragmae ne quis defectus committat. Iterum vale.

Ex campo frigido prope Corneamburg 8. Ianuarii 1545.

40 Tuus Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabienses etc. manu secunda

[On the outer side:] Domino et venerabili fratri honorandissimo Hieronymo Adorno doctori praeposito minori Agriensi etc. dentur.

652

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 10 February 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 4.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

651,17–19 Dixit...putavi] *O add.* 651,26 quantum] *O del.* ex quantum ad 651,30 hodie] *O add.* 651,32 rem] *O del.* ex rem quidem 651,32 Nam] *O del.* ex Nam ego 651,36 expediret] *O del.* ex expediret litteras

651<sup>5</sup> In Korneuburg, Oláh was on way to Prague. According to Oláh's correspondence, he was in Prague on 10 February, 1545, and he had to travel to Worms at the end of March at the latest. He was in Worms on 15 April, 1545. 651<sup>6</sup> Leonhard von Vels. 651<sup>7</sup> Uncertain reading.

*He received Nádasdy's letter to the King and Oláh today, and Oláh is sending Nádasdy a copy of the letter written to Hieronymus Adorno. Everyone's title has been left out so the letter may arrive more safely, which was otherwise written in a moderate but serious tone.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine mihi Observandissime, salutem plurimam et servitorum meorum commendationem!

Heri redditae mihi fuere litterae Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae ad regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum et ad me datae. Expedivi mox litteras<sup>1</sup> ad Adurnum<sup>2</sup> duplicatas, copiam earum ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam<sup>5</sup> misi, ut, quod ei scriptum sit, cognoscat. Titulus omnium quodammodo praeteritus est, ut et tutius litterae perferri possint, et res sine aliqua suspicione istic tractari. Litterae etiam ita moderatae et tamen verbis ponderosis scriptae sunt, ut et captivum fratrem nostrum non videre possint, in maiorem gravedinem et nihilominus data sit Adurno potestas omnia pro ratione temporis, quae poterint, agendi. Eas omnes<sup>10</sup> ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam misi, si quibus in rebus tum nunc, tum in posterum Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae inservire potero, maxime in consequenda <volu>ptate<sup>3</sup> ipsius praesentis nostri nihil faciam libentius. Nova nunc nulla. Exspectamus, quid in dieta Tirnaviensi concludatur. Dominatio Vestra Magnifica feliciter<sup>15</sup> valeat.

Ex Praga 10. Februarii 1545.

Frater et servitor Zagrabiensis sua manu

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdy comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras iudici curiae regiae maiestatis et supremo capitaeno regni Hungariae etc. domino vel fratri observandissimo.<sup>20</sup>

653<sub>654</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Lajos Pekry  
Worms, 15 April 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 142 – Fasc. 31. No. 63.

*Published:* KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI 1909, 417–418. [partly edited, from Cap. 2.]

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*1. Oláh has intervened with the King for Pekry, he will learn the King's response from his letter addressed to him. In Oláh's opinion, Pekry should cease the hostilities with Brodarics and concentrate on his tasks. The lien he established with the King, which he needs to pay for the preservation of the castle of Lykava, will be advantageous for Pekry. Although Pekry writes that he has heard that the King will hand the castle over to Révay, he should rest easy, Oláh does not know of anything of the sort, and he should not believe the rumour. However, he does not understand why he did not allow the royal collectors of the thirtieth into Ružomberok. It is common practice for the King to deploy such collectors of the thirtieth into towns, he should not resist*

652,8 ut ] O corr. ex Quae

652<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 651. 652<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus Adorno. 652<sup>3</sup> Uncertain reading.

him. 2. In other news, the King is in Worms, he is negotiating about his new campaign there. The Emperor left Brussels on the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month, and he is headed for Worms, but he is making his way slowly lest he relapse into the illness from which he has only recently recovered. Pekry writes that he is planning to go to Slavonia, Oláh wishes him safe travels and asks him to work with Oláh's churchmen to represent Oláh's interests there.

Magnifice Domine, Amice nobis Honorandissime, salutem et obsequii commendationem!

[1.] Redditae sunt nobis litterae Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae, quibus ro-  
gat nos, ut coram maiestate regia, domino nostro clementissimo negotium eiusdem  
5 ageremus. Id nos fecimus ea diligentia atque studio, quod amicitia nostra postulare  
videbatur, exempla litterarum, quae nobis Dominatio Vestra cum suis litteris una  
miserat, maiestati regiae (prout oportuit) eadem adamussim declaravimus, quod re-  
sponsum maiestas sua ad intercessionem nostram dignata est facere, poterit eadem ex  
litteris suae maiestatis ad unguem intelligere. Ceterum simultates, quas intelligimus  
10 Dominationem Vestram cum domino Brodaryth<sup>1</sup> habere, si eadem consilio nostro uti  
voluerit, eas simultates deponet, seque servabit atque accomodabit omni fidelitatis  
officio. Ad eam obligationem, quam eadem cum maiestate regia haberet proventus-  
que quantum conservationem ad arcem Lykawa pertinet reddere ac restituere, eo  
enim pacto censemus eidem utile fore et quiete pacificeque permanere posse. Ubi  
15 autem Vestra Dominatio Magnifica scribit se accepisse maiestatem regiam arcem  
Lykava domino Francisco de Rewa<sup>2</sup> inscripsisse, id nos non intelleximus, nec cum  
scitu nostro est, quare ne eadem quoque credat. Intelleximus porro, quod Dominatio  
Vestra Magnifica tricesimatores maiestatis regiae ad oppidum suum Rosombergh<sup>3</sup>  
vocaret, nolisset intromittere. In qua ratione eadem fecerit, miramur. Maiestas enim  
20 regia, ubicumque visum fuerit suae maiestati, potest officiales suos collocare, nec  
est conveniens, ut eadem suae voluntati repugnet. Non censemus enim ad damnum  
et detrimentum colonis illius oppidi fore exactionem tricesimae propter frequentem  
commeationem hominum, unde non nihil lucri oppidani habere possent, eo enim  
pacto oppidum quoque aedificare posse.

[2.] Nova scribere Vestrae Dominationi Magnificae haec possumus, quod maiestas  
regia hic Vormicae<sup>4</sup> est, agitque et tractat cum imperialibus de futura expeditione,  
speramusque brevi de futura expeditione conclusuram. Caesarea maiestas autem  
septima die huius mensis Bruxellis movit se, rectaque dirigit gressum suum huc  
Vormaciam, sed paulatim incedit, ne ex itinere aliqua molestia afficeretur, nunc enim  
30 pristinae valetudini est restitutus. Hinc se deinde confert eo, quo salus ac defensio  
Chistianitatis postulaverit. Quod autem scribit Dominatio Vestra Magnifica, quod  
brevi in Slavoniam haberet animum eundi, Deus altissimus faxit eidem prosperum  
iter, sanumque et incolumem ducat et reducat. Rogamusque eandem, ut hominibus  
nostris, qui is episcopatu nostro sunt constituti a nobis, velit eadem omni auxilio

653,13 conservationem] *scr add.* 653,25 scribere] *O del. ex scribere nos* 653,25 possumus] *corr. ex possimus*

653<sup>1</sup> Mátyás Brodarics, István Brodarics's brother. He was Prefect of Lykava around 1544–1545. FARAGÓ 2022. 653<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Révay. 653<sup>3</sup> Ružomberok. 653<sup>4</sup> Worms.

in negotiis omnibus, quibuscumque invenerint, esse, quod nos vicissim omni officio 35  
amicitiae studebimus recompensare. In reliquo felicissime Dominationem Vestram  
Magnificam valere optamus.

Datum Vormacie 15. die mensis Aprilis anno Domini 1545.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagradiensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Lodovico Pekry de Petrowyna etc. domino et 40  
amico nobis honorandissimo.

<sup>653</sup>654

Lajos Pekry to Miklós Oláh  
Cachtice, 21 May 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 148a – Fasc. 339. – No. 6.

*Notes:* Fair copy or draft.

1. He thanks for Oláh's intervention to represent his interests. What Oláh writes in connection with Brodarics is not necessary any more because he has since made up with him: he will pay him a little, he will make sure he has nothing to complain about. If Brodarics has anything to complain about, it is that he has many people to support, which is expensive. 2. As for the fact that he did not want to allow the King's collectors of the thirtieth to Ružomberok, he should believe him that he would have let them in if magistrate Sibrik's had been present, as Sibrik can also testify. But after Pekry had left Liptovský Hrádok, Dubowsky appeared in Ružomberok and drove out the King's men, and he threw their flags into the mud, thus bringing great shame on Pekry. He has written about this to Várday and the rest of the councilors but has not received a response yet. As far as the Slavonian trip goes, he will do what he can. 3. Finally, he wanted to tell him that while the King held him captive last year, Báthori took Pekry's customs house in Liptovský Hrádok by force; Pekry tried to convince Báthori through Várday and then Peregi to give it back to him. They could not come to an agreement, and in the meantime the civil servants attacked Liptovský Hrádok, set it on fire, and captured seven people.

Reverendissime Domine, Amice plurimum Observandissime, post salutem et obsequiorum meorum sinceram commendationem!

[1.] Redditae sunt mihi litterae Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quibus scribit litteras meas unacum supplicatione et aliarum litterarum exemplis maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo praesentasse, egisseque coram sua maiestate 5 negotia mea, faxit Deus, ut hanc singularem suam erga me benivolentiam laboremque Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae tamquam domino de me bene merito inservire ac omni officio amicitiae rependere possim. Ceterum quod scribit Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima intellexisse me cum egregio domino Mathia Brodaryth<sup>1</sup> similtates habere.<sup>2</sup> Id certe non opus erat cuiquam eidem scribere, quandoquidem ego de omnibus 10 iuxta limitationem dominorum cum ipso concordavi, et pro maiori parte omnia praeter paucam pecuniam iam praemanibus habet; studebo illam quoque sine dilatione

653,39 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.*

654<sup>1</sup> Mátyás Brodarics. 654<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 653.

administrare, daboque operam, ut in nullo de me conqueri poterit. Si autem in aliquo defecerit, non est mihi ascribendum, ex quo ipse non plus quam duodecim equitibus in officium arcis habuerit ordinem, nonnumquam tamen quadraginta vel quinquaginta equites aluit, uxorem insuper et liberos ac multam superfluum familiam circiter octuaginta personas, ad quos arte multo maior copia commeatum quam limitatio dominorum ostendit, fuit necessaria, nihilominus volens maiestati regiae in omnibus parere, limitationique dominorum satisfacere de omnibus cum dicto Brodaryth concordavi.

[2.] Ubi tandem Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra accepisse scribit me tricesimatores maiestatis regiae ad oppidum meum Rosomberg<sup>3</sup> noluisse intromittere, certo persuasum sibi habeat mihi que credat, visis litteris sive maiestatis tricesimatores in ipsum meum oppidum praesente domino Sybryk<sup>4</sup> praefecto tricesimarum me honorifice praeter omnem renitentiam intromisisse, eosque illic pacifice servasse et defendisse iuxta continentiam litterarum maiestatis regiae proinde ad me datarum, prout id dominus Sybryk testare poterit. Sed post meum e Lyphowya<sup>5</sup> discessum dominus Ioannes Dobowsky<sup>6</sup> nescire unde motus missis hominibus suis in oppidum meum Rosomberg, qui manibus armatis tricesimatores maiestatis regiae illinc expulerunt, vexillumque in lutum proiecerunt ac in minimas partes dilacerarunt, unde mihi non mediocris ignominia iuribusque oppidi mei ingens detrimentum cessit, qua de re haec domino locumtenenti<sup>7</sup> aliisque consiliariis maiestatis regiae quod inde sim facturus, scripserim, nullum tamen responsum mihi dederit, igitur in hac re petens nil mihi ascribendum est.

35 Quod vero attinet ad negotium regni Sclavoniae, ego cum hic tum etiam illic in omnibus mihi possibilibus Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae, necnon hominibus eiusdem, ubi opera mea eguerint, prodesse volo et polliceor.

[3.] Demum volui Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae id esse notum, qualiter magnificus dominus Andreas de Bathor,<sup>8</sup> proximis annis cum videlicet in captivitatem maiestatis regiae tenebar, teloneum quoddam ad arcem meam Wywar<sup>9</sup> spectantem ad arcem suam Scepusiensem vi occuparat, in cuius pacifico dominio ab eo tempore, quo maiestas regia arcem Wywar mihi donavit, fui semper pro cuius remissione, cum Viennam deductus fuisset, dictum dominum Bathori primo medio domini locumtenentis etc. deinde per dominum Albertum praepositum<sup>10</sup> et etiam per servitores meos certis vicibus amice et fraterne requisivi, petens, ne teloneum meum vi teneret, sed illud mihi pacifice remitteret, cum et alioqui non habeam, quibus me sustentarem. Qui licet semper amice responderit offerens rem velle intelligere et rectificare, tamen huiusmodi placidis suis verbis nullum finem habere potui, quin potius officialis eiusdem arcis Scepusiensis nescitur quamobrem teloneum non more telonii, sed ut tricesimam

654,24 me] *scr add.* 654,24 honorifice] *scr del. ex* honorifice et pacifice 654,28 meum] *corr. ex* meam 654,37 eiusdem] *auth del. ex* eiusdem prodesse

654<sup>3</sup> Ružomberok. 654<sup>4</sup> Gergely Sibrik (†1553) studied law, and he became a member of the Royal Lieutenancy Council in Bratislava in 1547. 654<sup>5</sup> Liptovský Hrádok. 654<sup>6</sup> Johannes Dubowsky. 654<sup>7</sup> Pál Várday. 654<sup>8</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 654<sup>9</sup> Liptóújvár, today: Liptovský Hrádok. 654<sup>10</sup> Albert Peregi.



in nostrum maximum detrimentum et etiam totius comitatus Lyphowyensis exigere 50  
non cessavit, quod cum ulterius pati non potuissem, teloneum desecantem feceram,  
quod paulo post meum e Lyphowya discessum rursus officiales de Sepes levare,  
et etiam fortalicium ex ecclesia in possessione illa habita erigere et fortiter munire  
curaverunt. Hoc intellecto officiales maiestatis de praefata Wywar statim fortalicium  
illud me absente adorti sunt, ac illud cum secus expugnare non potuissent, combusse- 55  
runt, septemque homines illinc captos ad Wywar duxerunt. Id propterea Dominationi  
Vestrae Reverendissimae notum esse volui, ut si aliter maiestati regiae questum fuerit,  
Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima ne credat, sed coram sua maiestate me defendat, et  
rogo atque supplico tamquam domino confidentissimo, velit mihi rebusque meis apud  
maiestatem regiam singulari esse patrocinio. 60

Misi rursus litteras meas ad maiestatem suam, quas ut eandem suae maiestati  
praesentare et iuxta illas in his, quae suae maiestati scripsi, partes suas interponere  
velit, rogo, et etiam responsum a sua maiestate obtinere ne recuset, illudque per  
postam remittere, quod eidem, quoad vixero, inservire studebo. Quicquid autem  
Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima mecum in mea necessitate fecerit, sentiet non 65  
ingrato homini fecisse. In reliquo ipsam feliciter valere opto, cui me et mea servitia  
commendo.

Datum in Cheythe feria quarta ante festum Pentechosten 1545.

Ludovicus Pekry de Pethrowyna comes Lyphowyensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino, Nicolao Olah episcopo ecclesiae Zagra- 70  
biensi ac cancellario consiliarioque maiestatis regiae etc. domino plurimum observan-  
dissimo.

655

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Worms, 7 June 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34389.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Batthyány often asks Oláh to promote his affairs. But in Oláh's opinion, his many efforts bear little or no fruit because the other person immediately forgets about Oláh's good deeds. He has redeemed castle of Gereben, but nobody has been available to get the news to Batthyány; now at last he has found a loyal courier, Gyaky. He can continue to count on Oláh's support, but because the notaries are more diligent in taking care of Batthyány's affairs in the hope of payment, Batthyány should send 12 florins for the letter and another ten that is necessary for the administration of last year's and this year's church affairs.*

Magnifice Domine, Amice Honorandissime, salutem!

Crebro Magnifica Dominatio Vestra nobis scribit,<sup>1</sup> ut negotia sua apud regiam  
maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum promoveamus. In quo propter pro-

654,54 maiestatis] *corr.* ex maiestati 654,55 illud] *auth del.* ex illud non 654,62 praesentare] *auth del.*  
ex praesentare velit

655 <sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters.

pensam erga Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae voluntatem nostram satis solliciti su-  
5 mus et aliis etiam in eorum necessitate haud gravate operam nostram commodamus.  
Verum a multis pares, vel omnino nulli laborum nostrorum fructus ad nos redeunt  
propter subitam accepti beneficii oblivionem. Exemptionem etiam bonorum castri  
Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae Gereben<sup>2</sup> dudum confeceramus, sed hactenus nemo  
erat, qui eam sollicitasset, nec quisquam fidus tabellarius oblatus fuit, per quem tuto  
10 ad Magnificam Dominationem Vestram mittere potuissemus. Nacti tandem hominem  
notum et fidelem, egregium Matthiam Gyaky<sup>3</sup> curam perferendarum ad Magnificam  
Dominationem Vestram litterarum illi credidimus. Deinceps quoque in rebus neces-  
sariis patrocinium nostrum Magnificae Dominationi Vestrae non negabimus, sed ut  
notarii nostri in expediendis Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae negotiis sollicitiores  
15 et promptiores reddantur spe praemiorum, mittat eadem pro litteris Florenorum  
duodecim atque decimas etiam tam praeteriti, quam praesentis annorum nobis et  
ecclesiae nostrae debitas Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae manibus administratoris  
bonorum episcopatus nostri administrari faciat. Quam bene valere optamus.

Datum Vornatiae septima mensis Iunii MDXLV.

20 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagradiensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophoro de Batthyán pincernarum regali-  
um magistro etc. domino et amico honorandissimo.

656

Miklós Oláh to Lajos Pekry  
Worms, 16 June 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – Oláh Miklós – Pekry Lajos – 1545. 06. 16.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

*The King has ordered Báthori in a letter to be patient regarding the collection of the customs duties, and he should not generate further injustices, he should wait for the legal redress that Várday will write about instead. Pekry should make sure that Báthori gets the letter as soon as possible. He also thanks him for being available to help him in Slavonia.*

Magnifice Domine, Amice Observandissime, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Ea, quae Magnifica Dominatio Vestra nobis scripserat, intelleximus. Nostrum  
patrocinium, ut nullis aliis ita ne in his quidem Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae  
negotiis apud regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum defuit. Man-  
5 davit sua maiestas his litteris, quae ad Magnificam Dominationem Vestram cum  
praesentibus perlatae sunt, domino Andreae de Bathor, ut ratione telonei patientiam  
habeat, neque novas iniurias suscitet, sed quiete expectet iuris revisionem, quam

655,20 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.*

655<sup>2</sup> The castle of Greben was located next to today's Madzarevo. The castle had belonged to the Batthyánys since 1491. 655<sup>3</sup> Máté Gyaky was a noble magistrate (*iudex nobilium*) in Vas county, see BAÁN 1940, 213.

dominus locumtenens<sup>1</sup> praescribet. Magnifica Dominatio Vestra curet, quamprimum litteras suae maiestatis ad ipsum dominum Bathory expedire, et seipsam mandato suae maiestatis accommodare. 10

Quod autem scribit Magnifica Dominatio Vestra recepta pristina sanitate<sup>2</sup> se in Sclavoniam profecturam, et ibi hominibus nostris auxilio adfuturam, id nobis gratum est. Eamque rogamus, ut cum illuc venerit, ope sua homines nostros iuvare non praetermittat. Nos hunc laborem Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae maioribus rebus reponemus. Quam bene valere optamus. 15

Datum Vormatiae 16. mensis Iunii 1545.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis

Litteras regias ad dominum Bathori sonantes misi ad dominum Strigoniensem.<sup>3</sup> Ipse enim eas citius ad ipsum dominum Bathori mittere poterit.

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Ludovico Pekry de Petrowyna etc. domino et 20 amico observandissimo.

657

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Révay  
Worms, 28 July 1545

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SAR Korešpond. číslo 71., fol. 327–328.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Oláh has presented everything that Ferenc Révay had written about to the King, and the King has responded briefly in writing, but Oláh wants to give a longer response. The King remembers settling the accounts with Révay in Vienna, and that the King remitted half of the loan due to Várday's intercession. The Chamberlains are now giving him difficulties because they did not know about this relief, and they mentioned in Vienna that Révay is away because he is ailing, which is forgivable. In any case, the King will make sure that Révay does not suffer any losses, and as before, Oláh will do everything he can for him in the future as well. 2. As for the complaint about the expenses, it plagues all of them, especially Oláh, but they have to trust that they will get it back multiple times. Only God and he knows how much Oláh has done for the state. Révay must be happier than him, since he has found an honest, beautiful, and rich wife – is there any bigger fortune on earth? 3. Révay sent him Simontornyai's letter and Báthori's response, and Oláh read them to the King, who thinks the news about the Turks is unfounded, and he is waiting for Batthyány to make good on his promise regarding his service.

Salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem, Magnifice Domine mihi Observandissime!

[1.] Quae mihi in suis rebus Dominatio Vestra Magnifica scripserat, omnia maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo abunde retuli. Ad ea litteris tamen maiestas

656,17 Nicolaus ... Zagrabiensis ] O add. 656,18–19 Litteras ... poterit ] O add.

656 <sup>1</sup> Pál Várday. 656 <sup>2</sup> In Ep. 654. Pekry does not mention his state of health. 656 <sup>3</sup> Pál Várday.

5 sua Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae breviter respondit, ego tamen volui latioribus  
verbis suae maiestatis responsum ei significare. Sua maiestas dixit se memorem  
esse positae rationis cum Dominatione Vestra Magnifica Viennae et quod medio  
domini reverendissimi Strigoniensis<sup>1</sup> benevole relaxaverit dimidium crediti, quod  
autem domini camerarii nunc faciant difficultatem: de satisfacienda illa dimedietate  
10 nescire<sup>2</sup> causam.<sup>3</sup> Nam etiam Viennae fuerat facta mentio absentiae Dominationis  
Vestrae Magnificae propter infirmitatem suam, quae excusare solet cuius absentiam.  
Quare cum nunc si nec in procinctu continuis, nec multum contingere nos tardaturos  
Pragae, sed recta ituros Wiennam, tunc maiestas sua curabit, quod Dominatio Vestra  
Magnifica damnum non sit passura. Ego vero quicquid in negotiis quibuslibet Domi-  
15 nationi Vestrae Magnificae et sollicitandis et promovendis facere potui, feci certe ex  
animo, quod et in posterum sum facturus.

[2.] Querela illa expensarum magnarum non solius est Dominationis Vestrae  
Magnificae, sed omnium nostrum est communis, maxime mea. Opus est, ut omnes  
germanus ad felicitiora tempora, si quae Deus ex misericordia sua nobis unquam  
20 sunt concessura, laborum, curarum et expensarum nostrarum praemium tum hic  
a principe nostro, tum in alio seculo ab illo altero, qui cuncta regit, expectaturi  
cumulatum. Quae ego iam in hoc officio meo frequentibus externis et longinquis  
itineribus ex meis expenderim, Deus scit et ego, faciam tamen quicquid et quoad  
possum, commodi et servitiorum reipublicae causa. Felicem Dominationem Vestram  
25 Magnificam prae me iudico, quae ex Dei clementia nacta sit dominam coniugem<sup>4</sup>  
honestissimam, formosam et locupletem, tum sinu, tum nummis eam foventem; hac  
quae maior felicitas terrena esse potest? Eam tamen regia maiestas, dominus noster  
serenissimus abhorret, infelicitatemque esse putat, tamen uti existimo non utramque,  
sed alterutram. De his alias plura.

30 [3.] Litteras Simonthornensis<sup>5</sup> et responsum domini Bathori,<sup>6</sup> quae Dominatio  
Vestra Magnifica ad me misit, perlegi maiestati regiae.

De Turca putat vanum illum esse rumorem. De domino Bathori exspectat ea servi-  
tia facultatis, quae verbis promittit. Quod restat, Dominatio Vestra Magnifica feliciter  
valeat cum suis liberis et domina coniuge sua carissimis, domina mea observanda ad  
35 multa tempora, quibus me commendo.

Ex Vormatia 28. Iulii anno 1545.

Servitor Nicolaus Olahus Zagrabiensis etc. citissima manu

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Francisco de Rewa comiti de Thwroc, vacante  
officio regni Hungariae palatini locumtenenti, consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domi-  
40 no mihi observandissimo.

657,7 Magnifica ] *corr. ex Reverendissima* 657,8 benevole ] *O corr. ex relaxaverit* 657,18 est ] *O add.*  
657,20 sunt ] *corr. ex est* 657,28 putat ] *O del. ex putat non*

657<sup>1</sup> Pál Várdy. 657<sup>2</sup> Uncertain reading. 657<sup>3</sup> Probably from the proverb: 'timendi causa est nescire'.  
657<sup>4</sup> Anna Paksy was Révay's second wife from 1542 after his first wife, Borbála Gyulay died around 1540.  
See FRANKL 1873, 7; and PÁLFFY 2009a, 10. 657<sup>5</sup> Probably Simontornyai. We do not know him more closely.  
657<sup>6</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori.

658

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 3 September 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 5.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Tamás Kamarjay has been sent after Antal Sárkány, partly due to the King's engagements and partly due to Kamarjay's affairs. He is sending Nádasdy his letter of thanks through him both for the wine cellar and the exquisite things: he should pay Oláh 200 in gold for the former and 100 for the latter. He does not expect anything good to come from the four-day parliament session, he thinks they will travel to Vienna within 16 days.*

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine mihi Observandissime etc.!

Quod Camaray<sup>1</sup> paulo tardius quam Dominatio Vestra Magnifica forte sperabat, post Sarcanum<sup>2</sup> expeditus et dimissus sit, id regiae occupationi partim, partim vero praesentibus Camaray negotiis tribuendum est. Per eum remisi litteras gratiae ad 5 manus Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae tum canapiis,<sup>3</sup> tum his, quae in arte sunt factae. A primis solvant 200 aureos, a secundis 100, hanc pecuniam a Dominatione Vestra Magnifica exspecto. Nunc nihil aliud, quam quod dieta haec felicem habebit ad quatridiem exitum, credo autem nos hinc Viennam versus abituros intra XVI diem, ubi plura<sup>4</sup> cum Dominatione Vestra Magnifica, quae feliciter valeat, meque habeat 10 commendatum.

Ex Praga 3. Septembris 1545.

Servitor et frater Zagrabiensis

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo comiti terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis ac regni Hungariae supremo 15 capitaneo etc. domino observandissimo.

659

Miklós Oláh to Banská Bystrica  
Vienna, 30 November 1545

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 210. No. 8.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

658,6 Magnificae] *O del. ex Magnificae ad* 658,6 quae] *corr. ex qui* 658,9 exitum] *O corr. ex finem*

658<sup>1</sup> Tamás Kamarjay was Pál Várday's retainer (*familiaris*), and he later became Deputy Palatine (*vicepalatinus*), see PÁLFFY 2004, 1023. On 1 September, King Ferdinand I ordered the Camera to pay for Kamarjay's travel expenses, see FAZEKAS 2021, 72. 658<sup>2</sup> Probably Antal Sárkány. 658<sup>3</sup> *canipa* or *canaba* meaning 'storage room' or 'wine cellar', see RAMMINGER 2008; DU CANGE 1883; and SZOVÁK 1983–2017. 658<sup>4</sup> Sc. loqui possumus.

From the Banská Bystrica notary it is clear that they understand what the King and the collectors of the thirtieth want, and Oláh has made every effort to avoid having collectors placed in Banská Bystrica. What he has managed to achieve is that the King has said that the city cannot suffer any losses. He is attaching the King's instruction on appointing the collectors of the thirtieth. He asks them to submit to the King's wishes, he will in turn protect them. Since he has not managed to prevent collectors of the thirtieth being placed there, at least he has made sure that they will not suffer any losses.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Ex sermonibus notarii<sup>1</sup> vestri, qui paucis ante diebus ad vos reversus est, non dubitamus vos intellexisse et voluntatem maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi et tricesimatorum desideria. Quantum nos potuimus, dedimus diligentissimam  
5 operam tum coram maiestate regia, quam etiam ante consiliarios suae maiestatis, ut tricesimatores in civitate Novi Soliense<sup>2</sup> ne locarentur. Id tamen obtinere non potuimus eam ob rem, quia maiestati regiae maximo damno esse videbatur, tamen intercessione nostra tantum effecimus, ut maiestas regia commiserit serio, ne vobis aliquo gravimine esse debeant. Instructiones, quas maiestas sua dignata est dare, ibi  
10 constitutis tricesimatoribus praesentibus una vobis misimus. Quare vos hortamur, ut vosmet ad voluntatem maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi accommodare debeatis, nos autem in omnibus vestris negotiis tum in his, quam etiam in aliis praecipue autem in defensione libertatis vestrae patrocinari non desimus. Haec volumus vobis perscribere, ut intelligeretis voluntatem maiestatis regiae vosque ad  
15 eius voluntatem accomodare sciretis. Valet.

Datum Vienna in festo divi Andreae Apostoli anno Domini 1545.

Postquam efficere non potuimus, ne tricesimator istic locaretur, curavimus solum modo, ne id cum damno vestro fieret. Quod etiam de cetero sumus curaturi, et in omnibus, quibus fieri poterit, vestro commodo, quieti et libertati consulturi. Hac in re  
20 nihil dubitetis.

Vester Nicolaus Olahus Zagradiensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Novi Soliensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

660

Miklós Oláh to Wolfgang Maar  
Vienna, 17 December 1545

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Palatinalia Fasc. 2. (1530–1599)

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

659,11–12 accommodare] *O corr. ex accomodate* 659,17–20 Postquam ... dubitetis] *O add.* 659,21 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

659<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 659<sup>2</sup> Banská Bystrica.

There is a matter of debt between Ferenc Nyári and Fábíán Baráti, so Baráti has petitioned King Ferdinand I for the matter to be heard by arbiters at a place of authentication. The King wants four arbiters to make a decision on the next holy day. Baráti should deposit 1,000 florins with the citizens of Trnava, which he owes Nyári as a result of the King's deputatio. The judges should decide if Nyári owes 569 florins to Baráti. If he does, Nyári should receive the remaining sum after the 569 has been deducted, and if he does not, Nyári should receive the entire sum.

Prudens et Circumspecte Domine, Amice Honorandissime, salutem!

Est quaedam causa inter magnificum dominum Franciscum Nyary,<sup>1</sup> magistrum agazonum regiae maiestatis ac Fabyanum Barathy<sup>2</sup> ratione quorundam debitorum. Supplicavit itaque idem Fabianus regiae maiestati, ut ista causa inter eos in re median-  
te per arbitros in loco communi revideretur. Maiestas itaque regia vult, ut per quattuor  
5 arbitros ultro citroque electos his proximis festis diebus revideatur, ita tamen, ut  
ipse Fabianus Barathy mille Florenorum, quibus ex deputatione maiestatis regiae  
domino Francisco Nyary debet, apud vos in sequestro deponat. Illique quattuor arbitri  
electi secundum iustitiam Dei cognoscant, an dominus Franciscus Nyary secundum  
10 expositione praedicti Fabyani 569 Florenorum eidem debeat. Qui quidem arbitri si  
compererint praefatum dominum Nyary ipsi debere, eam summam ex tunc eam  
pecuniam apud vos depositam cum defectu 569 Florenorum domino Nyary reddatis, si  
vero nullam pecuniam ipse dominus Nyary Fabiano Barathy ex revisione arbitrorum  
debebit, ex tunc in eo casu ad requisitionem arbitrorum domino Nyary praefatam  
15 summam integre reddatis. Quod reliquum est, valere vos optamus.

Datum Viennae 17. Decemberis anno Domini 1545.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Prudenti et circumspecto Wolffgango Maar iudici civitatis Thyr-  
naviensis, amico honorando.

## 661

Ferenc Nyári to Miklós Oláh  
Bzenec, 29 December 1545

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 34.

*Notes:* Original or autograph letter with seal.

*Nyári is sending Oláh a barrel of muscatel, he should drink it before it loses its sweetness because after that it is not good any more. Bernát will give him the 100 florins in Prague. If Oláh has anything to ask, he will gladly do it. At the same time, he suspects from Bernát's late return that Oláh harbours resentment toward him for some reason. He asks him to tell him why, if that is the case, so that he can make amends. Because after the*

660,17 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.*

660<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Nyári (†1551) was a famous Hussar Captain, *ispán* of Hont county, and Royal Master of the Horse (*magister agazonum*), see NEUMANN 2007, 85–104. 660<sup>2</sup> Fábíán Baráti was an influential merchant in Trnava, later a member of the Trnava Town Council. For more in his life, see BAKONYI 2017, 55–56.

*King, Oláh is the second person who he will never leave. About his own health he says that since he returned from Vienna, he cannot even get out of bed without help, but he is slowly on the mend.*

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Fautor Observandissime, servitiorum meorum commendationem!

Misimus Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae unum vas vini dulcis muscatellini, quod Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima interim, quoad amittet dulcedinem, ebibat, 5 nam amissa dulcedine non facit tantum ad palatum. Ceterum illos centum Florenos, quos Bernardus litteratus<sup>1</sup> Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae Pragae accommodarat, eidem per praesentes relaxamus, et illos nunquam ab ipsa repetemus, insuper quemadmodum antea quoque ita et nunc officia nostra cum omni servitiorum genere unice commendamus. Quicquid enim oneris Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra nobis 10 subeundum imposuerit, id omne quam libentissime subire sumus parati, et eidem pro voto inservire modo ipso iubeat. Praeterea ex tardo Bernardi litterati reditu arbitramur Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram erga nos aliquam animi sui gravedinem concepisse.

Quare Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram tamquam dominum fautorem et 15 amicum rogamus, velit eam, si quam habet in nos, gravedinem significare, ut possimus de ea re Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram levire et nobis conplacare. Nam certo credat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, neminem post sacram maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum tenemus et habemus fautorem praeter Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram, cui ex animo semper favere et obsequi non 20 destitimus, nec volumus.

In reliquo Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere optamus, ipsamque Deus optimus maximus ad multos annos felicissimam et prosperam conservet ad vota. De nostra adversa valetudine haec scribere possumus, quod ab eo tempore, quo Vienna reversi sumus, absque aliorum auxilio e lecto surgere licuit minime, iam 25 Dei optimi beneficio commodescere coepimus.

Ex castro nostro Bzenecz secundo die festi Innocentium anno 1545.

Franciscus Nyary de Bedeg  
comes Hontensis et magister agazonum regalium etc.

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino, domino Nicolao Olaho episcopo Zagrabieni cancellario etc. consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et fautori observandissimo.

661,13 concepisce] *auth corr.* ex esse 661,19 obsequi] *auth del.* ex obsequi semper

661<sup>1</sup> Probably Bernát Zichy (†1567), who was Ferenc Nyári's servitor, see ODESCALCHI 1897, especially 32. In 1550, he became Royal Deputy-Master of the Horse (*vicemagister agazonum regalium*), see MNL OL, SML XV.22.-1.-1.



662

Miklós Oláh to Trnava Town Council  
Vienna, 17 January 1546

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Missiles inv. 1131.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*From their letter Oláh has learned that the illustrious Anthonius de Bossis brought a royal mandate to them against Imre Bebek's widow, who now lives with one of their fellow citizens, and when they tried to execute it, they learned that by the King's grace the widow does not have to repay the debt until her children come of age, or they can sue her. They are asking for Oláh's advice, who thinks they should wait for the deadline, after which they can enforce the mandate.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandi, salutem!

Accepimus litteras vestras,<sup>1</sup> quibus scripsistis nobis circumspectum Antonium de Bosis<sup>2</sup> mandatum regiae maiestatis, domini nostri clementissimi contra dominam<sup>3</sup> relictam quondam Emerici Bebek,<sup>4</sup> nunc consortem concivis vestri, providi Ambrosii Gobel<sup>5</sup> pro parte debiti ad vos pertulisse, vosque commissionem suae maiestatis 5 exsequi volentes comperissetis dominam ipsam habere suae maiestatis gratiam, ne quis creditorum ipsam iure convenire, vel cum liberis suis prius quam ad legitimam et adultam aetatem pervenirent, litigare posset, et propterea consuluistis nos, quid inter haec vobis esset faciendum. Nostrum consilium est vobis priorem gratiam suae maiestatis praefatae dominae datam esse observandam usque ad praefinitum illi 10 tempus, quod ubi completum fuerit, licebit vobis mandatum quoque suae maiestatis ipsi Antonio Bosis datum exsequi. Haec paucis ad litteras vestras respondimus, ex quibus intellexeretis, quid in hoc negotio vos facere oporteat. Et bene valete.

Datum Viennaec decima septima Ianuarii 1546.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria 15

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Tyrnaviensis etc. dominis et amicis honorandis.

663

Miklós Oláh to Trnava Town Council  
Olomouc, 6 April 1546

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Palatinalia Fasc. 2. (1530–1599).

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

662,15 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

662<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 662<sup>2</sup> Anthonius de Bossis or Bozis was a merchant in Güssing, see PRICKLER 1978; and PRICKLER 1972. 662<sup>3</sup> Her name was Ilona Arbanáz, and she was a Greek goldsmith's daughter, according to Kálmán Révész. For more on Bebek's wedding, see CSEPREGI 2011. 662<sup>4</sup> Imre III Bebek. 662<sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely.

*Oláh has managed to arrange for casuarum director János Zomor to supervise the affairs of those in Trnava and to protect them. He is also sending Zomor's letter of appointment.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti, Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Effecimus apud regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum, ut egregius dominus Ioannes Zomor,<sup>1</sup> director casuarum suae maiestatis, causas vestras dirigeret, easque contra omnes impetitores causidicos et actores protegeret. Mandatum  
5 suae maiestatis ad ipsum Ioannem Zomor datum vobis misimus, vos illud eidem exhibeatis et illius opera in causis vestris utamini. Bene valet.

Datum Olomucii sexta die Aprilis 1546.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc.

10 [On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Tyrnaviensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

664

Miklós Oláh to Banská Bystrica Town Council  
Prague, 5 June 1546

*Manuscript used: ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 113. No. 37.*

*Notes: Copy.*

*1. He has received their letter, in which they ask him to help the city avoid having to pay the thirtieth. Oláh is happy to help them, but he thinks that once the King has set his mind to something, he will not let it go. Especially now that he has suffered a loss of 14-15,000 florins, and the people of Banská Bystrica have not allowed the officials of the thirtieth in. Despite all his efforts, he does not think the town will be able to avoid the thirtieth. 2. They write that the Queen has written to the King to support them, but the King cannot be swayed. They quote the articuli issued at the Bratislava diet, which not only do not help the people of Banská Bystrica, they in fact harm them. The King has namely not yet released the thirtieths that Podmaniczky and the other one possess; justice will only prevail once that happens, and they are assigned to the Chamber.*

Generosi et Magnifici Domini et Amici nobis Observandi, salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Redditae sunt nobis litterae Dominationum Vestrarum,<sup>1</sup> quibus causam civium civitatis Novosoliensis<sup>2</sup> apud regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum,  
5 quominus tricesimae regiae in ea civitate exigerentur, promovendam nobis commendarunt. Nos quidem eam curam tam ipsius civitatis Novozoliensis, quam etiam aliarum montanarum libenter apud suam maiestatem tractandam, ut alias semper, ita etiam nunc suscepimus, veremur tamen suam maiestatem id, quod semel faciendum constituit, non mutaturam. Scriptum enim nunc quoque est suam maiestatem plus

663,8-9 Nicolaus ... etc.] *O add.* 664,7 maiestatem] *corr. ex maiestatis*

663<sup>1</sup> János Zomor. 664<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 664<sup>2</sup> Banská Bystrica.

minus quatuordecim vel quindecim millia Florenorum damni accepisse, et tricesi- 10  
matoes suae maiestatis iuxta mandatum eius in praefatam civitatem Novizoliensem  
non fuerint admissi. Nihilominus nos omni posse nostro apud suam maiestatem  
laborabimus, ut ea civitas ab exactione tricesimarum (si fieri poterit) libera fiat.

[2.] Ibi vere scripserunt Dominationes Vestrae serenissimam principem dominam 15  
Mariam reginam, dominam nostram clementissimam hac de re ad regiam maiesta-  
tem scripsisse, maiestas sua iam super hoc suae serenitati respondit, locum tamen  
exactionis tricesimarum non mutavit, nec arbitramur esse mutaturam.

Et autem Dominationes Vestrae allegant articulos super tricesimis in proximo  
conventu Posoniensi<sup>3</sup> editos, articuli illi nihil faciunt pro civibus ipsis Novizoliensibus,  
immo videntur contra eos esse. Nam regia maiestas tricesimas, quas Podmanitzky<sup>4</sup> 20  
et alii quidam nunc tenent, nondum liberavit; quas si liberaverit et camerae suae  
Hungaricae applicaverit, faciet, quod aequum et iustum erit.

Proximis diebus misimus ad Dominationes Vestras litteras regiae maiestatis, quas  
ad eas pervenisse non dubitamus. Dominationes Vestrae curent ea omnia, quae in illis  
expressae sunt, observare et observari facere, quas bene valere optamus. 25

Datum Praegae quinta Iunii anno Domini 1546.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis cancellarius  
regiae maiestatis manu propria

665

Miklós Oláh to Banská Bystrica Town Council  
Prague, 6 June 1546

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 11. No. 8

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature, and seal.

*Their notary has visited him here. He did not have the money to follow the King to Regensburg, so he presented  
their case to Oláh and asked him to get a response to it. Oláh has paid for his travel expenses, and he will also  
follow him in two days to help him. However, he fears that once the King has set his mind to something, he will  
not let it go, although he will do everything he can for them, and he will let them know about the outcome.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri  
commendationem!

Convenerat nos hic notarius<sup>1</sup> vester, qui cum regiam maiestatem, dominum  
nostrum clementissimum hic assequi non potuisset, profectioque Ratisbonam<sup>2</sup> tum  
propter itineris longitudinem, tum vero expensarum suarum tenuitatem gravis 5  
et onerosa videretur, enarrato nobis vestro desiderio assignatisque nobis vestris

664,22 erit ] *scr del. ex erit proximis*

664 <sup>3</sup> For the *articuli* mentioned here, see FRAKNÓI 1876, 33–34. 664 <sup>4</sup> Probably Rafael Podmaniczky (†1558),  
who was *ispán* of Trencsén county. More on him, see LUKINICH 1941, 5–88. In 1545, there was disagreement  
between the Podmaniczky and Kosztka families regarding the thirtieth in Žilina, see LUKINICH 1941,  
LXXXIV; and FRAKNÓI 1876, 59. 665 <sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 665 <sup>2</sup> Regensburg.

litteris rogavit nos magnopere, ut vestri causa litteras vestras ad suam maiestatem  
perferremus et responsum impetremus, vosque eius certiores redderemus. Nos  
eius petitione et vestra amicitia adducti, ut alias semper, ita etiam nunc haud  
10 gravate eam curam suscepimus, notariumque vestrum omni sollicitudine viarum et  
expensarum solvimus. Quare certo vobis persuadeatis nos in ea causa vestra apud  
suam maiestatem simul atque ad eam venerimus, sequemur autem post biduum,  
diligenter et ex animo laboraturos. Veremur tamen suam maiestatem id quod semel  
statuendum decrevit non mutaturam, nihilominus partes nostras libenter apud suam  
15 maiestatem interponeremus et quicquid responsi obtinuerimus, vos eius faciemus  
primo quoque tempore certiores. Aliis etiam in rebus vestris nostra amicitia non  
deerit. Bene valete.

Datum Pragae sexta Iunii 1546.

20 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis cancellarius  
regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis  
Novizoliensis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

666

Miklós Oláh to The Seven Mining Towns  
Regensburg, 20 June 1546

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB MMBB, Fasc. 237. No. 18.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*They have asked Oláh through their notary to prevent that a collector of the thirtieth is sent to Banská Bystrica.  
They will see what the King's response is from the King's letter (both Pál Várday and the collector of the thirtieth  
will also get a copy).*

Salutem plurimam, Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandi!

Sicuti me medio domini notarii<sup>1</sup> Novi Zoliensis rogaveratis, ut meam operam  
apud maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum interponerem pro non  
admittendo istuc tricesimatore, adhibui apud suam maiestatem curam ea in re, quam  
5 potui diligentem. Quicquid autem maiestas sua responderit, ex litteris suae maiestatis,  
quibus litterarum etiam eius copiam, quas ad dominum Strigoniensem<sup>2</sup> et tricesi-  
matorem dedit, adiunxi, clare intelligetis. Ego quicquid etiam deinceps in rem et  
commodum vestrum ac dominorum Novizoliensium facere potero, faxim libenter.  
Valete.

10 Ex Ratisbona 20. Iunii anno 1546.

Nicolaus Olahus Zagrabiensis cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc.

665,7 litteris] *O corr. ex litteras* 665,7 vestri] *O corr. ex vestra* 665,19–20 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*  
666,8 facere] *O add.*

666<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely, see Ep. 665. 666<sup>2</sup> Pál Várday.

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudicibus et iuratis civibus civitatum montanarum dominis et amicis honorandis.

667

Miklós Oláh to Pál Várday  
Prague, 5 November 1546

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1657. 141rv.

*ms. II:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 2630. Anno 1546 No. 2. fol. 2.

*Published:* PRAY 1806, II, 153–156.

*Notes:* Copies. Ms. II is an incomplete copy. The letter was accompanied by a letter from Ferenc Nyári.

1. Since he knows how curious Pál Várday is, he does not want him to miss what has happened in Hungary and Bohemia. He will learn what happened earlier from Ferenc Nyári's attached letter. The mail came yesterday and brought the news that the Hungarians had marched to confront the Turks under Nyári's lead, who requested reinforcement from the Czech captain, but the Czech were not able to follow Nyári. Nyári reached the sizeable enemy, who had been left by the Saxon Princeelector as protection. The battle took place on All Saints' Day, and the Hungarians won an enormous victory: 1,200 of the enemy fell, but only two of the Hungarians were injured, and they seized many military weapons, amassed huge spoils, and also occupied the city. 2. Maurice, Elector of Saxony in turn, occupied the fortification of Czitau, and only three cities are resisting now – hopefully those will also belong to the King soon. 3. As far as the Emperor is concerned, Landgrave is still in the camp where he has shacked up, but the Emperor sent Spanish and Italian soldiers to burn down the town that had supplied its provisions, after which many of Landgrave's men were killed or captured. 4. The Emperor is said to have gone to Tuttlingen, which is only a few miles from Ulm and Augsburg. He will await the enemy's reaction from there during the winter, and he can also easily launch an attack from there if necessary.

Ad eundem eiusdem cum priore rerum in Saxonia ab Hungaris gestarum argumenti.

[1.] Cum<sup>1</sup> sciam Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram rerum novarum avidam esse, nolim ea, quae nunc in castris Hungarorum et Bohemorum ex Saxonia huc allata sint, eandem ignorare. Quae ante Simonis et Iudae Apostolorum proxime 5 praeteritum acta fuerunt, Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ex litteris praesentibus annexis<sup>2</sup> domini Francisci Nyary<sup>3</sup> intelliget. Heri venit postha, quae retulit Hungaros audita propinquorum hostium fama obviam illis processisse. Anteibat dominus Franciscus Nyary, qui cum praevidisset hostium agmen non procul abesse, iussit exercitum consistere, ipse rogavit a capitaneo Bohemorum, sibi et exercitui Hungarorum adiungi 10 500 cataphractus, totidem pedites sclopetarios, seque belli fortunam horum auxilio cum hoste experturum esse. Quibus impetratis vicissim cum exercitu Hungarorum praecessit ita, quod cataphracti et pedites eum assequi non potuerint. Qui postquam

667,1–35 Ad ... Bohemis.] *ms. II. om.*

667<sup>1</sup> In the ms. I, on the margin: 1546. 667<sup>2</sup> See OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1657. fol. 140r–141r. and OSZK Fol. Lat. 2630. Anno 1546 No. 2. fol. 1. This letter was also edited by Pray, see PRAY 1805, 147–153. 667<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Nyári.

ad hostem pervenissent, quorum numerus erat cataphractorum, ut dicunt, quadrin-  
15 gentorum, peditum vero 6000. Nam hos dux Saxoniae elector pro defensione sui  
ducatus in praesidiis locaverat. Commissum est utrinque certamen in festo Omnium  
Sanctorum hora tertia pomeridiana. Ubi Hungari animadvertissent, hostium ordines  
turbari, perruperunt totum agmen eorum. Increscente die Marte deleverunt eos,  
quamquam ad finem pugnae supervenerunt et cataphracti regiae maiestatis et pedites,  
20 ita, quod ex cataphracis 400 vix 10 evaserunt. In loco proelii numerata sunt occisorum  
cadavera 1200 ex Hungaris non plures duobus dicuntur esse saucii. Interceperunt 15  
tornamenta bellica hostium et civitatem quamdam electoris satis munitam, sicque  
potiti victoria satis amplam praedam congesserunt. Obtigerunt eis certi captivi et hi  
satis opulenti. Tanta fuit inter eos rerum ex praeda collectarum copia, ut bos vel vacca  
25 in auctione venderetur 4 Grossis, equus Florenorum 2 aut tribus.

[2.] Confecto feliciter isto proelio, captaque et in potestatem regiae maiestatis  
redacta civitate dicuntur ulterius procedere, parte ex alia dux quoque Mauritius<sup>4</sup>,  
qui similiter a parte regiae maiestatis est, comparatis copiis, ducatum ipsius electoris  
invasit, et obsedit civitatem quamdam Swika (fors Czitau) iamque non plures tribus  
30 civitatibus ducalibus restare, quae vim exercitus regii sustinere possent, quibus, ut  
speramus, brevi captis, brevi totus ducatus Saxoniae ditioni suae maiestatis addetur.  
Nam omnes illae civitates, quae sunt maiestati regiae tamquam regi Bohemiae feu-  
datariae et quarum regio tanta esse dicitur, quanta est Moravia, iam dicitur regiae  
maiestati iurasse, cum 50 potioribus baronibus et nobilibus. Hactenus de Saxonia, de  
35 Hungaris et Bohemis.

[3.] Quod attinet ad sacratissimam maiestatem, Landgravius<sup>5</sup> etiamnum est in  
castris eodem loco, ubi se in terram suffodit; proelio hactenus cum sua maiestate  
decertare detrectavit, ita tam a militibus imperatoris observatur, ut, quoscumque extra  
castra mittit, mox aut capiuntur, aut trucidantur. Nunc postremo sua caesarea maie-  
40 stas misso exercitu Hispanorum et Itolorum exuri fecit magnum quoddam oppidum,  
quod erat ultra castra hostium, unde suppeditabatur hostibus commeatus. Caesi sunt  
ibidem 200 cataphracti Landgravii et pedites non pauci. Intercepti sunt 800 currus  
commeatum et 800 equi, qui bombardas et alia impedimenta hostium traxerunt. Haec  
hactenus contigerunt.

45 [4.] Diciturque caesarea maiestas in hunc diem Thulingam<sup>6</sup> ivisse, civitatem car-  
dinalis Augustini nuper recuperatam ab hostibus, distantem a castris hostium uno et  
altero milliari ubi, si opus erit, exspectabit per hyemem hostium actiones. Est autem  
in loco commodo, utpote propinque ad civitates Ulmam et Augustam, ad quas a castris

667,32–33 feudatariae] *del. ex feudatarie (+)* 667,36 etiamnum] *ms. II. nunc* 667,36 est] *ms. II. est eorum* 667,37 sua] *ms. II. sua caesarea* 667,38 decertare] *ms. II. O? corr. ex altercare* 667,38 detrectavit] *ms. II. tractavit* 667,38 tam] *ms. II. tamen* 667,39 Nunc] *ms. II. Tunc* 667,39 postremo] *ms. II. postea* 667,45 maiestas] *ms. II. maiestatem* 667,45 Thulingam] *ms. II. Trolingam* 667,46 uno] *ms. II. duo* 667,48 civitates] *ms. I. civitatem*

667<sup>4</sup> Maurice, Elector of Saxony (1521–1553). 667<sup>5</sup> Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse. 667<sup>6</sup> Probably Tuttlingen (in Württemberg, Schwarzwaldkreise). According to Charles V's itinerary, he was on the campaign on the upper Danube (Bavaria) between August and November 1546.

caesareis tribus milliaribus distantes, ut volet, irruptionem semper facere poterit, si  
ita ferat necessitas belli. Exspectamus in horas felicem belli exitum, quod cum factum 50  
fuerit, Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae perscribam. Quam feliciter valere cupio.  
Datum Pragae 5. die Novembris 1546.

Nicolaus Olahus

668

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Batthyány  
Prague, 8 November 1546

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34390.  
*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He received his letter today, but he wants to respond quickly, he is writing to Bratislava anyway. Péter Keglevich has given an account of Ferenc Batthyány's letter. Ferenc Batthyány cannot complain about Oláh because of Kristóf Batthyány: the King himself asked Oláh the other day why he wanted to have the councilors staying in Bratislava listed. The other councilors who are seeing Várday will also have their place in the council, and Kristóf is also among them, i.e. in the Royal Lieutenantcy Council. He has already written to him about the King's response in the matter of Güssing. He has not received a response in connection with the thirtieth there, but as soon as he does, he will write about that, too. 2. He will hear about the rest of the news from Várday, whom both Oláh and Nyári have informed in their letters. The Saxon affairs, it seems, have turned out favourably for the Emperor so far.

Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem, Magnifice Domine mihi Honorandissime!

[1.] Hodie ad noctem accepi litteras<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae, ad quas volui brevibus respondere, cum alias quoque litteras Posonium daturus essem. Filius<sup>2</sup> regiae maiestatis, qui huc venerat, hodie expeditus est. Litterae Dominationis Vestrae fuerant 5 domino Keglewyth<sup>3</sup> praesentatae. Propter dominum Christophorum<sup>4</sup> fratrem suum

667,49 distantes] *ms. II. distantia* 667,49 ut volet] *ms. II. si velit* 667,49 irruptionem] *ms. II. eruptionem* 667,49 semper facere] *ms. II. facere semper* 667,49–50 si ... belli] *ms. II. om.* 667,50 belli] *ms. II. huius rei* 667,51 Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae] *ms. II. Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi* 667,51 Quam ... cupio.] *ms. I. om.* 667,52 Novembris] *ms. II. anno* 667,53 Nicolaus Olahus] *ms. II. Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis servitor episcopus Zagradiensis. In loco proelii numerata sunt occisorum cadavera 200 ex Hungaris non plures duobus dicuntur esse saucii. Interceperunt 15 tornamenta bellica hostium et civitatem quamdam electam satis munitam, sicque potiti victoria satis praedam amplam congesserunt. Obtigerunt eis certi captivi et hi satis opulenti. Tanta fuit inter eos rerum ex praeda collectarum copia, ut bos vel vacca in auctione venderetur 4 Grossis, equus Florenorum 2 aut tribus. Confecto feliciter isto proelio captoque et in potestatem regiae maiestatis redacto dicuntur ulterius procedere.*

668<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 668<sup>2</sup> The later Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor. 668<sup>3</sup> Probably Péter Keglevich or Petar Keglević (ca. 1485/1500–1554/1555), who was Ban of Croatia and Slavonia from 1537 to 1542. In 1542, he was imprisoned as an infidel, but he was soon released. In 1546, the new Ban of Croatia, Miklós Zrínyi captured him and imprisoned him in Kostel. See MUJADŽEVIĆ–KATUŠIĆ 2009; and Lukács Székely's letter to Niklas von Salm on 15 September, 1546: BARABÁS 1898, 71–74. 668<sup>4</sup> Kristóf Batthyány.

de me conqueri nihil merito potest. Nam sicuti maiestas regia mihi diebus praeteritis dixit, cur saltem dominos consiliarios suos voluit inscribi, qui Posonii ordinarie sunt et ibi semper manent, alii quoque omnes domini consiliarii, sicuti maiestas sua dixit, 10 quando ad dominum reverendissimum locumtenentem<sup>5</sup> veniunt, habent suum locum in consilio, inter quos est dominus Christophorus; et non modo ibi, sed etiam in consilio suae maiestatis. De hac tamen re loquar rursus suae maiestati, quamprimum otium habuerit. Super iure domini Balassa<sup>6</sup> in Wywar<sup>7</sup> habito Dominationi Vestrae et mihi dando, quod maiestas sua mihi respondeat, Dominationi Vestrae iam pridem 15 perscripsi. De tricesima in Nemethwywar adhuc responsum habere non potui, qualemque habuero, perscribam Dominationi Vestrae.

[2.] Nova, quae hic habemus, Dominatio Vestra accipere poterit a reverendissimo domino nostro Strigoniensi,<sup>8</sup> ad quem et ego scripsi, et dominus etiam Nyary<sup>9</sup> scripsit.<sup>10</sup> Omnia hactenus, laus esto, prospera fuerint tam apud caesarem quam in 20 expeditione hac maiestatis regiae suae Saxonica. Iam dimidia et maior pars bonorum ducis Saxoniae electoris est in manu regia, propediem feliciora nova exspectamus. Dominatio Vestra Magnifica feliciter valat, cui me commendo.

Ex Praga octava Novembris 1546.

Nicolaus Olahus Zagradiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. propria manu

25

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Francisco Bathyani consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

669

Georg Bona to Miklós Oláh  
Sibiu, 17 November 1546

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 54.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Georg Bona is very happy to find Oláh in good health, and he also lets him know that God has granted him quite good health as well. Bona reminds Oláh that they had conferred with each other, and Oláh decided that Bona can stay until his (Bona's) wife starts looking for him. In response to Oláh's request, Bona has already informed him in his letter about all his wife's affairs, and what their request for Oláh refers to and in what way, including the fact that Bona's wife would be happy to see her brother, Oláh. Bona would only be able to stay with him for a short period of time because he has three estates. Undertaking such a long journey in foreign*

668,10 ad] *O del. ex ad reverendissimum* 668,10 locum] *O del. ex locum tam summo* 668,13 habito] *O del. ex habito aut* 668,15 perscripsi] *O del. ex perscripsi Non*

668<sup>5</sup> Pál Várday. 668<sup>6</sup> Probably Menyhárt Balassa, who was *ispán* of Hont and Bars counties. The Balassa brothers sued Ferenc Batthyány for the estates in Güssing, see VIROVECZ 2017, 54, 247–248. 668<sup>7</sup> Németújvár, today: Güssing. 668<sup>8</sup> Pál Várday. 668<sup>9</sup> Ferenc Nyári. 668<sup>10</sup> See OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1657. fol. 140r–141r. and OSZK, Fol. Lat. 2630. Anno 1546 No. 2. fol. 1. This letter also was edited, see PRAY 1805, 147–153; and Ep. 667.

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*land and leaving his own people and homeland is certainly accompanied by sadness, but Bona will still comply with his request, although he cannot come before Saint George's Day because he has little time. He hopes that he will also send him a pass and that God will help him find accommodation. Going on such a long trip with wife and child brings a lot of trouble and expenses, as Oláh himself must also have seen before. He trusts that Oláh will return home safely.*

Laus Deo am 17. Novembris in 1546 jar.

Frid, gnad in Jesu Cristo!

Edler und gnediger herr, eur gnadenn hayll und gesund istt uns ein sonderliche fraid zu horenn und ergleichenn wist uns auch in zimlcher gesandheitt nach dem willenn Gottes. Khumdt eur gnadenn zu gedechtnus, das e. g.<sup>1</sup> mytt myr gehandeltt 5 hatt und auch beschlossen unsers playbenn halben und mich auch in dem fall pevilig hab, also waytt main liebe hausfraw<sup>2</sup> nachfolgen will, doch hab ich yr alle sach klarlich anzagt nach e. g. peffelch, in was mainug und in was gestaltt e. g. unser pegerenn ist. Also hatt sy irenn willenn auch darzue gebenn, denn sy namlich e. g. vonn herzenn 10 geren sehenn woltt, als yrem herren und leiblichenn prueder, das denn e. g. woll 10 gedenkhenn khan, so es denn der almechtig Gott schikhenn und fuegenn will, so mags, als geschehen, so es eur gnad aygencklich habenn will, das myr da sain sollen, damitt das myr drei ayn aigentumb habenn, das unser playben say mytt der zaytt. Wen, warumb ein solcher waytten weg in frembde land auffzumachenn und das 15 sain und vatterland zu ferlassenn, ist gewisslich khain schertz, nicht sunder e. g. peger soll<...> erffullt werden, sowaytt es Gotten schickenn will, sunder vor Jeorgii<sup>3</sup> khann ich nicht auff sain, denn dy zaitt ist myr mytt allenn sachen zu kurtz. Mer verhoff ich, e. g., wyr myr auch durch schraybein ein pasß unterricht gebenn, wenn uns Gott der almechtig hinauff hylfft, das myr darum wissenn, wo und in wo zu blaybem, dem es wyrtt groß mue und zerung kosten, alsdenn e. g. woll selber mag abnemen, mytt 20 wayb und khind ein solichen waytten weg zue zyhenn. Doch will ichs Gott im erstenn, darnach e. g. haymsezenn, wuntch eur gnadenn vill glukh und hayll, Gott erspar euch uns. Zu trost allenn ich peger vonn e. g. ein gnedige antwortt. In eylend geschrybenn, datum aus der Hermstatten.

Jorg Bonn<sup>4</sup> e. g. w. d. a.<sup>5</sup> 25

[On the outer side:] Generosissimo domino domino Nicolao Olahus, episcopo Zabra-giensi<sup>6</sup> atque cancellario regni maiestatis, domino nostro gratiosissimo.

669<sup>1</sup> I.e. eure Gnade. 669<sup>2</sup> Orsolya Oláh. 669<sup>3</sup> 23 or 24 April. In Hungary, it falls on 24 April, but Bona probably did not use the Hungarian calendar. 669<sup>4</sup> Georg Bona was Oláh's brother-in-law due to his marriage to the widow Orsolya Oláh. 669<sup>5</sup> Probably, i.e. Euer Gnaden williger Diener Allezeit. 669<sup>6</sup> Zagreb.

Miklós Oláh to Queen Mary  
Prague, 3 January 1547

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, Belgien, PA Fasc. 72., fol. 265.

*Published:* MOISYUC 1972, 692–693.

*In Romanian:* MOISYUC 1972, 693.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. Because Ruprecht Haller is on his way to the Queen, he does not think he needs to inform her about the affairs of the mining town now. He learned from a friend's letter yesterday what a particular presbyter from Constantinople has done – he is sending this letter to the Queen to let her know that the Turks do indeed know what is happening in the Christian world, which is the French King's fault. His Transylvanian friend has written the same to him, i.e. that the Turks are planning to occupy not only Vienna but all of Austria, and they are already collecting wheat and other provisions in Buda. 2. He is asking the Queen to make sure the Emperor finds out the enemy's intentions in time, lest the Turks become strong again and rule the Queen's provinces.

Sacra Maiestas Reginalis Domina, Domina Clementissima, fidelitatis et servitiorum meorum perpetuorum in clementiam Maiestatis Vestrae Sacrae humillimam commendationem!

[1.] Quae in montanis civitatibus et aliis bonis Vestrae Sacrae Maiestatis agantur, cum dominus Robertus Haller<sup>1</sup> ad eandem proficiscatur, non putam opus esse me de his ipsam certiore facere. Heri accepi a quibusdam amicis meis quaedam scripta,<sup>2</sup> quae a quodam presbytero Constantinopoli agente missa fuerunt; ea ad Sacram Maiestatem Vestram misi, ut cognosceret Thurcam multa scire in his, quae in orbe nostro Christiano agantur, eaque ex Christianissimo vel diabolico potius rege Galliae.<sup>3</sup>  
10 Haec quoque sententia verba quidam meus amicus ex Transsylvania ad me scribit,<sup>4</sup> nihil iam certius habemus, quam quod Thurcarum imperator non solum Wiennae expugnationem parat, verum etiam totius Austriae occupationem. Ad eam rem ex tributi collatione farina, hordeum et alia ad com meatum pertinentia sub ferias nativitatis Christi ex mandato imperatoris Budam et non Pesth convehuntur.

[2.] Sacra Maiestas Vestra dignetur tum ob amorem Dei et reipublicae Christianae, tum ob permansionem Hungariae et Austriae apud maiestatem caesaream agere, ut in tempore cogitet conatus perfidi hostis praevanire, alioqui vereor, ne Thurca milite recenti et iam aliquot annis recreato aliquid maximi mali Hungariae uno Christianitati ac auctis Maiestatum Vestrarum provinciis imperat. Deus servet Maiestatem Vestram  
20 Sacram in hoc novo anno et futuris diutissime felicem et incolumem, in cuius clementiam me et servitia mea fidelia et antiqua iterum atque iterum humiliter commendo.

E Praga tertia Ianuarii anno 1547. inferius erat scriptum.

Eiusdem Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor

Nicolaus Olahus Zagrabiensis cancellarius etc.

670<sup>1</sup> Ruprecht Haller. 670<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 670<sup>3</sup> King Francis I. 670<sup>4</sup> We do not know this letter.

671

Miklós Oláh to City Judge of Trnava  
Pirna, 1 March 1547

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Palatinalia Fasc. 2. (1530–1599)

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Ferenc Felpéczy, the bearer of this letter, will tell him what Oláh has entrusted to him, he should believe him and do what he asks, Oláh will be grateful.*

Prudens et Circumspecte Domine et Amice nobis Honorandissime,<sup>1</sup> salutem!

Nuntiavimus nonnulla vobis per hunc egregium dominum Franciscum de Felpeczy<sup>2</sup> praesentium ostensorem, in certis et arduis nostris negotiis. Rogamus igitur vos, velitis verbis ipsius Felpeczy fidem adhibere et ea atque medio ipsius vos rogavimus omnino facere. Quod in maioribus vobis rependere volumus. Bene et feliciter valete. 5

Datum in civitate Pyrnae prima Martii anno Domini 1547.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

11. die Martii 1547 venit homo domini Francisci Felpechy cum litteris domini cancellarii maiestatis regiae, ratione rerum honorabilis olim Balthasaris praesbiteri 10 plebani de Zakalos cuius res idem dominus cancellarius arestavit inhibuitque, ne alicui darentur, sed ad maiestatem regiam occuparentur.

[On the outer side:] Prudenti et circumspecto domino iudici civitatis Tyrnaviensis etc. amico nobis honorandissimo.

672

Miklós Oláh to Magdolna Székely  
Meissen, 29 May 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 148a – Fasc. 1752. – No. 50.

*Published:* KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI 1909, 542–543.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

*1. Today he received the letters of Magdolna Székely and her husband, Johann von Pernstein, in which they ask him to help enforce the King's new mandate with Pál Várday, which says the handover of Bojnice castle and 28,000 florins should be postponed. He has already written to her husband what he has accomplished in this matter and that there is no need for another mandate towards Várday, since three of these have already been issued: one has been sent to them, another has been sent via mail, in which the handover has been postponed until St George's Day, and eight days ago he also sent one via mail to Várday that he should change his mind*

671,7–8 Nicolaus ... propria] O add. 671,11 Zakalos] *auth del. ex Zakalos olim*

671<sup>1</sup> János Budai (1546/1547) and Wolfgang Maar (or Farkas Boltmár) were City Judges of Trnava (1547/1548), see BAKONYI 2017, 63, 67–68, and 70. 671<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Felpéczy was a royal officer. In 1562, he was *viceispán* of Komárom county, see FAZEKAS 2021, 131.

and postpone the deadline to the third day of Pentecost. The King has also informed Mihály Mérey about this, so it is completely unnecessary to increase the number of mandates. 2. The King will arrive to Prague soon, he can visit him there if he has anything to discuss with him. The war against the heretics has come to an end: Maurice, Elector of Saxony has been captured, and Wittenberg has been occupied.

Generosa et Magnifica Domina,<sup>1</sup> nobis Honorandissima, Salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Accepimus hodie litteras<sup>2</sup> Dominae Vestrae una cum litteris adiunctis spectabilis et magnifici domini Ioannis a Prnstein,<sup>3</sup> domini et mariti sui carissimi, quibus nos  
5 summopere rogant, ut mandatum novum maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi expediendum curaremus ad dominum Strigoniensem,<sup>4</sup> quo causa castrum Baynochcz<sup>5</sup> et viginti octo millium Florenorum ad reditum maiestatis regiae differetur. Iam antea Dominae Vestrae Magnificae ac domino marito suo carissimo perscripsimus, nos in hoc negotio eorum eam, quam potuimus, apud maiestatem regiam operam  
10 praestitisse. Ita ut non videatur opus novum mandatum ad dominum Strigoniensem<sup>6</sup> dare, nam tria mandata ad eum sunt, in hac causa differenda data. Primum mandatum misimus ad manus domini mariti sui ac Dominae Vestrae, secundum mandatum misimus per postham, quo mandabatur, ut tam ista causa castrum Baynocz quam alia generalia iudicia festi beati Georgii<sup>7</sup> in aliud tempus differretur. Tertium et ultimum  
15 mandatum misimus similiter per postham ad dominum Strigoniensem, ante octavum ab hinc (ut arbitramur) diem, quo mando propter certas et rationabiles causas animum maiestatis suae moventes. Mandatum est eidem domino Strigoniensi, ut non modo generalia iudicia festi beati Georgii praeteriti, sed etiam brevia iudicia locumtenentiae suae, quae tertio die huius festi pentecostes incipere volebat, omnino ad aliud tempus  
20 differat. Hoc idem autem significavit sua maiestas domino Michaeli quoque Meresy,<sup>8</sup> personali praesentiae suae maiestatis etc. Quare non est timendum Dominis Vestris, quin dominus Strigoniensis et etiam Meresy causam Dominae Vestrae Magnificae una cum aliis causis generalibus et particularibus ad tot mandata regia omnino differant. Superfluum igitur videtur maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo mandatum  
25 tot mandatis, quae observari debent, nunc addere. Hoc tamen Dominae Vestrae Magnificae volumus significare, quod sicuti nos voluntatem maiestatis suae intelligimus, nec generalia, nec particularia iudicia vult ad longissimum tempus differri facere, ne alicui iustitia negata esse videatur. Quare Domina Vestra sit cum iuribus suis parata, ut cum iudicia incipienda maiestas regia mandaverit, Domina Vestra ipsa

672,1 Honorandissima] *O corr. ex* Honoranda 672,10 praestitisse] *O corr. ex* praestitimus 672,16 mando] *O corr. ex* mandatis 672,16 rationabiles] *O del. ex* rationabiles ex

672<sup>1</sup> Magdolna Székely of Ormosd (†1556) was the second wife of Elek Thurzó (1490–1543). She is noted for the love letter addressed to her in 1528, which is the first preserved Hungarian love letter, see Szőke 2014. 672<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 672<sup>3</sup> Johann III von Pernstein or Jan z Pernštejn (1487–1548) was *Landeshauptmann* of Moravia from 1515 to 1519 and 1526 to 1528, and Governor of Moravia from 1530 to 1532. From 1537 to 1548, he was Count of Klodzko. In 1544, he married Elek Thurzó's widow, Magdolna Székely, see PÁLFFY 2011, 80–82. 672<sup>4</sup> Pál Várday. 672<sup>5</sup> Elek Thurzó received Bojnice Castle in 1527, see PÁLFFY 2011, 77. 672<sup>6</sup> Pál Várday. 672<sup>7</sup> 24. April. 672<sup>8</sup> Mihály Mérey (†1572) was a Personalis between 1544 and 1562. From 1562 until his death, he was a Deputy Palatine, see FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 132.

non desit defensionis suae. Nos quacumque in re iusta et licita Dominae Vestrae ac 30  
marito suo carissimo complacere et inservire poterimus, faciemus libenter, sicuti id  
etiam hactenus fecimus. Reliquum est, Dominam Vestram feliciter valere optamus.

Ex Misnia 29. May anno Domini 1547.

[2.] Maiestas regia, Deo bene adiuvente propediem erit Pragae. Si quid negotii  
Domina Vestra Magnifica habet, poterit illuc ad suam maiestatem mittere vel venire. 35  
Debellatis hostibus religionis et inoboedientibus, captoque duce Saxone alias electore<sup>9</sup>  
Vitembergam quoque civitatem, domicilium haereticorum occupamus.

Nicolaus Olahus Zagrabiensis cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc.

[On the outer side:] Generosae et magnificae dominae Magdalenae Zekel de Ormosd  
spectabilis et magnifici domini Ioannis a Pernstain consorti etc. dominae nobis hono- 40  
randissimae.

### 673

Wolfgang Kremer to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 16 June 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 22.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

1. He has received two of his letters, in which he asks him to send two lengths of nail-coloured London baize and one length of Lviv baize through Prague. They cannot find nail-coloured London baize anywhere, but he is expecting to receive London baize in various colours every day, maybe there will be some of the above-mentioned colour, or at least red or purple ones. Then again, he does not think it is safe to send it, he will rather save it for him until one of his servitors picks it up. 2. The collectors of the thirtieth have paid the 1,020 florins to Oláh, he will send it as soon as possible, along with the receipt. He asks Oláh to help him because the councilors of the Hungarian Chamber have not paid up yet, despite the royal mandate. He should get on the road and take care of things, but he would rather postpone it – in the meantime Oláh could bring the issue to the councilors' attention.

Reverendissime ac Magnifice Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime, salutem ac  
servitiorum meorum commendationem, obsequia parata!<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Binas ad me datas litteras accepi.<sup>2</sup> Continentia illarum est pro duabus pe-  
ciis<sup>3</sup> Lonndis<sup>4</sup> coloris neglfarb<sup>5</sup> deinde pro unam petiam Lorinbergensem,<sup>6</sup> easdem  
quamprimum per Pragam mittam. Quare Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram 5

672,34–37 Maiestas ... occupamus ] *O add.* 672,36 alias ] *O add.* 672,38 Nicolaus ... etc. ] *O add.*

672<sup>9</sup> Maurice, Elector of Saxony. 673<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Kremer was a *factor* and merchant in Vienna. He was active from the late 1530s according to the documents, and traded silver, salt, wine, wax, and baize, see TÓZSA-RIGÓ 2013. 673<sup>2</sup> We do not know these letters. 673<sup>3</sup> *pecia* meaning 'piece', see DU CANGE 1883. 673<sup>4</sup> *Londinensis*, or in German texts: *Lonndis*, abbreviation from *pannus Londinensis subtilis*, meaning 'fine baize from England', see BEKE 1954, 94. 673<sup>5</sup> I.e. 'color of the nail' (Nagel), see also *Nägelfarbe* in GRIMM–GRIMM 1854. About the colors of the cloths (*pannus*) and garments, see TÓZSA-RIGÓ 2007, 360. 673<sup>6</sup> The baize from Lviv was popular around this time, see BÍRÓ 1986.

certiorem reddo, quod colorem neglfarb Lonndis non habeo, nec apud ceteros invenire  
possum, quin tarde invenitur colorem praedictum. Attamen quotidie exspecto pan-  
num Lonndis varii coloris in brevi deportaturum, inter quibus fortassis colorem praed-  
dictum habuero, sed rubeum pannum Lonndis habeo aut purpiani coloris neglfarb,  
10 si Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae pergratum fuerit. Deinceps, haud scio idem  
percogitare possum, qua opportunitate per Pragam tute mittam, nam viam iamque  
intutissimam timeo, uti Reverendissima Magnificientia considerare poterit, proinde  
pannum supradictum ad responsum Reverendissimae Magnificientiae Vestrae aut ad  
servitorem multo melius erit, qui illic deferret, retinebo.

15 [2.] Tricesimatores satisfecerunt Reverendissimae Magnificientiae Vestrae causa in  
summa 1020 Florenos Hungaricales, de quibus autem et quando posthac quamprimum  
super cedulam unam designatam remittam.

Precor Reverendissimae Magnificientiae Vestrae, mihi adiuvere et consulere velit,  
quid Hungarici consilarii camerae solutionem et satisfactionem reddant, nam hacten-  
20 nus super mandatas litteras regiae maiestatis nil solverunt, nec spem solutionis dent  
et in magna expensa me indicant. Quia certissime cogor viam aggredi et constitui,  
malim intermittere, proinde Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima velit consilariis prae-  
dictis significare, idem me cum remedio providere. Cum litteris de regia maiestate  
Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra haud dubio relationem huic rei facturam eandem,  
25 quam felicissime valere opto.

Datum Vienna 16. mensis Iunii anno Domini 1547.

Wolfgangus Kremer

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo ac magnifico domino, domino Nicolao Olaho  
electo episcopo Sagrabiensi sacratissimae regiae consiliario ac summo cancellario  
30 regni Hungariae domino et patrono suo observandissimo.

674

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 16 August 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 6.

*Notes:* Original letter with seal.

1. He received Nádasdy's letter from the Piešťany bath today, and he is sad to hear that the bath has not  
improved his wife's health. He believes God will look after Orsolya Kanizsai's health, only they should not  
lose faith, and God will heal her even without medical help. 2. As for the Czech affairs, the King is steadily  
exposing the participants of the conspiracy, the other day he proscribed Captain Pflug, confiscating everything  
he owned, he has nothing left, except for 16,000 florins and the gold he managed to take with him; he has fled  
to King Francis I, or according to others, to the Emperor. The King has stripped all the towns that had joined the  
uprising of all their privileges, and he has called the next assembly for 24 August in Augsburg. 3. Nádasdy has

673,21 aggredi] *del. ex aggredi ac* 673,27 Wolfgangus Kremer] *auth add.*

334

surely heard that imperial legate Veltwijck returned from the Turks with a bogus ceasefire. He does not believe this ceasefire will help Hungary. Oláh is doing everything he can for Nádasdy, and he will continue to do so.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, Domine mihi Observandissime, servitiorum meorum commendationem!

[1.] Quas ad me Spectabilis Magnifica Dominatio Vestra ex thermis Pesthieniensibus<sup>1</sup> decima huius mensis dedit litteras, hodie mane sunt mihi redditae, quibus lectis magno sane sum affectus dolore, quod thermae illae ad sanitatem generosae et magnificae dominae<sup>2</sup> consortis Spectabilis Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae nihil contulerint, neque putassem eam ibi tamdiu perseveraturam. Ego fa<ci>le crediderim Deum omnipotentem longe alia ratione sanitati ipsius dominae consortis Spectabilis Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae provisurum, novit ipse quando et quibus rebus opus habemus, modo tota fiducia nos illi dedamus, neque fallor nostram spem, cum bonae fidei promissor, et possit praestare, quod promisit, promisit autem temporalia bona, simul et aeterna omnibus quicumque ipsius opem implorarent. Non possum itaque non vehementer probare, quod Spectabilis Magnifica Dominatio Vestra salutem dominae coniugis suae Deo commiserit. Ipse, dubio procul, citra opem medicorum, si ad salutem ita expedit, eam salvam faciet; quod ut faciat piis votis, precor. 15

[2.] Quod ad res Bohemicas attinet: regia maiestas fontes et coniurationis nuperrimae auctores sine intermissione castigat, proscripsit nuper Gasparum Phlug<sup>3</sup> capitaneum, universa eius bona, arces videlicet, civitatesque et reliqua occupata sunt regiae maesitati, solus relictis, ut aiunt, consorti suae, nam liberis caret, circiter sedecim milibus Florenorum, viatico centum millium aureorum, ac rerum aurearum, gemmarumque ad valorem quinquaginta millium Florenorum, fugit ad Gallum,<sup>4</sup> quidam dicunt ad caesarem, sed hoc non videtur verisimile. Civitates omnes, quae consenserant coniurationi, libertate, privilegiis et armis tormentisque bellicis exiit sua maiestas. Constituit diem conventus festum beati Bartholomei<sup>5</sup> proxime venturum, ut tunc in eos, qui nocentes deprehensi fuerint, iure animadvertat. Quid postea sua maiestas actura sit, tempus docebit. Opinio quorundam est suam maiestatem praefectis his concessuram ad conventum imperialem Augustae celebrandam. 20

[3.] Non dubito Spectabilem Magnificam Dominationem Vestram intellexisse Gerardum<sup>6</sup> oratorem caesaris a Turca spe simulatarum induciarum rediisse. Hinc proxime profectus est ad caesarem. Non video spem liberandae afflictae Hungariae, solae induciae sufficiunt ad perdendam eam.<sup>7</sup> 30

Ego voluntati, vel verius praecepto Spectabilis Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae per omnem dolorem pedum meorum omnemque miseriam et incommoditates plurimas parebo, manebo hic, quamdiu potero. Et non solum hoc pro Spectabili Ma-

674<sup>1</sup> Pöstyén (today: Piešťany) had been famous for its medicinal springs since the Middle Ages. In 1549, Georg Werner also mentioned it in his book *About the Miraculous Waters of the Hungarian Monarchy (De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation, Basel, 1551, C IIIrv.)* 674<sup>2</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 674<sup>3</sup> Kaspar Pflug von Rabstein (†1585) was *Oberster Feldhauptmann* of the Lutheran Bohemians from 1547, for more on this revolt and his conviction, see HOENSCH 1997, 194–195. 674<sup>4</sup> King Francis I. 674<sup>5</sup> 24 August. 674<sup>6</sup> Gerard Veltwijck (ca. 1500–1555), Imperial Envoy, negotiated with Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I, see SEVERI 2001. 674<sup>7</sup> On the conditions of the truce, see SEVERI 2001, 242–243.

35 ginifica Dominatione Vestra libenter facerem, sed etiam per annum in carcere se-  
derem, tantum mandato eius satisfierit, quantum enim ei debeam, vix ore proloqui  
possum, minus calamo depingere, nam huc quoque beneficio et liberalitate Spectabilis  
Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae nuper veni, et deinceps quoque aliquamdiu illa  
me sustentabo. Nunc alia nova nulla sunt, si quae erunt, per primam occasionem  
40 Spectabili Magnificae Dominationi Vestrae perscribam. Precor Iesum Christum, ut  
Spectabilem Magnificam Dominationem Vestram servet diu incolumem, dominamque  
coniugem suam restituat sanitati, cui me totum meaque studia et officia commendo  
et dedo.

Datum Pragae 16. Augusti 1547.

45 [On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino meo, domino Thomae de Nadasd,  
comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae et consiliario regiae maiestatis etc.  
domino mihi observandissimo.

675

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 18 August 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 7.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

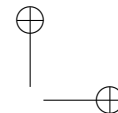
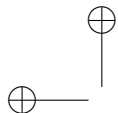
1. Bohemia already seems calm; the assets of Kaspar Pflug, who has fled, have reverted to the royal treasury, except for four towns, and the assets of the rest of the aristocrats who participated in the conspiracy were similarly confiscated, and their towns have been stripped of their privileges. The next diet will clarify who will oversee these. He does not need so many horses and servitors, so he is sending them back to Nádasdy and thanks him for not letting him go without. 2. Rhumi, Benedek, and Máté are all excellent servitors, especially the latter two, and if Benedek had not been with him in the war, he does not even know what would have happened to him; he should be their gracious master. 3. He has written everything about the other cases to Augustín Sbardelatti. István Meksey and Sándor Rokawy are still here, as are the Queen's commissioners. He does not know what they are asking from the King, since they already presented their German-language accreditation as legates the day before yesterday.

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater  
Observandissime!

[1.] Iam Boemia adeo pacata esse videtur,<sup>1</sup> ut nihil putem conspirationis oriri inpos-  
sterum posse adversus maiestatem regiam. Bona omnia Flug<sup>2</sup> capitanei profugi fisco  
5 regio sunt applicata, civitatum similiter omnium quatuor exceptis, quae permanserant  
in fide. Item baronum et nobilium omnium, qui conspirationis huius factiosae fuerant  
participes, sunt occupata et occupabuntur civitatibus praemia, ademptae sunt omnes  
bombardae, privilegia et immunitates. Restat solum modo, ut in dieta futura, cuius  
primus dies est 22.,<sup>3</sup> huius ordo paretur, qui in posterum ab omnibus sit observandus.

675 <sup>1</sup> See the previous letter, Ep. 674. <sup>2</sup> Kaspar Pflug. <sup>3</sup> On the executions and the diet, see WINKELBAUER 2003, 84.





[2.] Non itaque iam equis adeo multis et armis in praesentia indigeo, si quando 10  
indigero, recurram mox ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam. Quare remisi equos  
et servitores nostros communes et gratias habeo et referam magnas, quas potero Do-  
minationi Vestrae Magnificae, quod me in mea necessitate nec equis, nec servitoribus  
carere permiserit.

Rhumi,<sup>4</sup> Benedictus<sup>5</sup> et Matheus<sup>6</sup> optimi sunt servitores et diligentes. Eos singula- 15  
riter Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae commendo, veluti dignos, quos retineat et cum  
quibus beneficiat. Serviverunt mihi certe diligenter, maxime Rhumi et Benedictus,  
nec latum unguem a mandato Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae et meis servitiis  
discesserunt. Si in bello mecum non fuissent, praesertim Benedictus, nescio, quid  
praestare cum meis studiis ignavibus potuissem bellumque non assuetis. Quisque 20  
igitur eorum poterit meum in omnibus favorem ac beneficium quantulumque perpe-  
tuo post Dominationem Vestram Magnificam sperare, qui a me non eis denegabitur.  
Quare eandem quoque rogo, velit ipsis generosus dominus esse.

[3.] In rebus aliis Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae nunc nihil scribo, satis enim  
nuper scripseram per Sbordellatum.<sup>7</sup> Nekczey<sup>8</sup> et contrascriba<sup>9</sup> adhuc hic sunt. Com- 25  
missarii etiam reginae adsunt iam aliquot dies. Nescio, adhuc quid a rege petant, nam  
nudiustertius eorum legationem in scriptis Germanicis praesentaverunt. Quod restat,  
Dominationem Vestram Magnificam feliciter cum domina coniuge<sup>10</sup> sua carissima,  
domina mea observandissima ad multa secula valere opto, quibus servitia mea com-  
mendo. 30

Ex Praga 18. Augusti anno 1547.

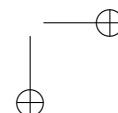
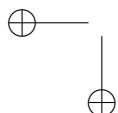
Servitor et frater Nicolaus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc.

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo  
comiti terrae Fogaras iudici curiae regiae maiestatis domino et fratri observandissimo. 35

675,13 mea ] *O del. ex mea non* 675,22 perpetuo ] *O del. ex perpetuo exspectar* 675,22 eis ] *O add.*  
675,26 Nescio ] *O del. ex Nescio quid*

675,18 latum unguem ] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 406. IV,6. Latum unguem ac similes hyperbolae proverbiales.  
MYNORS 1982, 390.

675<sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely. 675<sup>5</sup> Probably Benedikt Zercheky or Benedek Szöröcsögi, who  
was Royal Chancellor Notary, and one of Oláh's servitors. His name occurs in Oláh's household. We also  
know his brief autobiographical work, according to which he only met Oláh after 1553: *Brevis descriptio*  
*cursus vitae Benedicti Zercheky Secretarii Cancellariae Regiae sub Ferdinando I. et Nicolao Olaho manu ipsius*  
*conscripta. Circa Annum 1568*, see KOVACHICH 1798, 154–155. On his life, see FAZEKAS 2019, 31; and FAZEKAS  
2018, 365–366. 675<sup>6</sup> Probably Matthias Tolnai Deák (Litteratus), who was Royal Chancellor Notary,  
see FAZEKAS 2019, 31. 675<sup>7</sup> Augustín Sbardelatti or János Ágoston Dudith (1500–1552) studied at the  
University of Padua. Between 1548 and 1552, he was Bishop of Vác. He fell during the battle at Plášťovce.  
675<sup>8</sup> István Mekcsey (ca. 1500–1553) was Castellan of Khust, then Castellan of Eger together with István  
Dobó from 1551. He played a key role in the defense of Eger during the 1552 siege. For more on him, see  
CSIFFÁRY 2005. 675<sup>9</sup> Sándor Rokawy was Counter-signer (*contrascriba*) in 1549–1550, and Accountant  
(*rationista*) from 1558. In 1546, he became the first Royal Inspector of the Eger castle, see CSIFFÁRY 2009,  
73; and KENYERES 2002, 143. 675<sup>10</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.



676

Miklós Oláh to Balázs Péterváradi  
Prague, 15 September 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1547 – No. 20.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Balázs Péterváradi should forgive Oláh for not writing in his own hand, but he is very busy. Oláh is sending the mandate on the *lucrum camerae* (a kind of tax that makes up 20 denarii) at Péterváradi's request, and he will also prepare the one addressed to the counties.*

Venerabilis Domine<sup>1</sup> et Amice nobis Honorande, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Ignoscat nobis eadem, quod ad Dominationem Vestram manu nostra propria non scripserimus, sunt enim nobis plurima negotia, quibus occupati in praesentiam  
5 scribere non possumus. Quemadmodum autem Dominatio Vestra nos per suas litteras rogatas habuerat, ut litteras regias pro exsolvendo lucro camerae viginti denariorum expediremus, eas expediri nos fecimus, et Dominationi Vestrae unacum praesentibus remisimus. Alias etiam, quae ad quosdam comitatus necessariae sunt, faciemus expedire, et eas quoque eidem mittemus. Quam bene valere optamus.

10 Datum Pragae 15. die Septembris anno 1547.

Vester Nicolaus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Venerabili domino Blasio litterato de Waradino Petri, praeposito de Iasow<sup>2</sup> et consiliario camerae regiae maiestatis etc. amico nobis honorando.

677

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Batthyány  
Augsburg, 17 November 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34391.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

1. A response to his letter has arrived from the King, he will understand it from the King's letter. He has intervened on Batthyány's behalf in the past, he will continue to do so in the future. As far as Keglevich's case is concerned, he has done what Batthyány asked him to do both in his letter and through a legate, especially reducing his sentence and letting him go – he believes he has successfully intervened on his behalf. 2. There is no other news, except for the fact that the Queen will arrive within 4-5 days. Although he has never missed the

676,11–12 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

676<sup>1</sup> Balázs Péterváradi (ca. 1500–1560) studied at the University of Kraków. After his studies, King Ferdinand I appointed him tax collector, after which he became Councilor and Treasurer of the Chamber. In 1547, he was Royal Chamberlain. After Sbardellati fell in the battle of Palást, he became Bishop of Vác in 1553 until his death in 1560. See NAGY 2015, 132. 676<sup>2</sup> Balázs Péterváradi was Provost of Jasov from 1544.

opportunity to speak up for Hungary in front of the King, it would be good now, when the representatives of the other provinces will also be present, for one or two legates to come from Hungary, too. If Batthyány happened to be one of them, he could meet the Queen, and they could reminisce about the old times. If he could arrive within a month of today, that would still work. 3. Since Ferenc Révay and Batthyány write through Pethő to the King that they are sending legates from the Trnava assembly, the King should expect them, and when they come, they should have a letter of accreditation addressed to the Queen, Maximilian, and the rest of the ecclesiastic and secular leaders.

Magnifice Domine, et Amice nobis Honorandissime, salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Ad litteras, quas Magnifica Dominatio Vestra his diebus per dominum Naydeker<sup>1</sup> ad regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum miserat, responsum a sua maiestate accepimus; quod quale sit, Magnifica Dominatio Vestra ex litteris suae maiestatis ad se datis clare intelliget. Nos quamadmodum hactenus semper fecimus, ita in posterum quoque operam, et intercessionem nostram, apud suam maiestatem in rebus Dominationis Vestrae desiderari non patiemur.

Quod ad negotium domini Keglewith<sup>2</sup> attinet, quaemadmodum Dominatio Vestra et per litteras, et per nuntium nos petiit, pro eo apud regiam maiestatem intercessimus, praesertim ut in captivitate mitius et remissius, quam hactenus, tractaretur, nec dubitamus, quin deinceps aliquam remissionem molestae captivitatis suae nostra hac intercessione sit habiturus. Itaque quod potuimus, nunc diligenter praestitimus, deinceps etiam ubi Deo duce Viennam revertemur, quicquid eius causa apud suam maiestatem efficere poterimus, operam nostram libenter commodabimus.

[2.] Novi nunc Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae aliud scribere non possumus, nisi quod serenissima domina Maria regina, domina nostra clementissima, intra quatuor, aut quinque dierum spatium huc adveniet. Et licet nos hactenus quoque semper tam in Saxonia, quam alibi solo amore in patriam moti et orando, et sollicitando, apud caesaream maiestatem nihil eorum pratermiserimus, quae ad eripiendum a tyrannide regnum istud Hungariae pertinere arbitrati sumus, et neque posthac ullo tempore praetermissuri simus, tamen nunc et propter praesentiam ipsius dominae reginae et praesertim cum aliae quoque provinciae regiae maiestatis, utpote Austria, Styria, Carinthia, et aliae privatos suos hic habeant legatos, ne a quopiam dici posset ex sola Hungaria deesse legatos, omnino necessarium videretur, ut ex Hungaria quoque, si non plures, vel saltem unus aut duomitterentur, qui regni ipsius praesidium sollicitarent. Et si Dominatio Vestra Magnifica forte a dominis mitteretur, posset ipsam dominam reginam hic videre et veteres fabulas renovare. Dominatio Vestra etiamsi a die datarum praesentium computanda in spatio unius mensis quoque huc adveniret, satis commodo tempore veniret. Hoc volumus Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae ex animo significare, quam felicissime valere cupio.

677,26 aut duo] *O add.* 677,26 mitterentur] *O corr. ex* mitteretur 677,26–27 sollicitarent] *O corr. ex* sollicitaret 677,27 dominis] *O del. ex* dominis regnicolis 677,28 et ... renovare] *O add.*

677<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 677<sup>2</sup> Péter Keglevich, see Ep. 668.

Datum Augustae Vindelicorum 17. die Novembris anno Domini 1547.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

- 35 [3.] Postquam per Pethew<sup>3</sup> dominus locumtenens<sup>4</sup> et Dominationes Vestrae ad maiestatem regiam scripserunt se ex conventu Thirnaviensi oratores huc missuros,<sup>5</sup> maiestas regia illos exspectat. Habeant hi, dum advenerint, litteras credentiae ad serenissimam reginam Mariam, principem Maximilianum filium regiae maiestatis et ad alios electores ecclesiasticos et seculares, qui omnes nunc hic sunt.
- 40 [On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Francisco de Batthyán consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et amico nobis honorandissimo.

678

Wolfgang Kremer to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 23 November 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 23.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He wrote Oláh a letter on 15 November in haste, he hopes that letter has arrived. He has since received the letter Oláh wrote on 10 November, in which he asks for accounts of the incomes and expenses during 1546 and 1547. According to the statement, Kremer owes Oláh 2,373 Rhenish florins and 20 kreuzers, if he sends him the receipt of the 600 Rhenish florins by December of 1547. Oláh would have to draw up a receipt for Kremer regarding the years 1546 and 1547 on the 5% interest on the 2,000 [Rhenish] florins, and he should also draw up a debenture bond for Kremer on the same, which he will hand over in Augsburg, along with 373 florins and 20 kreuzers. Kremer has received his pension for the year 1546, as Oláh's receipt also shows. Kremer cannot collect any money from the Archbishop of Esztergom, and so Scribe Balázs has not paid any of the 1,170 florins that Kremer had given to Gáspár Horváth's wife two years ago, either. He asks Oláh for his help in collecting the money.*

Hochwirdiger furst, genediger her, e. f. g.,<sup>1</sup> sey mein gut, willig dienst beraytt!

Ich hab e. f. g. auf 15 dis monats in eyl geschriben,<sup>2</sup> verhoff, es sey e. f. g. zuekhomen, so ist mir seyder e. f. g. schreyb von 10 dis zuekhomen,<sup>3</sup> darinen e. f. g. ain auszug begern, was ich von wegen e. f. g. ingenomen, auch ausgeben hab dise  
5 2 jar, di 46 und 47 jar. Laut di auszug hiemit, das ich e. f. g. rest f.<sup>4</sup> 2373 k.<sup>5</sup> 20 reinisch  
munz, so ferr mir e. f. g. die quitung umb die f. 600 r.<sup>6</sup> munz schickht di 47 jar pis

677,33–34 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.* 677,35–39 Postquam ... sunt] *O add.*

<sup>677</sup> <sup>3</sup>Probably János Pethő of Gerse (†1577). He became a Baron in 1549, and he was Captain of Lipova from 1552 and Captain of Košice from 1558. From 1561 until his death, he was Master cup-bearer. The Pethő family was a distant relation to the Nádasdy family, see SZEREMLEI 1913, 923–924; and PÁLFFY 2002, 326–327. <sup>677</sup> <sup>4</sup>Ferenc Révay. <sup>677</sup> <sup>5</sup>At the end of 1547, Oláh, Ferenc Batthyány, Mihály Mérey and Georg Werner became legates, see FRAKNÓI 1876, 128. <sup>678</sup> <sup>1</sup>I.e. eure fürstliche Gnade. <sup>678</sup> <sup>2</sup>We do not know this letter. <sup>678</sup> <sup>3</sup>We do not know this letter. <sup>678</sup> <sup>4</sup>I.e. Florin. <sup>678</sup> <sup>5</sup>I.e. Kreuzer. <sup>678</sup> <sup>6</sup>I.e. rheinischer [Florin/Gulden].

den lezten Dezembris dis jar etc. Auch mus mir e. f. g. ain quitung schickhen von wegen der verzinsung der f. 2000 dise 2 jar, di 46 und 47 jar, wie ich e. f. g. in meinem auszug gesezt hab etc., und wo es e. f. g. gelegen ist, so wolt ich e. f. g. die f. 373 k. 20 in Augspurg halben lassen und e. f. g. ain schuldbrief umb die f. 2000 schickhen, 10 dieselbige e. f. g. mit f. 5 vom hundert bezallen oder verzinsen, darauf bit ich e. f. g., mich mit vesten antwort wisen zue lassen, und bit e. f. g. mir die quitung umb die f. 600 zueschicken von wegen der kungin Marie etc. Dan ich soliche zue meiner raitung yezt haben mus etc. Das 46 jar hab ich e. f. g. selbst in Prag im October die pension erhalten<sup>7</sup> laut e. f. g. quitung, so ich vor ain jar in mein raitung angelegt hab etc. 15

Von dem her pischoff von Grann<sup>8</sup> khann ich kain gelt zw wegen pringen, so gibt mir der her Blasy diackh<sup>9</sup> auch nichts von wegen der f. 1170 hungersch, so ich vor 2 jaren der Horwat Casparin<sup>10</sup> bezalt hab. Ich weys nit, wie ich im thunn soll, wan ich in gleich vil bevelch von der ro. ku. mt.<sup>11</sup> gib oder pring, so geben sy nichts, darumb ich bit e. f. g., mir doch verhelffen zue sein, das ich mus bezalt werden, damit will ich 20 mich e. f. g. zu bevelhen.

Actum Wien den 23. tag Novembris anno etc. im 1547.

E. f. g. williger diner

Wolfgang Kremer

[On the outer side:] Dem hochwierdigisten fuersten und herrn Nicolaus Olahus, 25 bischoff zu Agram. ro. ku. mt. etc. rat und obrisster cannzler der cron Hungern, meinem g.<sup>12</sup> herrn zu hannden.

679

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Révay  
Augsburg, 26 November 1547

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SRA Korešpond. číslo 71., fol. 376.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Ferenc Révay will learn from the letter written by the King what he has decided in Lajos Pekry's case. Oláh has received Révay's letter regarding the estates in Holíč and elsewhere, and he will talk to the King as soon as he can. They will make a decision about Révay's affairs at the Trnava assembly. The Provost of Nagykapornak did well to give the 40 florins to Révay, he should hand it over to Wolfgang Kremer without delay, who will get it to Oláh.*

Salutem et obsequiorum meorum commendationem, Magnifice Domine mihi Observandissime!

In negotio domini Pekry<sup>1</sup> quid sua maiestas deliberaverit, Dominatio Vestra ex suae maiestatis litteris cognoscet. In negotio Holycz et aliorum bonorum ad maiesta-

678,11 bezallen ] *auth del. ex bezallen das* 678,17 her ] *auth del. ex her das*

678<sup>7</sup> Uncertain reading. 678<sup>8</sup> Pál Várday. 678<sup>9</sup> Probably Balázs Pétervárad. 678<sup>10</sup> Gáspár Horváth of Vingárd's wife was Johanna Likerka. 678<sup>11</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät. 678<sup>12</sup> I.e. gnädigen. 679<sup>1</sup> Lajos Pekry.

5 tem regiam devolutorum ea ipsa hora, qua has expedivi, accepi litteras Dominationis Vestrae, de quibus nondum maiestati suae loqui potui. Loquar tamen cum primum enim erit et opportunitas, ac quicquid responsi habuero, faciam Dominationem Vestram certiore.

In dieta Thirnaviensi concludant Dominationis Vestrae omnia ex animi regii sententia et quae erunt omnibus nobis utilia atque commoda. Quod frater praepositi de Capornak pecunias 40 Florenorum iamdiu debitas ad manus Dominationis Vestrae dederit, bene fecit. Det eas Dominatio Vestra manibus Wolffgangi Cremer<sup>2</sup> sine mora, ipse illas hic mihi curabit reddendas.

De conclusione huius dietae nihil adhuc certi scribere possum. Dominatio Vestra 15 feliciter valeat.

Ex Augusta Vindelicorum 26. Novembris 1547.

Frater et servitor Zagrabien-  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. cita manu

[On the outer side:] Ad manus domini Francisci de Rewa locumtenentem palatinalis et 20 comitis de Thwroc, consilarii regiae maiestatis etc. domini et amici observandissimi.

680

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 28 November 1547

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – Nr. 8.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*János Pethő says that the Prior of Lövvöld has a horse for them: although it is not a trotting horse, it has a nice gait. Oláh asks Nádasdy to check it out, and if he deems it an appropriate gift for the Queen, he should send it here for inspection without delay. Bertalan Horvátinovics is also said to have a trotting horse; Nádasdy should also look at that one, and if it is worth it, he should buy it and send it with the other one. He does not know Horvátinovics, but he will pay him in Vienna. Then he also has a horse with Gergely Sibrik, he should look at that one, too. He should select the best two and send them to him. If two good ones are not available, he should at least send one good horse; he would be really ashamed if he could not give a gift to the Queen.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Domine nobis Observandissime, salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Dixit nobis dominus Ioannes Pethew<sup>1</sup> priorem de Leweld<sup>2</sup> tenere nobis equum unum, non quidem gradarium, sed qui passus bonos habet, praeterea satis etiam 5 pulchrum.<sup>3</sup> Quare rogamus Spectabilem Magnificam Dominationem Vestram, ne gravetur illum videre, et si cognoverit eum dignum esse, quem serenissimae principi

679,9 animi] *O del. ex animi rei se*

679<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Kremer. 680<sup>1</sup> János Pethő of Gerse. 680<sup>2</sup> Probably Prior Péter, who was a Prior between 1527 and 1551, see VIDA 2015, 97–100. 680<sup>3</sup> The Prior of the Carthusian monastery in Lövvöld did not have to pay the tithe, but he had to produce 200 horsemen after 1498. In 1547, they had 25 horsemen, see VIDA 2015, especially 98–99.

dominae Mariae reginae etc. donare possimus, per eos dominos oratores, qui huc venturi sunt, mittere velit ad nos sine dilatione servitorum nostrorum intuitu. Dicunt Bartholomeum quoque Horwathynowyth<sup>4</sup> habere gradarium unum, velit Spectabilis Magnifica Dominatio Vestra illum quoque videre, et si dignum esse aestimaverit eidem 10 serenissimae reginae, sub certo pretio accipiat ab eo et mittat huc illum quoque ad nos simul cum alio. Tametsi nos de facie Bartholomeum Horwathynowyth non novimus, nihilominus simulatque divino beneficio hinc Viennam revertemur, pretium illius ei persolvemus. Habemus deinde equum unum apud dominum Gregorium Sybryk,<sup>5</sup> Spectabilis Magnifica Dominatio Vestra videat et illum, et ex omnibus eligat duos, 15 qui ceteris meliores et pulchriores videbuntur reginaeque conventiores, eosque mittat huc ad nos. Quod si ex his duos bonos eligere non posset, faciat quaerere apud Bartholomeum Horwath et alios, ita ut duos bonos simul ad nos mittere possit. Et si duo boni mitti non possent, agere saltem velit Spectabilis Magnifica Dominatio Vestra modis omnibus, ut vel unus bonus ad nos mittatur, quem praefatae dominae reginae 20 donare valeamus; erubescimus enim, quod nihil ei dare possumus. Hos labores, quos Dominatio Vestra nunc pro nobis facere dignabitur, in maioribus eidem reservire volumus. Optamus eandem valere felicissime.

Datum Augustae Vindelicorum vigesimo octavo Novembris anno 1547.

Frater et servitor Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria 25

[On the other side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd, comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae et consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et amico nobis observandissimo.

Thirnaviae in Hungaria. Cito, cito, cito.

681

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 25 February 1548

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 9.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Last summer his men captured a Turkish leader called Dymytrasys at Ivanić-Grad, whom György Tompa, in order not to the region at risk, sent to Zagreb, but the royal horsemen, he does not know why and on what grounds, kidnapped him on the way and took him to Captain Lukács Székely. When he asked him to return the prisoner, Székely wrote him a letter together with Salm and said he would gladly return him and asked Nádasdy to send someone because it did not seem safe to transport a handcuffed prisoner of such rank in the frontiers. Oláh trusts Nádasdy and asks him to send men to Székely for the prisoner in Varaždin and have him*

680,25 Frater ... propria ] *O add.* 680,29 Thirnaviae ... cito ] *O add.*

680<sup>4</sup> Bertalan Horváth or Horvátinovics was Commandant of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Pál Várday in 1532, later Captain of Balassagyarmat and Hussar Captain in the service of Niklas von Salm, see LACZLAVIK 2012, 74 and 151. 680<sup>5</sup> Gergely Sibrik.

brought to Oláh. He will also write to Székely that when Nádasdy's men get there, he should hand the prisoner over to them.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, et Frater nobis Observandissime, salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Aestate superiori homines nostri in episcopatu nostro Zagrabiensi, oppido scilicet Iwanych<sup>1</sup> ceperant quendam Turcam Dymytrasyn<sup>2</sup> vocatum, qui, ut dicitur, fuit  
5 insignis latro et dux Turcarum ad faciendas excursiones. Quem cum administrator bonorum episcopatus nostri Georgius Thompa<sup>3</sup> metu Turcicarum copiarum, quae tum castra et fortalitia in Sclavonia oppugnaturae paratae esse dicebantur, tutioris  
conservationis gratia Zagrabiam mitteret, equites regiae maiestatis, qui in Sclavonia stipendio provinciarum hereditariarum suae maiestatis aluntur, nescimus, quid iuris  
10 in eo praetendentes, in itinere eripuerant, et ad manus magnifici domini Lucae Zekel,<sup>4</sup> capitanei sui assignaverant. Quem cum de restitutione admonuissemus, respondit tandem communibus cum spectabile et magnifico domino comite Nicolao a Salmis,<sup>5</sup> capitaneo generali, etc. litteris se propter mutuam amicitiam nobis velle illum reddere rogavitque, ut Varasdinum<sup>6</sup> pro captivo ipso<sup>7</sup> ad se mitteremus. Cum autem tam  
15 insignem Turcici itineris ducem non satis tutum esse existimemus in finibus illis vinctum detineri, confisi Spectabili Magnificae Dominationi Vestrae rogamus eam, diligenter velit homines suos Varasdinum ad ipsum dominum Lucam Zekel pro captivo illo mittere et ad se iubere adduci, adductumque bene custodiri, ne aufugiat. Ubi Deo volente copia coram loquendi fuerit data, loquemur cum Dominatione Vestra  
20 copiosius, quid Dei eo sit agendum. Scripsimus vero domino Lucae Zekel, ut cum Dominatio Vestra homines suos pro captivo illo miserit, ad manus eorum dare velit. Dominationem Vestram bene valere optamus.

Datum Augustae Vindelicorum vigesima quinta die mensis Februarii anno Domini 1548.

25 Servitor et amicus ac frater Nicolaus Olahus Zagrabiensis cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras iudici curiae et consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et fratri nobis observandissimo.

681,25–26 Servitor ... propria] *O add.*

681<sup>1</sup> Ivanić-Grad. 681<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 681<sup>3</sup> György Tompa. 681<sup>4</sup> Lukács Székely was Captain of Pécs in 1543 and Captain of Szentgyörgyhegy from 1549. He participated at the diet in Bratislava in 1546, and between 1546–1457, he was in intensive correspondence with Niklas von Salm and Miklós Zrínyi. See MIKÓ 2017, 68; BARABÁS 1898, passim; and HOZJAN 2010. 681<sup>5</sup> Niklas von Salm. 681<sup>6</sup> Varaždin. 681<sup>7</sup> Dymytrasyn.



Miklós Oláh to Bratislava, Trnava, Sopron, Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov, Sabinov,  
Kremnica, Banská Štiavnica, Banksá Bystrica and other Royal free mountain cities'  
Town Councils  
Augsburg, 25 February 1548

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* AMB MMB Listy a listiny inv. č. 6159.

*ms. II:* ŠAT MMT Palatinalia Fasc. 1. (1499–1549).

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 586.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 156–157.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He has received the letter in which they jointly ask Oláh to represent their case in front of the King. They should know that he has their affairs at heart and has spoken with the King about the petition, whose answer they will learn from the attached copy of the King's document.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Redditae sunt nobis litterae vestrae communes, quibus nos unanimiter petitis, ut vestra rerumque publicarum vestrarum negotia pro nostro in vos studio apud nos commendata habere, et de eis regiae maiestatis, domino nostro clementissimo inter reliquos statuum et ordinum regni Hungariae articulos ad suam maiestatem missos loqui velimus. Sciatis hanc vestram petitionem pro nostra in vos benevolentia nobis cordi curaeque fuisse, nosque ex animi vestri sententia de rebus vestris suae maiestati locutos esse. In quibus quid effecerimus praestiterimusque, intelligetis clare ex responso maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi, cuius copiam ad vos 10 misimus ad articulos praefatorum statuum et ordinum regni istius Hungariae datos. Nos deinceps etiam, quemadmodum hactenus (si gratos vos erga nos senserimus) rerum et negotiorum vestrarum pro nostro in vos et rempublicam vestram favore bonos semper promotores sentietis futuros.

Dominationes Vestras bene valere optamus. 15

Datum Augustae Vindelicorum vigesima quinta die mensis Februarii anno Domini 1548.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis, iudicibus et iuratis civibus 20 civitatum Posoniensis, Tyrnaviensis, Soproniensis, Leuchoviensis, Barthffensis, Epperiensis, Libiniensis, Cremnicensis, Schemniciensis, Novisoliensis ac aliarum liberarum ac montanarum civitatum regiae maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

682,11 datos] *corr. ex dato* 682,18–19 Nicolaus ... propria.] *ms. I. O add.* 682,19 etc.] *ms. II. om.* 682,22 Libiniensis] *ms. II.* Cibiniensis

683

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Augsburg, 3 April 1548

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6174.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*As requested, Oláh has intervened with the King with the articuli that were sent the other day, and he has managed to secure a good offer. They should know that Oláh always represents their interests with benevolence, and he is attaching the King's response to Gáspár Serédy in the matter they share with him. Mihály Mérey will tell them about the rest of the matters pertaining to them, as well as the King's response.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini, Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Miseratis nuper cum litteris vestris ad nos articulos quosdam certorum negotiorum vestrorum, rogaveratisque nos per easdem litteras vestras, ut in eisdem articulis  
5 apud regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum intercederemus, relationemque vobis bonam impetraremus.<sup>1</sup> Sciatis nos pro nostra in vos benevolentia et studio in eisdem negotiis vestris apud suam maiestatem intercessisse et litteras  
suae maiestatis ratione<sup>2</sup> negotii, quod cum domino Gaspare Seredy commune habetis, ad eundem dominum Seredy datas praesentibus annexas ad vos misisse. De reliquis  
10 autem rebus et negotiis vestris, quid sua maiestas responderit, Dominationibus Vestris per egregium dominum Michaellem Meredy<sup>3</sup> brevi significabimus.

Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere optamus.

Datum Augustae Vindelicorum tertia Aprilis 1548.

15 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudici et iuratis ceterisque civibus civitatis Psoniensis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

684

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Augsburg, 29 May 1548

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6195.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Gergely Bornemissza will recount quite a few things to them, they should welcome him and do what he asks them in his name.*

683,14–15 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

683<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 682. 683<sup>2</sup> Uncertain reading. 683<sup>3</sup> Mihály Mérey.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandissimi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Referet vel nuntiabit nonnulla Dominationibus Vestris nomine nostro egregius dominus Gregorius Bornemyza<sup>1</sup> aulicus regius. Rogamus igitur Dominationes Vestras, velint amicitiae nostrae intuitu ea perficere, ad quae praefatus Bornemyza easdem 5 nomine nostro rogaverit et hortabitur, ut gratias eisdem coram habere et referre possimus.

Dominationes Vestrae bene valeant.

Ex Augusta Vindelicorum 29. Maii 1548.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis 10  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis domino magistro civium iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Poseniensis dominis et amicis nobis honorandissimis.

685

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Augsburg, 2 June 1548

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6198.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He thanks them for the gift they sent him. He has sent the royal letter of accreditation they requested with Pál Bornemissza. He believes they will soon travel to Vienna together with the King.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandi, salutem!

De misso nobis munere habemus vobis gratias, id gratitudinis in nos vestrae fecit testimonium. Litteras mandati regii, quas a nobis expediendas optastis, misimus ad vos per dominum Paulum Bornemyzam.<sup>1</sup> Credimus nos hinc deo bene iuvante unacum maiestate regia, domino nostro clementissimo brevi Wiennam redituros. Et 5 si quid in re vestra rei que publicae vestrae nobis per vos proponenda operae et auxilii praestare istic poterimus, faciemus id perlibenter.

Valete feliciter.

Ex Augusta Vindelicorum secunda Iunii anno 1548.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis 10  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis magistro civium iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Poseniensis etc. dominis et amicis honorandis.

684,10–11 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.* 685,3 fecit ] *O corr. ex reddidit* 685,5 brevi ] *O add.*

684<sup>1</sup> Gergely Bornemissza. According this letter, he sent Gergely Bornemissza, but that is likely to have been a mistake, and he was talking about Pál Bornemissza, see Ep. 685. 685<sup>1</sup> According to Ep. 684., he sent Gergely Bornemissza, but that is likely to have been a mistake, and he was talking about Pál Bornemissza.

686

Miklós Oláh to Trnava Town Council  
Vienna, 30 July 1548

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Palatinalia Fasc. 2. (1530–1599).

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Anna Bánffy, citizen of Trnava, has handed in a petition to the King regarding her affairs. They will learn from the King's letter what the King has entrusted to the Trnava Town Council. Oláh asks them to support her cause and return that particular garden to her.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandissimi, salutem!

Nobilis domina Anna Banffy inhabitatrix istius civitatis Tyrnaviensis supplicavit regiae maiestati, domino nostro clementissimo de certis suis negotiis, super quibus sua maiestas ad vos mandata dedit, prout ex litteris suae maiestatis intelligetis. Quare  
5 rogamus vos, velitis causam et negotia ipsius dominae apud vos habere commendata, ac hortum quendam, quem ad se pertinere seque in eius pacifica possessione aliqua-  
m diu perstitisse, tandem sibi ademptum esse dicit, ei remittere. Optamus vos valere feliciter.

Datum Wiennae paenultima die mensis Iulii anno Domini 1548.

10 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis ceterisque civibus civitatis Tyrnaviensis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandissimis.

687

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Augsburg, 17 August 1548

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6222.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*The bearer of this letter has a disagreement with his mother-in-law, and he needs their advice, so he has asked Oláh to recommend him and his case to their attention. So he asks them to give him advice and help him.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Ioannes Sartor,<sup>1</sup> servitor noster praesentium exhibitor habet certam causam et litem cum socru sua ratione quorundam negotiorum, in cuius transactione opera et consilio vestro se indigere dicit, supplicans nobis, ut eum negotiumque suum Dominationibus Vestris commendaremus. Eum igitur simul cum negotiis suis Dominationibus  
5 Vestris commendamus, easdemque petimus diligenter, ut ipsi Ioanni Sartori nostra

686,10–11 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

687 <sup>1</sup> Probably János Szabó, citizen of Bratislava, see Oláh's later letter, Ep. 710.

causa in iustis suis negotiis omni ope, consilio et auxilio adesse velint, quod nos Dominationibus Vestris amicitia nostra in maioribus rebus reponemus.

Dominationes Vestras bene valere optamus.

Datum Viennae 17. Augusti 1548.

10

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis magistro civium iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Poseniensis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

688<sub>689</sub>

Pál Várday and Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 15 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. A., fol. 63r.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures.

*The Forgách brothers wanted to present their case to the King yesterday, but when they learned that the King had already left, they also headed home; however, Wolfgang von Puchheim captured them on the way and led them to the castle of Kittsee. Then the Forgách brothers' servitors arrived today and asked Oláh to ask the King to keep his previous decision according to which Puchheim should release the brothers; the noblemen should not have cause to complain that they are oppressed. Niklas von Salm will tell the rest in person.*

Sacratissime Rex, Domine Clementissime! Orationum devotarum et fidelium servitorum nostrorum in gratiam Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem!

Veniebant heri egregii Sigismundus<sup>1</sup> et Ladislaus Forgach<sup>2</sup> fratres huc ad Maiestatem Vestram personaliter, negotium illud, quod Maiestas Vestra scit, eidem declaraturi. Qui cum in itinere cognovissent Maiestatem Vestram hinc discessisse et redirent<sup>5</sup> domum, a magnifico domino Wolffgango de Pukam<sup>3</sup> sunt intercepti<sup>4</sup> et in castellum Kepchen<sup>5</sup> inducti. Accesserunt vero nos hodie fratres et servitores ipsorum Forgach, petieruntque a nobis, ut vices nostras apud Maiestatem Vestram interponamus, quo eadem dignetur iuxta nobilium regni Hungariae libertates praefatos liberos dimittendos committere, supplicamus itaque Maiestati Vestrae, dignetur in priori sua deliberatione persistere et concedere, ut ad terminum, quem Maiestas Vestra utrique parti praefixit, coram Maiestate Vestra compereat, dominusque Wolffgango eos interim liberos abire permittat; ne nobiles possint iuste clamare sese suis immunitatibus ac veteribus libertatibus privari.

687,11–12 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

688<sup>1</sup> Zsigmond I Forgách (†1563) was Royal Treasurer from 1537, responsible for the conscriptions, see BENKÓ 2020, especially 25–26. 688<sup>2</sup> László III Forgách was the uncle of Zsigmond Forgách and Mihály Révay's brother-in-law, see BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1904, 216. 688<sup>3</sup> Wolfgang von Puchheim. 688<sup>4</sup> The Forgáchs fell from King Ferdinand I's grace because they killed György Mihály Koppány, Wolfgang von Puchheim's Lieutenant, see ALMÁSI 2006, 1406–1407; and BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1904, 17–18. For details of the case, see BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 2010, 214–225. 688<sup>5</sup> Kittsee.

15 De quibus, ut plura nostro nomine Maiestati Vestrae narret et supplicet, spectabilem et magnificum dominum generalem capitaneum<sup>6</sup> rogavimus, cui, ut benignas aures adhibere eadem dignetur, humillime supplicamus Maiestati Vestrae. Quam Deus omnipotens sanam et incolumem conservet.

Viennae 15. Septembris 1548.

20 Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fideles servitores et capellani:  
Strigoniensis manu propria  
Zagrabiensis etc. manu propria

<sup>688</sup>689

King Ferdinand I to Pál Várday and Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 16 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. A., fol. 68r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*He has received their letter about the capture and imprisonment of the Forgách brothers, and he has already ordered Wolfgang von Puchheim to let them go. Furthermore, he maintains his previous decision, and if they appear at the time he indicated, they may present their cases.*

— Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater ac Venerabilis, Devoti Fideles nobis Dilecti! —

Accepimus litteras<sup>1</sup> fidelitatum ac devotionum Vestras, quibus nobis significarunt de interceptione ac retentione Sigismundi et Ladislai Forgach,<sup>2</sup> iamque propterea  
5 commisimus nobili fideli nobis dilecto Wolfgango libero baroni in Puecham,<sup>3</sup> ut ipsos absque ulla mora cum omni ipsorum comitatu liberos dimittat, prout Devotiones Vestrae a nobis pro sua prudentia humiliter petierunt, ipseque a Puecham se omnium absque mora facturum recepit. Volentes autem nos insistere deliberationi nostrae, Fidelitati Vestrae clementer mandamus ac hortamur, quod si citatio quam  
10 fieri iusseramus ad praefatos Forgach fratres nondum fuerit emanata, ut eam primo quoque tempore expediant, ac executioni demandari curent, ita ut dicti Sigismundus et Ladislaus fratres ad terminum a nobis praefixum compareant negotium illud nobis declaraturi. Quod fidelitati Vestrae gratiose respondere volumus, facient autem in eis clementem voluntatem nostram.

15 Datum in Nova Civitate Austriae 16. Septembris 1548.

[Probably on the outer side:] Strigoniensi et Zagrabiensi.

688,21 Strigoniensis ... propria] *auth add.* 688,22 Zagrabiensis ... propria] *O add.* 689,7–8 ipseque ... recepit] *scr add.* 689,8 deliberationi] *scr del. ex deliberationi huic* 689,9 nostrae] *scr del. ex nostrae devotionibus* 689,10 ad ... fratres] *scr add.* 689,12 nobis] *scr del. ex nobis personaliter*

688<sup>6</sup> Niklas von Salm. 689<sup>1</sup> Ep. 688. 689<sup>2</sup> Zsigmond Forgách and László Forgách. 689<sup>3</sup> Wolfgang von Puchheim.

690

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Vienna, 16 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6232.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh has known Andreas Galicz, the bearer of this letter and a one-time citizen of Pécs, for a long time. Galicz wants to purchase a house in Bratislava and has asked Oláh to recommend him to the attention of those in Bratislava, so Oláh asks them to help him with purchasing a house.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Prudens et circumspectus Andreas Galycz,<sup>1</sup> olim civis Quinqueecclesiensis praesentium exhibitor, vir bonus et nobis ab annis pluribus notus, domum in ista vestra civitate empturus petiit nos magna instantia, ut has nostras in sui commendationem daremus litteras, quod nos tum propter veterem notitiam, tum etiam inopiam eius fecimus libenter. Rogamus itaque vos, velitis tam in emptione domus, quam etiam in aliis negotiis eius, dum requisierit pro nostra amicitia, ei auxilio adesse, quod nos vobis in maioribus rependemus.

Valete.

Datum Viennae 16. Septembris anno Domini 1548.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis, iudici et iuratis ceterisque civibus civitatis Posoniensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

691

King Ferdinand I to Pál Várday and Miklós Oláh  
Wiener Neustadt, 18 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. A., fol. 69r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*He is attaching István Losonczy's supplicatio, from which he will understand Losonczy's complaint and why he resents a servitor called Jakab. Since this Jakab really may have hurt him, he charges Oláh with investigating the matter, and having heard both of them, he should make a just decision so neither of them can complain later.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Frater ac Venerabiles Devoti Fideles nobis Dilecti!

690,7 requisierit] *O corr. ex requiseverit* 690,11–12 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

690<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Ex supplici libello<sup>1</sup> magnifici fidelis nobis dilecti Stephani de Lossuntz<sup>2</sup> comitis  
comitatus Neugradiensis hisce litteris nostris incluso intelliget Fidelitas Vestra quere-  
5 las ac gravamina sua contra et adversus quendam Iacobum<sup>3</sup> nuncupatum litteratum  
servitorem suum. Quoniam vero ipse quoque Iacobus posset praetendere aliquid  
iuris contra dicti Lossunzi, idcirco mandamus Fidelitati Vestrae, quod summa cum  
diligentia utriusque partis querelas ac gravamina audiat ac perpendatis, et super illis  
plane statuat decernatque, quod aequum et iustum fuerit, ita ut neutri parti ulla sit  
10 amplius iusta conquerendi causa. In quo sane Fidelitas Vestra exsequetur voluntatem  
nostram.

Datum in Nova Civitate 18. Septembris 1548.

[Probably on the outer side:] Strigoniensi et Zagradiensi.

692

King Ferdinand I to Pál Várday and Miklós Oláh  
Wiener Neustadt, 19 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. A., fol. 70rv.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*They will understand from the attached petition from the county of Sopron why Nádasdy rejected Ferenc Soós as commissioner in the feud between Nádasdy and the Sopron county. And although the county wants to replace Soós with Hans von Weispriach, ispán of Sopron county, according to King Ferdinand I, it is no coincidence that Nádasdy objects to reinstating such a suspicious person as head of the county. He wants this feud to end and charges them (Várday and Oláh) with finding a worthy and suitable person to replace Soós, so that the commissioners can already make a report at the next Bratislava assembly.*

Ferdinandus.<sup>1</sup>

Ex supplicatione comitatus Soproniensis hisce adiecta Fidelitas Vestra abunde  
intelliget, quod spectabilis et magnificus fidelis nobis dilectus Thomas de Nadasd etc.  
acceptare recusaverit et repudiarit egregium fidelem nobis dilectum Franciscum Soss  
5 de Mykebuda<sup>2</sup> pro commissario in controversiis inter dictum Nadasd et comitatum  
Soproniensem versantibus. Et quamquam comitatus praedictus cuperet in locum  
ipsius Soss comitem suum Iohannem a Weisprach<sup>3</sup> substitui, nos tamen existimamus,

691,4 intelliget] *scr corr. ex intelligetis* 691,4 Fidelitas Vestra] *scr add.* 691,9 fuerit] *scr del. ex fuerit*  
In qua sane fidelitas 691,10 iusta] *scr add.* 692,2 hisce adiecta] *scr add.* 692,4 acceptare] *scr add.*  
692,4 Franciscum] *scr corr. ex Simonem*

691<sup>1</sup> We do not know this document. 691<sup>2</sup> István Losonczy (†1552) was loyal to King John I, then changed sides and remained loyal to King Ferdinand I. In 1547, he became *ispán* of Nógrád county. From 1551, he was *ispán* of Temes county and participated in the Transylvanian campaign, see KENYERES 1982, 89. Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos' lay commemorates his heroic death: *A vég Temesvárban Losonczy István haláláról*. 691<sup>3</sup> We do not know him more closely. 692<sup>1</sup> there is a comment on the margin: "ponetur titulus". 692<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Soós of Mikebuda was a retainer (*familiaris*) and vidame (*praefectus*) of the Széchy family in Sopron, see KOPPÁNY 2014, 227. 692<sup>3</sup> Hans von Weispriach or János Weispriach was *ispán* of Sopron county, Baron of Kabold and owner of the castle in Landsee until 1548. For more on him and his family, see CSERMELYI 2013; and CSERMELYI 2021, 197–209.



quod nihilo serius nec inmerito praefatus Nadasd gravari, ipsumque a Weisprach tam-  
quam personam suspectam, cum nimirum comes sit illius comitatus, reiicere posset.  
Idcirco nos cupientes huiusmodi controversias primo quoque tempore sopitas atque 10  
sublatas esse pro paterno animo nostro et benevolentia, qua fideles subditos nostros  
prosequi solemus, Fidelitati Vestrae mandamus, quod in locum praefati Francisci Soss  
aliquam aliam idoneam et aptam, nec suspectam personam deligere ac reliquis duobus  
commissariis ad memoratum negotium deputatis adiungere velint, ita ut huiusmodi  
commissio citra omnem moram et ea quidem celeritate debitum et optatum effec- 15  
tum consequatur, ut nos ad proxime futurum generalem conventum Posoniensem<sup>4</sup>  
per dictorum commissariorum relationem de statu eius negotii informati, postea in  
huiusmodi causa ulterius progredi atque id quod necessitas ac status earum rerum  
postulaverit, ordinare, statuere et providere queamus. In quibus Devotio et Fidelitas  
Vestrae exsequantur voluntatem nostram. 20

Datum in Nova Civitate 19. Septembris 1548.

[Probably on the outer side:] Strigoniensi et Zagrabiensi.

693

King Ferdinand I to Pál Várday and Miklós Oláh  
Wiener Neustadt, 19 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. A., fol. 71rv.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*Although the dispute between Thomas Kobilsky and his enemy has been postponed to the next Bratislava assembly, he is certain that Oláh and Várday have not forgotten about him. Since Kobilsky requested to be let out on bail so that he can better prepare for clearing his name, King Ferdinand I graciously allowed to set him free under these conditions. He asks Várday and Oláh to help him find suitable guarantors, and as soon as they have them, Kobilsky will be released from his shackles.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater ac Venerabilis, Devoti Fideles nobis Dilecti!

Quamquam nos causam et controversiam illam inter Thomam Kobilsky,<sup>1</sup> qui captivus in custodia nostra detinetur, et adversarium suum existentem ad conventum generalem Posonii propediem congregandum<sup>2</sup> reieceramus ac distuleramus, sicuti 5  
Devotionem et Fidelitatem Vestram recenti adhuc memoria tenere non ambigimus, tamen quoniam praefatus captivus Thomas nobis denuo humillime supplicavit, quate-

692,8 praefatus Nadasd] *scr add.* 692,9 cum ... comitatus] *scr add.* 692,11 pro] *scr del. ex pro ea paterna animi nostri benevolentia* 692,13 deligere] *scr corr. ex deligatis* 692,15 citra ... celeritate] *scr corr. ex quamprimum fieri poterit* 692,16 ut] *scr corr. ex ita ut* 692,17 de ... negotii] *scr add.* 692,19 ordinare] *scr del. ex ordinare ac* 692,19 Devotio] *scr corr. ex devotiones* 693,7 quoniam] *scr del. ex quoniam denuo*

692<sup>4</sup> 16 October, 1548, see MIKÓ 2017, 69–73. 693<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 693<sup>2</sup> 16 October, 1548, see MIKÓ 2017, 69–73.

nus eum sub legitima et sufficienti cautione fideiussoria gratiose liberum dimittere dignemur, ut eo facilius se ad purgationem excusationemque suam necessariis et  
10 opportunis rationibus ac fulcimentis munire et instruere valeat, offerens se ante sui  
eliberationem huiusmodi fideiussoriae cautionem ac vadimonium pressiturum. Nos  
idcirco attenta humili petitione dicti captivi, nec non habita ratione praeclarissimae  
gravissimaeque intercessionis pro ipso apud nos factae clementer annuimus et consensimus  
15 praefatum Thomam sub praedicta conditione ab ipso oblata e custodia et captivitate liberum dimitti. Atque propterea etiam iussimus curavimusque quamprimum  
sufficientes et idoneae personae coram Fidelitate Vestra comparuerint, quae legitimam ac sufficientem cautionem praestiterint, prout ipse Thomas se effecturum offert  
ac pollicetur, quod captivorum custos seu provosius noster saepedictum Thomam  
statim liberum e vinculis et custodia dimittat. De qua sane re Fidelitatem Vestram,  
20 ut eius notitiam haberet, certiolem reddere volumus.

Datum in Nova Civitate 19. Septembris 1548.

[Probably on the outer side:] Strigoniensi et Zagradiensi.

694

Miklós Oláh to Mihály Mérey  
Vienna, 21 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SAR Korešpond. číslo 91. Fasc VI., fol. 28a.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Oláh has understood Mihály Mérey's case from his letter. Menyhárt Balassa is already here, and Péter Pálffy is on his way, and as soon as he arrives, the King will deal with their case. As to the matter of the Forgách brothers, Mérey should know that Oláh is labouring on making sure the freedom of the homeland is preserved. As soon as the King asks to see the Forgách brothers, they should set out on their way; the King will look out for the interests of both the Forgách brothers and Wolfgang von Puchheim, as Ferenc Révay has informed him in writing. Then again, he does not believe that the King will do anything against the homeland and their freedom, as long as the Forgách brothers appear when called.*

693,8 sub ... fideiussoria ] *scr corr. ex non obstante priori nostro decreto* 693,8 dimittere ] *scr add.*  
693,11 huiusmodi ... pressiturum ] *scr corr. ex sufficientissimum quoque vadimonium praestare atque ad  
terminum praefixum sistere vel in vincula redire velle* 693,12 non ] *scr del. ex non obstante* 693,13  
nos ] *scr del. ex nos factae summa cum autoritate* 693,14 sub ] *scr corr. ex liber* 693,16 et idoneae ] *scr  
add.* 693,16–17 quae ... praestiterint ] *scr corr. ex vadimoniam praestiterint promiserintque quod ipsum  
Thomam iterum Posenium ad conventum generalem provenire futurum coram nobis sistere, vel ipsimet  
sive loco stare velint* 693,17 cautionem ] *scr del. ex cautionem iure iurando ut moris est* 693,17 ipse ]  
*scr del. ex ipse quoque*

354

Egregie Domine et Amice nobis Honorande,<sup>1</sup> salutem et nostri commendationem!  
Negotium, de quo nobis Dominatio Vestra scripsit, ex litteris eiusdem abunde cognovimus. Dominus Balassa<sup>2</sup> iam hic est, et dominus Petrus Pálffy<sup>3</sup> quoque adventurus est, qui ubi advenerit, regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus negotii ipsius curam est habitura. Tamen Dominatio quoque Vestra ad eius transactionem 5 adhuc commode advenire poterit.

Quod autem Dominatio Vestra in negotio dominorum Forgachiorum<sup>4</sup> scribit, sciat Dominatio Vestra, quantum in nobis est, nos curaturos, quo libertas patriae nostrae et nostra observetur. Propterea si regia maiestas eos ad se venire iusserit, et litteras suae maiestatis viderint, statim ad suam maiestatem venire festinent, et sua 10 maiestas tam negotiorum eorundem, quam domini de Pwcham<sup>5</sup> curam est habitura, et bono modo transactura, et compositura, scripserat autem hoc eodem in negotio nobis dominus Reway<sup>6</sup> quoque. Cum tamen arbitremur suam dominationem istinc domum iam profectam esse, non existimavimus opus esse quicquam hac de re eidem scribere, si quid tamen eidem necessum fuerit, Dominatio Vestra eidem per litteras 15 suas hoc modo poterit, quo perscripsimus, istud negotium dominorum Forgachorum significare.

Dominationem Vestram bene valere optamus.

Datum Viennae 21. die Septembris 1548.

Non arbitror maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum aliquid contra libertatem nostram et patriae nostrae facturam, quando domini Forgachii ad vocationem et mandatum suae maiestatis comparuerint, maiestas sua id faciet, uti credimus, quod iustum et e libertate nostra erit.

Nicolaus Olahus etc.  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria 25

[On the outer side:] Egregio domino Michaeli de Mere, personali praesentiae regiae maiestatis locumtenenti etc. domino et amico nobis honorando.

695

Miklós Oláh to Kremnica Town Council  
Vienna, 25 September 1548

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1548.

*Notes:* Copy.

*He has received their letter in which they urge him to let them know when it would be suitable to send their legates to the King (not too early or not too late). He has found out the answer from the King, and their legates can come any time, the King will always receive them graciously.*

694<sup>1</sup> Mihály Mérey (†1572) was a jurist, Royal Councilor, and Chief Justice (*personalis praesentiae regiae in iudiciis locumtenens*) between 1544 and 1562. He was Deputy Palatine (*vicepalatinus*) from 1563 until his death. 694<sup>2</sup> Menyhárt Balassa. 694<sup>3</sup> Péter Pálffy (†1568) was a member of the noble Hungarian Pálffy family. On the conflict between him and Balassa regarding the castle of Čabrad, see VIROVECZ 2015, especially 36–39. 694<sup>4</sup> Zsigmond and László Forgách, see Ep. 688. 694<sup>5</sup> Wolfgang von Puchheim. 694<sup>6</sup> Ferenc Révay.

Prudentes et Circumspecti, Domini et Amici Honorandi, salutem et omne bonum!  
Accepimus litteras Dominationum Vestrarum,<sup>1</sup> quibus nos flagitant, ut opportu-  
nitatem temporis ad regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum nuntios  
vestros mittendi, ne scilicet nimis cito, vel nimis sero mitterentur, eisdem significa-  
5 remus. Sciant itaque nos apud eandem regiam maiestatem pro nostra erga easdem  
propensa benevolentia in eo nostram operam diligentem navasse, ac a sua maiestate  
hoc accepisse responsum, quod sua maiestas nuntios earundem, quandocumque ve-  
nerint, clementi et sereno vultu sit exceptura. Poterint igitur Dominationes Vestrae  
sive nunc, sive paulo post nuntios suos huc expedire. Quod ad nos attinet, nos libenti  
10 animo in negotiis Dominationum Vestrarum ipsis nuntiis ubi venerint apud eundem  
dominum nostrum clementissimum adesse partesque nostras interponere volumus.  
Easdem bene valere optamus.

Datum Wiennae vigesima quinta Septembris anno MDXLVIII.

15 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagradiensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria  
[Probably on the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudicibus et iu-  
ratis civibus Cremniciensibus et aliarum civitatum montanarum dominis et amicis  
honorandissimis.

696

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Vienna, 10 October 1548

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6237.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal. Dating according to HORVÁTH 1966, 269.

*He wanted to let them know that he has entrusted 100 florins to Wolfgang Kremer. He asks them to pay 100 florins to Kremer against the receipt, which they should keep.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et <Amici nobis Honorandi,> salutem!  
Significare voluimus vobis <...> illam centum Florenorum, quam nobis an-  
nuen<...> praesenti, domino Wolfgango Kremer a nobis <...> commisimus, eo quod  
ipse nobis parata <...> hic pro ea deposuerit. Quare rogamus <...> per ipsum  
5 Kremer, cum praesentibus requi<...> dictam pensionem centum Florenorum eidem  
Wolfga<ngo> plenariae persolvere velit. Praesentesque v<...> quietantiae ipsius  
Kremer, pro vestra <...> reservare potestis. Bene valete.

<Datum ex Vienna> prima mensis Octobris anno Domini 154<8>.

10 Nicolaus <Olahus episcopus> Zagrab<iensis> secretarius  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria>

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis, dominis magistro civium iudici et  
iuratis ceterisque civibus civitatis Poseniensis, amicis nobis honorandis.

696,9-10 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

695<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter.

697

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Bratislava, 1 December 1548

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1548.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*The King charges them with defending Wolfgang Haller's possessions and mines in Banská Štiavnica and making sure his servitors are not oppressed in any way. Since Oláh is a close friend of his and knows how much Haller has helped the mining towns in the past and how much he can do so in the future as well, he also asks him in his own name to take special care of Haller's mines and servitors.*

Egregii Prudentes ac Circumspecti Domini et Amici Observandi!

Sacratissima regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus proprio motu ac singulari gratia et favore, quo magnificum dominum Wolfgangum Haller,<sup>1</sup> serenissimae reginae Mariae dominae itidem nostrae gratiosissimae consiliarium, oeconomicum et thesaurarium clementer prosequitur, vobis scribit et mandat, ut ipsius bona et fodinas, quae istic apud vos habet et colit, defendere, manutenere et ipsius servitores contra iustitiam, a quoque molestari aut opprimi nullo modo pati debeatis. Quia autem praedictus dominus Wolfgangus Haller iam multis annis intima nobis amicitia et familiaritate iunctus est, et scimus ipsum vobis vestraeque reipublicae ac omnibus aliis civitatibus montanis apud serenissimam reginam saepe multum profuisse et posthac etiam prodesse posse, etiam nostro nomine rogamus, ut singularem curam bonorum, fodinarum servitorumque eius habere, nec ulla ratione contra iustitiae aequitatisque rationem eos molestari, gravari, opprimi, aut iniuria aliqua affici sustineatis. Id nos non minus ac si nostra res ageretur, magni beneficii loco collocabimus, et erga vos vestramque rempublicam, quae nobis semper commodata fuit et erit promereri, 15 gratiasque benigne referre studebimus.

Datum Posonii prima die Decembris anno Domini 1548.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis secretarius  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis 20 Semniciensibus dominis et amicis honorandis.

698

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Bratislava, 1 December 1548

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1548.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal. Difficult to read because the ink is smudged.

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697,18–19 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

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697<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Haller.

The letter is about a physician called Ioannes, Oláh asks not to give up their previous benevolence towards the physician.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Intelleximus vos anno superiore Deo <...> <...> con<...> vestro pro commodiori <...> non sui ex vestro erga eum favore et benevolentia <...> larii liberta<...> com-  
mode <...> s<...> concessisse. Quid <...> magno a vobis beneficio afflictum palam  
5 peren<nem> <...> m<...> dictum ista vos publice interdixisse, ne quid <...> ruis<...>  
amplius <...> sed tamen ex hordeo coqueret. Propter quod Ioannes doctor<sup>1</sup> non  
mediocriter et turbatus nequaquam <ordi>ne vitae augetur postquam liberius co-  
quendi triticeae <...> per vos sibi sublata esset p<...> inde ne idem Ioannes doc-  
tor pristinam erga se benevolentiam reliqua ulla ex parte diminutam esse sentiat,  
10 cumquam <...> ntunde vitae <...> sit <cor>rigatum. Rogamus Vos velint <...> <...>  
causam reliquam pristino vestro favore amplecti <...> <...> eo quo ante iure ei re<...>  
<perni>ciei rependemus, vosque bene <valere optamus>.

Datum Posonii prima die Decembris <anno Domini> 1548.

15 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagradiensis secretarius  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudici et iuratis civibus  
civitatis Semnicensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

699

[Mihály Révay] to Miklós Oláh  
[?], [1548]

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SRA Korešpond. č. 91. Fasc. IX., fol. 80v and 79rv.

*Published:* FRANKL 1873, 46.

*Notes:* Probably author's copy with autograph emendations. Dating according to Fraknói. Today, the  
pages of the collection of letters are jumbled up. I followed Fraknói's edition, see FRANKL 1873, 46.

*He has heard from András Paludsky that Oláh is enjoying good health: he is very happy about this because  
what would be more desirable for him than Oláh being well? Oláh can namely not rest day or night, he is so  
busy with public affairs. He has heard that Oláh has authority with the King like nobody else. That is why he  
is asking for his help to make sure he can study in Italy for as long as possible, so that he can be of even more  
benefit to the homeland.*

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698,14–15 Nicolaus ... propria] O add.

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698<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

Ad reverendissimum dominum Nicolaum Olahum.<sup>1</sup>

Intellexi ex Andrea Paluczki,<sup>2</sup> Domine et Patrone summa observantia Colende, te prospera frui valetudine. Gratulatus sum profecto adeo hoc nuncio, ut affectum meum verbis exprimere non possim. Quid enim mihi optabilius, quid gratius evenire possit, quam te, in quo universa patriae nostrae cura tamquam in cardine posita est, 5 recte valere? Tibi enim non die, non noctu quiescere licet, tantae tibi curae reipublicae conservandae causa incumbunt. Ita, ut recte illud Homeri observare videaris,

οὐ χρή παννύχιον εὔδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα.

Cognitum mihi est, Patrone Carissime, te imprimis autoritate apud regem valere, nullumque ex magnatibus aequae liberum ad eius maiestatem aditum habere. Quamo- 10 brem oro te, velis negotia nostra apud regem studio, consilio, autoritate promovere, ut diutius bonis studiis in Italia excultrice ingeniorum operam navare possimus, quo tandem utilius patriae multis modis afflictae inserviamus. Quod si feceris, facies rem te dignissimam, nobis utilem atque gratam, nosque perpetuo tibi ac familiae tuae devinctissimos reddes. Nec quin hoc summo studio facturus sis dubito, perspectum 15 est enim mihi, quam tu adolescentibus studiosis faveas.

700

[Mihály Révay] to Miklós Oláh  
[?], [1548?]

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SAR Korešpond. č. 91. Fasc. IX, fol. 72–73.

*Notes:* Probably author's copy with autograph corrections. Fraknói published Révay's other letter to Oláh and dated it 1548. This letter is undated.

*He happens to have a suitable courier, so he did not want to miss the opportunity to write to Oláh. He asks him to support his cause with the King, if he does it, he will be in his debt forever. Even if he cannot return the favour, he does not want to be ungrateful.*

Ad reverendissimum Nicolaum Olachum.<sup>1</sup>

Cum, Reverendissime Domine Patrone mihi omnibus officiis Colende, haberem proprium tabellarium, nolui praetermittere, ni hae tanta occasione scribendi, quin

699,3 nuncio] *auth corr. ex nunctio* 699,8 ἄνδρα] *corr. ex ἀνδρά* 699,12 bonis studiis] *auth corr. ex ingenia nostra* 699,12 navare] *auth del. ex navare litteris* 699,13 rem] *auth del. ex rem et* 700,3 praetermittere] *auth corr. ex intermittere*

699,8 οὐ ... ἄνδρα] Hom. Il. II,24.

699<sup>1</sup> Mihály Révay (ca. 1530–1583), Ferenc Révay's eldest son, who studied at the University of Padua. After his father's death (1553), he became *ispán* of Turóc county, from 1569 Royal Counselor (*consiliarius Hungaricus*), and from 1578 Royal Master of the Doorkeepers. Oláh supported him after his father's death, see FRANKL 1873; and PÁLFFY 2009a, 10–12. 699<sup>2</sup> András Paludsky or Palugyay was Imre Paludsky's brother, see their father's last will in 1546: MNL OL, P 852. 1. No. 3. Imre was Royal Notary and Scribe from 1551 and 1554, reporting to Oláh, see FAZEKAS 2019, 31; and MAJLÁTH 1891, 33. 700<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 699.

et ad Tuam Reverendissimam Dominationem aliquid dare litterarum, propter sum-  
5 mam benevolentiam Tuae Reverendissimae Dominationis erga nos, quam spero fore  
perpetuam, ita enim confirmatam in animo Dominationis Tuae Reverendissimae, ut  
in omni loco, tempore et occasione nostram dignitatem, omniaque nostra negotia  
promovere et defendere, tua auctoritate paratus sis. Quapropter oro vehementer, ut  
Dominatio Tua Reverendissima apud serenissimam regiam maiestatem<sup>2</sup> omnes res  
10 nostras promovere studeat. Quod si fecerit Reverendissima Dominatio Tua, erimus  
Dominationi Tuae Reverendissimae devinctissimi omni genere obsequiorum. Nam  
gratiam referre non possumus, sed tamen ingrati omnino esse nolumus, de ingrato  
enim bene mereri stultissimum est, ut etiam noster Theognis ait:

15 Δειλοῦς δ' εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν·  
ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἄλδος πολιῆς.

Optime valere cupio quam diutissime Dominationem Tuam Reverendissimam ad  
utilitatem reipublicae. Vale.

## 701

Miklós Oláh to Chapter of Zagreb  
Vienna, 5 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* NAZ, Acta capit. Antiqua Fasc. 92. No. 40.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He is sending them Albert Szilva, his servitor, on a particular matter that he will present in person; he asks them to believe and obey him.*

Venerabiles Domini et Fratres in Christo nobis Carissimi, salutem et omnem  
bonum!

Misimus ad vos nobilem Albertum Zylwa<sup>1</sup> servitorem nostrum in certis quibus-  
sdam negotiis nostris, quae ex verbis eiusdem intelligetis. Quare vos hortamur et  
5 requirimus, ut ea, quae dictus Albertus Zylwa vobis nomine nostro dixerit, fidem  
indubiam adhibeatis, atque vos voluntati nostrae modis omnibus accomodetis. Id quod  
grato a vobis <...> animo. Valet feliciter.

Datum Viennae quin<ta die I>anuarii anno Domini 1549.

10 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagrabiensis electus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Venerabilibus dominis capitulo ecclesiae Zagrabiensis fratribus  
in Christo nobis dilectis.

700,8 vehementer] *auth corr. ex Tuam Reverendissimam* 700,14 εὖ] *corr. ex εὖ* 700,14 ἐστίν·] *corr. ex ἐστί* 700,15 πολιῆς] *corr. ex πολιῆς* 701,9–10 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

700,14–15 Δειλοῦς ... πολιῆςπολιῆς] Theognis, *Elegies* 105–106.

700<sup>2</sup> King Ferdinand I. 701<sup>1</sup> Albert Szilva occurs later in the correspondence of Antal Verancsics, see SZALAY–WENZEL 1868, 283; WENZEL 1871, 261; and WENZEL 1873, 98. He is probably identical with a trufator Péter Bornemisza mentions in his *Ördögi kisértetek*, see ECKHARDT 1955, 177.



702<sup>705</sup>

Miklós Oláh and Niklas von Salm to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 19 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. B., fol. 9–10.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signatures and seals.

1. Eleven letters arrived from George Martinuzzi this hour, and they first opened the one addressed to the King so that they can write their opinion. Anyhow, he wrote the same to them, i.e. that as far as changing the location of the assembly goes, it cannot be decided openly because they do not know the area. Still, when the commissioners and Niklas von Salm gather, they will be able to make a decision if the King authorizes him to do so. 2. As for Martinuzzi's complaints about those in Eger, they took the wine at the King's order, but even if they did cause damage in Kisvárdá, they (Oláh and Salm) do not know anything about it. It is no coincidence that they told the people of Kisvárdá to keep the peace until the assembly of the commissioners, so if the commissioners have caused some damage, they will have to make it right, too.

Sacratissime Rex Domine, Domine Clementissime, fidelitatis et servitorum nostrorum in gratiam Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem!

[1.] Hac hora diei praesentis undecimae venerunt litterae<sup>1</sup> Fratris Georgii<sup>2</sup> ad nos singulares et primum ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram, quas communi consilio ideo aperuimus, ut ob lucrandum tempus opinionem nostram Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae perscribere possemus. Litteras ipsas Fratris Georgii ad eandem misimus humiliter. Eadem scribit ad nos quoque, quae ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram, quod autem ad locum conventus mutandum propter suspicionem, ut ipse scribit, attinet, non videtur hic aperte deliberari posse de alio loco conventus, sumus enim locorum illarum partium nunc inexperti. Verum cum domini commissarii una mecum Nicolao comite<sup>3</sup> convenerunt, poterimus pro dignitate atque autoritate Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae deliberare, quid sit faciendum, si vero aliud mihi, comiti Nicolao et aliis collegis meis, Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra dederit in mandatis, faciemus, quod eadem nobis mandare dignabitur.

[2.] Quod vero ad querelas Fratris Georgii contra Agrienses pertinet, vina quidem ipsa Agrienses iussu Maiestati Vestrae Sacratissimae abduxerunt, sed si in Kyswarda aliquid damni intulerunt, id quare fecerint, vel ex qua causa, neque audivimus antea, neque scimus. Nihilominus Agriensibus ipsis serio commisimus, ut usque ad dominorum commissariorum congressum in pace maneant et nihil omnino intentent. Quod si aliquid fecerint in Kyswarda indebite, id per dominos commissarios rectificari poterit. Haec Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae voluimus humiliter perscribere, quam Deus optimus maximus salvam et incolumem conservare dignetur.

Ex Vienna 19. Ianuarii 1549.

702,11 Nicolao comite ] *O add.*

702<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 702<sup>2</sup> George Martinuzzi. 702<sup>3</sup> Niklas von Salm.

25 Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humiles et fideles servitores  
Nicolaus Olahus Agriensis  
Nicolaus comes etc. Salmus etc.

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae maiestati regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Boemiae  
etc. domino domino nostro clementissimo.

703

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Vienna, 22 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1549.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*The Queen's councilors have complained that due to the urging of the opposite side, they have been experiencing abuses during the lawsuit between Wolfgang Haller and the heirs of Peter Hillepradt in terms of the summons, laws, and deadlines, and because the people of Banská Štiavnica want to get through the lawsuit more quickly, they may cause quite a big damage to Haller and the Queen. So, in order to avoid even the perception of impropriety, no matter how much the other party is urging them, they should not hurry, and they should observe the laws and deadlines and make sure that Haller's lawyer has at least one month to inform the procurator, whom Haller and the Queen will appoint to manage the affairs of the mining town.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Amici Honorandi!

Consilarii reginalis maiestatis hic Viennae constituti conquesti sunt apud nos, quod ad instantiam adversae partis in causa inter magnificum dominum Wolffgangum Haller<sup>1</sup> etc., et matrem ac assertos haeredes quondam domini Petri Hilleprant<sup>2</sup> vertente  
5 te nimis inordinato processu, citatione, legitimis et debitis terminis, ac dilationibus ad deliberandum, et respondendum non distincta, nec legitimae praesentata nimis celeriter festinare velletis, ex quo non mediocre damnum in dominum Haller ac praecipue reginalem maiestatem redundare posset, de quo etiam legitime querelae ad regiam maiestatem pervenire possent. Ita quod in non levem suspicionem trahi possetis, quae  
10 cuilibet iudici maxime cavenda est, adhortamur itaque nos amice admonendo, quod causam tanti ponderis et momenti aliqua festinatione ac inordinatu processu, quantumvis instet adversarius, non acceleretis, sed debitis et legitimis terminis ac iuridicis dilationibus hoc negotium ita temperetis, ut advocatus domini Haller Viennae existens ad minimum unius mensis spatium habere possit ad informandum procuratorem,  
15 quem dominus Haller et fortasse deinceps reginalis maiestas pro negotii qualitate ad civitates montanas destinabit. Valet.

Ex Vienna vigesima secunda Ianuarii anno Domini 1549.

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702,26 Nicolaus ... etc.] *auth add.*

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703 <sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Haller. 703 <sup>2</sup> Peter Hilleprandt was a Deputy Count of the Chamber (*Unterkammergraf*) in Banská Štiavnica during the 1530s, see MEIER–PIJARINEN–WEGERA 2009, 13.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Zagradiensis et Agriensis  
cancellarius regius etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et iuratis ceterisque civibus 20  
Semnitiensis dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

704

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 22 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, Türkei I Karton 8. Konv. 1. 1549, fol. 26.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*Because Oláh has the letters that King Ferdinand I exchanged with the Pasha of Buda as well as the ones about the complaints from Eger, he wants to see them while he is in Vienna and let Oláh know how he wishes him to proceed.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime Devote Fidelis Dilecte!

Quoniam Devotio Tua litteras et scripta illa, quae bassa Budensis<sup>1</sup> ad nos et vicissim nos ad eum dedimus, adhuc penes se habet, nos vero tum iam dictas litteras, tum etiam Agriensium querelas et gravamina prae manibus habere pro ulteriori ea de re in ipso bassa fienda tractaverit, valde cupimus, sicuti Devotioni litteris, cum 5  
Viennae adhuc essemus, ostendimus, eidem adeo Dominationi litteris committimus et mandamus, ut tambassae Budensis ad nos et nostra ad eum scripta et litteras, quam etiam Agriensium querelas et gravamina praedicta ad nos quam primum perferri curet nostram in eo executura voluntatem.

Datum in arce nostra regia Pragae die 22. Ianuarii 1549.

10

[Probably on the outer side:] Reverendissimo devoto fideli nobis dilecto Nicolao episcopo Agriensi, consiliario et per regnum nostrum Hungariae cancellario nostro.

<sup>702</sup>705

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh and Niklas von Salm  
Prague, 25 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. B., fol. 18r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

703,18–19 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.* 704,3 vero ] *scr del.* ex vero illis ipsis litteris si scriptis brevi opus habituri simus, illam 704,3 iam dictas ] *scr corr.* ex praedictas 704,4 habere ] *scr corr.* ex esse 704,4 ulteriori ] *scr corr.* ex futura 704,5 re ] *scr del.* ex re tentatio 704,5 cupimus ] *corr.* ex cupiamus 704,7 tam ] *scr del.* ex tam mandatas litteras et scripta 704,8 praedicta ] *scr corr.* ex Agriensis

<sup>704</sup> Gazi Kasim Pasha was Pasha of Buda between 1548–1551 and 1557–1558. He was also Bey of Mohács for a few years, then Bey of Pécs, Bey of Székesfehérvár, and Pasha of Timișoara and Bosnia. See GÉVAY 1841, 6, DÁVID 1995; and DÁVID 1996.

363

*He has received Oláh's and George Martinuzzi's letters, which were sent together, and he will learn his response from the attached letter, which he should forward to Martinuzzi. He also wants him to try and manage the King's affairs in the spirit expressed in the letter. As to changing the location of the assembly, he has also written what he thinks; it does not matter if the assembly is here or somewhere else, but it should be favourable for the commissioners of both sides.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime Devote ac Spectabilis et Magnifice, Fideles Dilecti!

Accepimus et Vestras<sup>1</sup> et Fratris Georgii,<sup>2</sup> quas una ad nos transmisistis, litteras. Quid autem ei respondendum duxerimus, id ex incluso litterarum nostrarum, 5 quas una cum his ad ipsum transmittendas accepistis, exemplo cognoscere poteritis. Committentes Vobis, ut ad eisdem litteris expressam mentem et voluntatem nostram vos accommodare et praedicta negotia nostra dirigere studeatis. Quantum enim ad mutationem loci attinet, ut his quoque litteris vobis animi nostri sententiam significemus, sumus contenti, ut vel in loco iam designato, vel alibi congressus fiat, 10 prout commissariis utrinque pro fienda tractatione commodius visum fuerit, qui commissarii nostri super eo pro dignitate et autoritate nostra concludere poterunt. In quibus exsequendis vos bene gratam nostram executuri estis voluntatem.

Datum Pragae die 25. Ianuarii 1549.

[Probably on the outer side:] Episcopo Agriensi et comiti Nicolao a Salmis.

706<sub>708</sub>

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 27 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 55. Konv. B., fol. 20r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*Although he was trying to make sure that the letters written on behalf of Queen Isabella, George Martinuzzi, and the Transylvanian noblemen and the responses to them are all handed over to Oláh, now he asks him to send him all these documents as soon as possible so he can take care of this matter.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater Devote, Fidelis, Dilecte!

Quoniam magnopere opus habemus exemplis earum litterarum et scripturarum, quae serenissimae dominae Isabellae reginae<sup>1</sup> Hungariae etc. Fratris Georgii<sup>2</sup> ac nobilium Transylvaniae nomine Posonii nobis exhibitae fuerunt, simul et responsi nostri 5 desuper illis dati, Devotioni Tuae committimus et mandamus, ut huiusmodi litterarum et scripturarum omnium ad hoc negotium pertinentium exempla ad nos quamprimum

705,5 quas] *scr del. ex* quas vobis 705,5 exemplo] *scr corr. ex* ab unde 705,10–11 qui commissarii] *scr corr. ex* et commissarii 705,11 concludere] *scr corr. ex* deliberare 706,5 ut] *scr del. ex* ut eorum omnium

705<sup>1</sup> Ep. 702. 705<sup>2</sup> George Martinuzzi. 706<sup>1</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon. 706<sup>2</sup> George Martinuzzi.

fieri possit, et absque omni mora transmittat, quo illis pro rei exigentia uti queamus, nostram in eo omnimodam executura voluntatem.

Datum Pragae die 27. Ianuarii 1549.

[Probably on the outer side:] Agriensi episcopo.

10

707<sub>708</sub>

King Ferdinand I to Pál Várday and Miklós Oláh  
Prague, 27 January 1549

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA Misc. Fasc. 431A. Konv. B. 1540–1569, fol. 266–267.

*Notes:* Original draft.

1. A few days ago he wrote to the Emperor about the things they accomplished at the Bratislava diet and asked him to meet the Pope and represent the interests of both Hungary and Christian Europe, and make sure that the ecumenical council is not postponed because the defence of all of Christianity seems to depend on it. 2. The Emperor replied that he had already instructed his legate in Rome to take care of the requested matters, and he indicated that they could count on him. In addition, he also wrote that he understands their labours for Hungary, and he will hasten the cases of the bishops who still need confirming.

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissimi in Christo Patres Devoti, Fideles Dilecti!

[1.] Dederamus proxime praeteritis diebus litteras ad sacram caesaream et Catholicam regiam maiestatem fratrem et germanum nostrum carissimum, quibus iuxta conclusionem cum fidelibus statibus et ordinibus regni istius nostrae Hungariae in conventu Poseniensi<sup>1</sup> factam, a dilectione et maiestate eius perquam diligenter petivimus primum, ut sacra eius caesarea maiestas pro beneficio nedum regni Hungariae, sed totius etiam Christianitatis ad fidei et religionis veritatem et concordiam reducendae, pro celebratione generalis et Germanici concilii apud summum sanctae Romanae et universalis ecclesiae pontificem<sup>2</sup> instaret atque efficere dignaretur, ne tam necessaria concilii celebratio diutius differatur, cum inde tuitio et conservatio totius Christianitatis atque adeo fidei et religionis Christianae manutentio dependere videatur < ...> a dilectione et maiestate eius caesarea etiam negotium remittendarum annatarum pro electis episcopis in regno Hungariae apud praefatum summum pontificem, ita promoveretur commendareturque, ut confirmationes et conservationes suas gratis et sine annatarum solutione obtinere possint, nisi alioqui vix tantum habeant propter multas afflictiones et oppressiones regni, unde se et arcus suas hostibus Turcis finitimas sustentare et conservare quaeant.

706,7 et ... mora ] *scr add.* 707,7 Christianitatis ] *scr del. ex* Christianitatis ad concordia et veritatem in fide et religione Christiana reducendae ad 707,10 necessaria ] *scr del. ex* necessaria rebus religionisque et 707,13 Hungariae ] *scr del. ex* Hungariae commendare et 707,14 ita ] *scr del. ex* ita promoveretur et commendaretur 707,15 habeant ] *scr del. ex* habeant unde se 707,16 afflictiones et ] *scr add.*

707<sup>1</sup> This diet began on 16 October, 1548. 707<sup>2</sup> Pope Paul III.

[2.] Ad haec itaque nostra scripta dilectio et maiestas eius nobis iam respondit  
se de utroque negotio seria mandata et iussiones ad oratorem suum in Urbe Roma  
20 expeditisse, qui nomine maiestatis suae caesareae ista omnia apud beatitudinem  
summi pontificis omni studio, cura, labore et diligentia sollicitare, curare et conficere  
debeat, obtulitque se erga nos dilectio et maiestas eius caesarea sibi uti Christiano  
imperatori et principi haec omnia etiam in posterum et quavis offerente se occasione  
apud sanctitatem summi pontificis magnae curae fore. Hoc autem dilectionis et  
25 maiestatis eius caesareae nobis datum responsum ad Devotiones Vestras propterea  
perscribere volumus, ut eidem simul et alii fideles regnicolae propensum clementem  
et plane paternam sacrae caesareae eius maiestatis propensionem, curam et solli-  
citudinem erga regnum Hungariae intelligerent, tum etiam, ut Devotiones Vestrae  
electis illis episcopis, qui confirmationibus opus habent, haec praemissa iudicent, quo  
30 pro huiusmodi confirmationibus suis etiam ipsi instare et sollicitare possint. Qua in  
re et nos autoritate, intercessione et promotione nostra illis praesto futuros esse  
clementer offerimus et pollicemur.

Datum Pragae die 27. Ianuarii 1549.

[Probably on the outer side:] Reverendissimis in Christo patribus Paulo de Warda  
35 archiepiscopo Strigoniensi nec non Nicolao episcopo Agriensi.

706 707 **708**

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 1 February 1549

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA Misc. Fasc. 431A. Konv. B. 1540–1569, fol. 268–270.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

1. He received two letters from him yesterday: one on his letter to Emperor Charles V on celebrating the ecumenical council and the free confirmation of the prelates, and another that Oláh should send Queen Isabella's and George Martinuzzi's letters back. He has written to Pál Várday about the Pope's confirmation of the prelates, whose letter he attaches. One thing seems necessary, i.e. the King should charge the Bishops of Nitra and Veszprém as well as Balázs Péterváradi in a special letter with starting the process of ordination. Oláh himself will receive the higher orders from the Bishop of Senj in two days. 2. He should let him know what his plan is regarding Zsigmond János so they can let the commissioners know when they go to Martinuzzi on Saint Matthew's day. He is expecting Tamás Nádasdy in two days, who has been complaining to him about the lack of funds. It would be good if by the time he got here, the King instructed the Chamber, if nothing else works, to take care of his expenses.

Sacratissime Rex Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime, fidelitatis et servitiorum  
meorum perpetuorum in gratiam Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam com-  
mendationem!

707,18 nobis ] *scr del.* ex nobis respondit 707,20 apud ] *scr del.* ex apud summam 707,25 caesareae ]  
*scr del.* ex caesareae suae 707,29 episcopis ] *scr del.* ex episcopis haec 707,29 habent ] *scr del.* ex habent  
iudicentque 707,31 nos ] *scr del.* ex nos eis

[1.] Die hesterna binas Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae accepi litteras. Alteras<sup>1</sup> de  
sacratissimae caesareae maiestatis in promovenda apud summum dominum nostrum 5  
celebratione concilii generalis et item confirmatione gratuita praelatorum Hungariae,  
singulari in rem publicam Christianam clementia atque pio affectu. Alteras<sup>2</sup> vero,  
quibus Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra iubet sibi quamprimum mitti acta legationis  
serenissimae reginae Isabellae etc. et responsi Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae illi 10  
ac Fratri Georgio<sup>3</sup> aliisque nobilibus dati. Secundum Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae  
mandatum mitto nunc ad eam copiam praemissae et legationis et responsi. De confir-  
matione autem apud summum pontificem praelatorum Hungariae sollicitanda scripsi  
ad dominum Strigoniensem,<sup>4</sup> cui litteras etiam Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae misi.<sup>5</sup>  
Unum tamen videtur esse necessarium, quod Maiestas Vestra Sacratissima dignetur 15  
litteris suis mandare specialibus Nitriensi,<sup>6</sup> Vesprimiensi<sup>7</sup> et Blasio,<sup>8</sup> ut sacris initi-  
tur. Ego postquam vocatione divina, Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra hoc statu, in quo  
sum, clementer me providere dignata est, per dominum Segniensem,<sup>9</sup> quem hac de  
causa huc nunc accersivi, maiores sacros ordines, hoc biduo ex Dei gratia ad summam  
Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram Deus idem optimus maximus ad multa saecula 20  
felicem ac incolumem conservare dignetur. In cuius clementiam me et fidelia servitia  
mea iterum atque iterum unice commendo.

Ex Vienna prima Februarii anno 1549.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor

Agriensis

[2.] Si Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra in negotio provisionis filii<sup>10</sup> serenissimae 25  
reginae Isabellae a maiestate caesarea aliquid responsi habet, dignetur ea in re ad  
commissarios suos, qui ad festum beati Mathiae Apostoli<sup>11</sup> fratrem Georgium conven-  
turi sunt, dare commissionem, ut Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae videbitur, simul vel  
divisim. Dum Nadasdi<sup>12</sup> unum ex commissariis hoc triduo huc exspecto. Is tamen de  
expensarum inopia per litteras suas non parum apud me conqueritur. Cum quo de his 30  
loquar, dum advenerit, bonum esset Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram consiliariis  
camerae mandare, ut si aliter fieri non posset, providerent ei de expensis honestis et  
convenientibus. Nam Nadasdi pro dignitate Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae ac condi-  
tione status sui atque officii scribae expensas illas menstruas pro intertentione mensae  
ei designatas in legatione hac, in qua auctoritatis Maiestatis Vestrae Sacratissimae 35  
habenda erit ratio, parum sibi suffecturas.

Idem servitor Agriensis

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae maiestati regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Boemiae  
etc. domino, domino meo clementissimo.

708,16 Vestra] *O del. ex Vestra me* 708,23–24 Eiusdem ... Agriensis] *O add.* 708,37 Idem ... Agriensis]  
*O add.*

708<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 707. 708<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 706. 708<sup>3</sup> George Martinuzzi. 708<sup>4</sup> Pál Várday. 708<sup>5</sup> We do not know these letters. 708<sup>6</sup> Ferenc Thurzó (†1576) was Bishop of Nitra between 1534 and 1557. He was the President of the Hungarian Chamber and the Court Chamber (1549–1563). For more see GECSÉNYI 2010. 708<sup>7</sup> Márton Kecseti. 708<sup>8</sup> Balázs Péterváradi. 708<sup>9</sup> Ferenc Jozefics. 708<sup>10</sup> John Sigismund Szapolyai. 708<sup>11</sup> 24 February. 708<sup>12</sup> Tamás Nádasdy.

709

Pál Várday to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 1 February 1549

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL Khuen–Héderváry cs. lt. No. 101.

*ms. II:* EFK Cat. V. Tit. IIg. No. 12.

*Published:* R. Kiss 1908, 11–12.

*In Hungarian:* R. Kiss 1908, 11. [regesta]

*Notes:* Ms. I, the original collection of letters has been lost. Ms. II is a copy.

*The other day he learned from Marcantonio Bentivoglio's letter how diligently Oláh had helped his affairs, without his knowledge. In return he can also expect Várday to remember the benevolence he has shown towards him. Bentivoglio will tell the rest in person.*

Ad cancellarium.

Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine, Domine Observandissime salutem et obsequiorum commendationem!

Cum nuper ex litteris domini Marci Antonii Bentivoli<sup>1</sup> cognovissem, quo studio, 5 quaque diligentia Reverendissima ac Illustrissima Dominatio Vestra operam et autoritatem suam pro meis istic ornamentis interposuerit, etsi id quidem minime mihi notum fuit, quippe qui longo iam tempore singularem istam suam in me benevolentiam perspectam habeo, existitit tamen iucundum et gratum mearumque ideo partium esse duxi, paucis Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae declarare et 10 Marcantonium istam voluntatis suae erga me significationem ad me, uti sane debuit detulisse et me eum esse semperque fore erga eam, qui pro suis maximis in me meritis esse debeo, singularemque spem et fiduciam in ista sua singulari in me humanitate habere repositam consequendi aliquando id, quod serenissimus rex meus iam pridem istinc mihi impetrare contendit. Quicquid certe accidat, me Reverendissima et Illu- 15 strissima Dominatio Vestra gratum erga se et benememorem omni tempore sentiet. Cetera meis verbis coram referet idem Marcus Antonius, procurator meus. Valere stb.

Datum Posonii, die primo mensis Februarii 1549.

Strigoniensis

710

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Vienna, 6 February 1549

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6280.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

709<sup>1</sup> In 1538, Marcantonio Bentivoglio was Canon of Alba Julia, see FRAKNÓI 1903, 51. At this time, according to this letter, he was Várday's procurator.



János Szabó implored him to make sure Oláh promoted his case by giving him a recommendation. Oláh, partly due to pity, partly because Szabó has really made an effort in the last few years, asks them to help Szabó and support his cause.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini, Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Supplicavit nobis Ioannes Zabo,<sup>1</sup> concivis vester, quo causam ipsius, quae ratione suae domus in eundem mota esset, nostra commendatione apud vos promoveremus. Nos moti super dicti Ioanni misericordia, tum rationem servitiorum habentes, quae nobis annis superioribus diligenter exhibuit, petimus tamquam amicos honorandos, 5 velitis nostra causa praemisso vestro concivi in sua causa omni auxilio ac patrocinio adesse, ut nostram commendationem sentiat aliquid adiumenti sibi attulisse. Facietis in hoc nobis rem gratam ac dignam, quae maiore amicitia erga vos rependatur. In reliquo optamus valere feliciter.

Vienna 6. die Februarii 1549.

10

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspectis dominis magistro civium iudici ac iuratis civibus civitatis Poseniensis etc. dominis amicis nobis honorandis.

711

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 21 February 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 10.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

The last time they had the opportunity to talk with Nádasdy and Pál Várday about the oversight of the counties on this side of the Danube was at the last Bratislava diet. They are hurrying to the lords of the Chamber so he can get the money collected through the tax collectors to Nádasdy. Because the King now really needs all the money he can get, he asks Nádasdy not to find it difficult to have the taxes collected in the territories he oversees on this side of the Danube and give it to Wolfgang Kremer or Christoph Linck. Since they have the 10 denarii, he has written to the councilors of the Chamber to send the county register to Nádasdy.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, et Amice nobis Observandissime, s<alu>tem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Recordamur Sp<ectabil>em et Magnificam Dominationem Vestram credimus eius subsidii, quod ex d<uo> denorum nummorum a dominis regnicolis et sta<ti>bus in proxima congregatione Poseniensi<sup>1</sup> nobis in <...>um sustentationem proxime oblatum est. Tunc temporis fuimus (uti recordamur) super ea re unacum reverendissimo domino archiepiscopo<sup>2</sup> etc. Spectabili Magnificae Dominationi Vestrae lo-

710,4 dicti Ioanni ] *corr.* ex dictum Ioannem 710,11–12 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

710 <sup>1</sup> János Szabó. 711 <sup>1</sup> The diet began on 16 October, 1548. 711 <sup>2</sup> Pál Várday.

cuti, ut eadem huius nostri oblatis subsidii, in comitatibus Cis<danu>bium habitis  
curam diligentem gerere. Servitii <in> intuitu vellet, et dominos similiter came-  
10 rarios <prope>ramus, quo per dicatores taxam denorum n<um>morum manibus  
Spectabilis Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae suo tempore f<ide>liter administrari  
curarent. Nam nobis circa regiam maiestatem <praesen>tibus magnis sumptibus opus  
est, proinde iterum <iter>umque petimus Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, ne  
15 gravetur intuitu amicitiae nostrae et servitorum praedictum subsidium in vicinis sibi  
comitatibus, Cisdanubium habitis diligenter et absque defectu aliquali exigi facere,  
exactumque secundum registrum dicatorum et ad manus suas acceptum aut ad nos  
nacta commoditate ubicumque Dei voluntate erimus mittere, aut si id fieri non posset,  
ad manus sive Kremmer,<sup>3</sup> sive Lynk<sup>4</sup> Viennae assignari facere, qui nobis illud facile  
administrabunt. Quo vero haec decem nummorum pecunia rectius et sine damno  
20 exigi possit, scripsimus ad dominos consiliarios camerae, ut regestrum comitatum,  
ex quibus deni illi nummi exigi debebant, ad Spectabilem Magnificam Dominationem  
Vestram mittant. Quod illos facere non diffidimus. Quicquid studii ac diligentiae hac  
in re eadem nobis praestiterit, nos idipsum omni genere amicitiae, et obsequiorum  
promereri apud Spectabilem Magnificam Dominationem Vestram studebimus, quam  
25 in reliquo optamus val<ere> felicissimam.

Pragae 21. Februarii anno Domini 1549.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo  
terrae Fogaras iudici curiae et consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. ac supremo regni  
30 Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

## 712

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Prague, 10 March 1549

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6290.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh has worked hard and obtained a document in connection with their petition regarding the building where the Chamber is housed, but the King says he cannot make do without this house to favour the Chamber, in other words, he wants to keep it for himself. If a stranger had wanted to purchase the house, they would have sent petitions, but even then the King would not want to do without this house.*

Prudentes ac Circumspecti Domini, Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Ad petitionem Dominationum Vestrarum, qua Viennae et hic nos rogarunt, diligenter quidem apud regiam maiestatem ex parte domus, ubi camera est, laboravimus

711,27 Frater ... propria] *O add.*

711<sup>3</sup> Wolfgang Kremer. 711<sup>4</sup> Christoph Linck was a *factor* in Vienna and Steward, see SARUSI KISS 2009; and GECSÉNYI 2010, 15.

et scripta etiam earundem superinde exhibuimus, sed dicit sua maiestas se pro sua camera non posse istic domo carere, eandemque domum pecunia conservare velle, 5 quam omnium commodissimam ad retinendam cameram esse intelligit, sicuti hac de re suae maiestatis sententiam ac voluntatem Dominationes Vestrae intelligunt. Si extraneus aut alius quispiam civis eandem domum emere voluisset, fuisset in ea parte supplicationes earundem admissae, tamen pro praemissa necessitate se nequaquam 10 domo illa regia maiestas carere posse ostendit. Et in hoc negotio Dominationum Vestrarum diligenter laboravimus, et in aliis quoque etiam posthac agemus non gravatim, in quibus nostram operam sibi dari expetiverint. Easdem in reliquo optamus valere feliciter.

Pragae 10. Martii 1549.

In alio de tricesimis non solvendis ratione victualium negotio maiestas sua ad 15 camerarios suos scripsit. In causa domus sua maietas aliud responsum quam quod ex litteris intelligetis, nequaquam dare voluit. Nos libenter voluissemus vobis amicitia esse.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspectis dominis, magistro civium iudici et 20 iuratis civibus civitatis Posoniensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

713

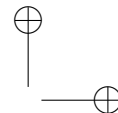
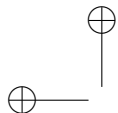
Christoph Linck to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 11 March 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 24.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Christoph Linck asks Oláh not to forget about confirming the debt of the Archbishop of Esztergom. The Archbishop has written to Linck again, asking for another 300 florins for garments for a six-month term, and he asks Oláh for his written advice as to what he should do. Linck is afraid that if the Archbishop dies, the King will not pay the Archbishop's debt, although he still hopes that the Archbishop's successor will pay. 2. It is possible that Linck's masters will conduct negotiations at the Royal Court in May. And if Oláh conducts negotiations about the ten thousand florins, Linck hopes that Linck's masters will provide a guarantee for five thousand of the ten thousand. However, Oláh should not talk about this to Linck's masters, let him first tell them about it. He will report to him about the conditions and reasons once he has received the money. He will make sure that his masters negotiate about the 50,000 florins against the Vienna, Aussee, and Gmunden salt chambers, Linck's masters will receive the money this May, and they will transfer the interest to Oláh. The repayment period starts in June 1550, at [some] interest. Hans Holzer is taking this letter to him, and Oláh can also send a letter to Linck through him.

712,15–18 In ... esse ] O add. 712,19 Agriensis ... propria ] O add.



Hochwirdiger herr unnd fursst, mein willig diennst seindt eurn f. g.<sup>1</sup> zuvoran!

[1.] Dis mein schreiben ann e. f. g.<sup>2</sup> ist von wegenn, das ich eurer genaden unnterthenigst ansueche und pitte, meiner herrn nit zu vergessen der confirmation halb uber des bischoff vonn Grann<sup>3</sup> schuldt. Der bischoff hat mir geschriben unnd  
5 gepetten, soll im abermals fur 300 f.<sup>4</sup> gwant porgenn, auf ain halb jar zw bezalnn. Ich pit e. g.,<sup>5</sup> wellen mir schriftlichen euren ratt mittailnn, wie ich im than soll. Ich furcht mich, solt er sterbenn, der kung wurd nichts fur in wollen bezalenn, unnd hab doch hoffnung, ain jeder, der nach im wirt willen bischoff sein, der muß die schuldenn bezalenn, die er pro rest wirt schuldig sein auf sein absterben.

10 [2.] Wo ich e. g. kunfftig in gut weg auch gediennen mag, bin ich willig, es werden weg furfallenn, das meine herrnn im May ain hofhandel werden thann, soverr e. g. mit 10 M<sup>o</sup> f. etwas hanndeln will, so hoffet ich, eurn gnaden 10 pro 5<sup>o</sup> zu machen auf ainer guten sicherung inn meiner herrn namen. Aber e. g. soll meinen herrn nichts darvon melden, die sach mues anfangs durch mich an sy gepracht werden,  
15 durch condition und umb ursach willen, die ich e. g. nachmals numentlich wol anzaigen will, soverr e. g. wirt gefast sein mit dem geltt. Ich acht darfur, meine herrn werden ain handel umb 50 M<sup>o</sup> f. tann<sup>6</sup> auf des kungs salzamt zw Wienn und zw Aussee<sup>7</sup> unnd zw Gmunden, und werden das gelt im Maii jezo ausgebenn, wirt inen der interesse angeen. Aber die widerbezalung wirt gescheen im 50<sup>ten</sup> jar <...> Juni,  
20 wurd man anfachen, widerumb zw bezaln das hauptgut unnd interesse 10 pro 5<sup>o</sup>. Des hab icheurnn gnaden vertreulichen wollenn im pesten annzaigen. Las mich eur genad ain anntwort wissen, mich hab darnach zw richten. Disen brief furt der herr Hanns Holzer,<sup>8</sup> so vormalis hoffzalmaister gewest, durch in mag mir e. g. widerumb gwislichen brieff zwbringen. Thue mich e. g. bevelhen.

25 Dattum Wienn 11. Marzo anno 49<sup>ten</sup>.  
E. f. g. dinst williger

Cristoff Linckh

[On the outer side:] Dem hochwirdigenn herrnn und fursten, herrnn Niclas Ollahus, bischoven zw Erlach, obrister cannzler der cron Hungern etc., meinem gnadigen  
30 fursten unnd herrnn zu hannden.

714<sub>715</sub>

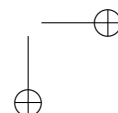
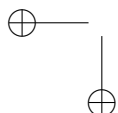
Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Thurzó and Hungarian Chamber  
Prague, 17 March 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1549 – No. 21.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*The King has told him that he has included the Eger soldiers' payment that was dispensed the other day in the instructions for the Chamber and his mandate. He thus asks the Chamber to act accordingly, lest any damage*

713 <sup>1</sup>I.e. fürstliche Gnade. 713 <sup>2</sup>I.e. eure fürstliche Gnade. 713 <sup>3</sup>Pál Várday was Archbishop of Esztergom. 713 <sup>4</sup>I.e. florenos. 713 <sup>5</sup>I.e. eure Gnade. 713 <sup>6</sup>Uncertain reading. 713 <sup>7</sup>Bad Aussee. 713 <sup>8</sup>Hans Holzer was Court Paymaster (*Hofzahlmeister*), see HENGERER 2008, 225–226.



should occur due to delay. He does not want to make a statement in connection with this issue because he was not the one who took on this burden. The Chamber knows that the house neighbours the enemy, and if they do not forward to him the payment the King has set, due to such expenses he will not even have enough money to support his family. He asks the Chamber to respond without delay so he knows what to expect.

Reverendissime,<sup>1</sup> Reverende ac Egregii Domini et Amici nobis honorandissimi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Dixit nobis maiestas regia se in statum et instructionem Dominationis Vestrae hinc nuper missam solutionem militum quoque Agriensium redegisse. Rogamus itaque Dominationes Vestras, plurimum velint solutionis ad Agriam fiendae iuxta commissi- 5  
sionem suae maiestatis, si quam superinde acceperunt, curam diligentem habere, ne ex eius dilatione periculum aliquod (quod Deus avertat) contingat. De quo nos respondere nolumus, neque unquam id aut oneris, aut periculi, quod absit, sufferendi humeris nostris assumpsimus, neque deinceps assumemus. Sciunt enim Dominatio- 10  
nes Vestrae eam domum hostibus finitimam esse. Praeterea si de salario nostro quoque aliquid Dominationibus Vestris regia maiestas commisit, non praetermittant, quin aliquid habeamus pecuniae in tanta rerum fere omnium charistia et ad sufferendas 15  
tantas, quantas quotidie in servitiis serenissimae maiestatis facere cogimur expensas, ad familiae nostrae non exigue nutritionem. Ad haec itaque rogamus Dominationes Vestras, velint sine dilatione responsum nobis dare, ut sciamus rebus nostris consule-  
re. Quod Dominationibus Vestris maiori amicitiae officio rependere volumus, quas et feliciter valere cupimus.

Pragae XVII. Martii anno Domini MDXLIX.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria 20

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino Francisco Thwrzo episcopo Nitriensi, praefecto ac reverendissimo et egregiis dominis magistro aliisque consiliariis camerae Hungaricae regiae maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandissimis.

<sup>714</sup>715

Hungarian Chamber to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 26 March 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1549 – No. 1. x., fol. 122r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

1. Oláh encourages them to take care of the Eger soldiers' payment. He knows that they always gladly do what he asks, but this is not their competence but that of the purser, who told him he was taking care of it and has even travelled there. As for the royal order on the benefices, they have not received it yet, but they are expecting it every hour. 2. They recommend that Oláh take on the title of *supremus comes*, and that Ostrosith oversee

714,8 sufferendi ] *O corr. ex sufferendum* 714,19–20 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

714<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Thurzó.

the county in his name. He should ask for the letter of accreditation to be changed, and an order should be made out at the German chancellery for Christoph Görtschacher, the captain of the castle, to hand over the administration of the estate to Ostrosith.

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine Observandissime, salutem et servitorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Hortatur<sup>1</sup> nos Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, ut solutionem gentium  
5 Agriae existentium curemus. Sciat nos, quaecumque viribus nostris convenientia sunt, ex animo facturos causa Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae, cui inservire parati simus, verum omnis cura solutionis militum sive equituum sive peditum, domino magistro<sup>2</sup> solutionis regiae maiestatis incumbit, cum quo proximis diebus contulimus, significavitque se Agriensium curam habiturum, quo etiam profectus est, nec deest  
10 illi, ut intelligimus, pecunia, et nos quicquid usquam ex contributione colligi potest, commisimus manibus illius assignari.

Ceterum, quod pro certo possumus scribere, hucusque deliberatio maiestatis regiae super solutione salariorum ad nos perlata non est, nec interim cuiquam respondere licet exspectamus omnibus horis, ut iam tandem dirigat huc sua maiestas  
15 eam ipsam deliberationem descriptam.

[2.] Praeterea iussit maiestas regia tractari cum Ioanne Ostrosith,<sup>3</sup> ut expeditus capessat officium comitatus Trinchinensis ei administratoris proventuum illius arcis. Accepit quidem ille binas litteras maiestatis regiae ostenditque eas reverendissimo domino locumtenenti<sup>4</sup> et consiliariis, et iudicat illis se nihil effecturum, dicit enim  
20 promissum sibi esse comitatus honorem durante bene placito regio verum illis verbis functionem vice nostri honoris comitatus eiusdem. Item praefatum Ioannem vice et in persona nostra regia, loco comitis vestri etc. Arbitratur eo tendere, ut ipse sit futurus vicecomes.<sup>5</sup> Addit commissionem directam esse ad vicecomitem (quem nullum esse nunc dicit) et iudices ac universitatem nobilium, quos credit non re-  
25 fragaturos, verum ceteri comitatus vestri reverendissimi, reverendi, magnifici etc. non essent litteras curaturi, quando non essent ad eos directae. Supplicat igitur pro reformatione litterarum, et nos rogamus, iubeat ita describi litteras, ne cui difficultati daretur occasio, sed necesse est, ut ex cancellaria Germanica expediatur mandatum ad dominum Christoferum Gertsharher<sup>6</sup> praefectum arcis, ut admittat hunc Ostrosith  
30 ad bonorum administrationem et curam tam in arce, quam possessionibus alioqui

715,6 facturos] *auth corr.* ex in favore velle et libenter facere paratos 715,7 cura] *auth add.* 715,16 Praeterea] *auth del.* ex iussit praeterea quod 715,16 ut] *auth del.* ex ut per nos 715,20 regio] *auth add.* 715,23 vicecomitem] *auth del.* ex vicecomitem et iudices 715,25 reverendissimi ... etc.] *auth corr.* ex magnifici et ecclesistici alii 715,30 administrationem] *auth del.* ex administrationem tam in

715<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 714. 715<sup>2</sup> Probably Hans Holzer, Court Paymaster or Mangus Scheitz, Army Paymaster, see KENYERES 2005, 256; and KENYERES 2007. 715<sup>3</sup> János Ostrosith or Ostrošić was Provisor of Jajce in 1526. In 1549, he became Provisor of the castle of Trenčín and *ispán* of Trencsén county. See C. TÓTH-HORVÁTH-NEUMANN-PÁLOSFALVI 2017, I, 143; and KENYERES 1997, 110–114. To the case, see MNL OL, E 21, 1549.03.24.a and 1549.03.27. 715<sup>4</sup> Pál Várday. 715<sup>5</sup> On how Trencsén county functioned, see C. TÓTH-HORVÁTH-NEUMANN-PÁLOSFALVI 2017, II, 282–287. 715<sup>6</sup> Christoph Görtschacher was Captain of the castle of Trenčín, see KENYERES 1997, 103.

nunquam ille admittet forte et aliis esset opus litteris ad civitatem et iudices ac colonos bonorum arcis, ut eum pro administratore proventuum arcis recognoscant etc. Nos hac de re nihil ad maiestatem regiam scripsimus, sed iam tamen paucis rogavimus dominos consiliarios aulicae Camerae, ut iubeat expediri litteras ad Ghertsharher. Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam Deus servet feliciter. 35  
Posonii die 26. Martii 1549. Sacrae<sup>7</sup>

[Probably on the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino Nicolao Olaho episcopo ecclesiae Agriensis, cancellario regiae maiestatis Romanorum, Hungariae etc. dignissimo domino observandissimo. 40

716

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 11 April 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 11.  
*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He recently received his letter, together with the letters addressed to Hofmann and Guzman. In his letter he asks Oláh to intervene with the King on the issue of redeeming the Sopron tithe, which he has done, and he will learn from the King's letter what he has accomplished. 2. Stepan has returned from Constantinople and has brought with him István Majláth's letter to Nádasdy, which he is attaching. If Majláth is well and there is hope for his release, Nádasdy should let him know. He recommends the Eger affairs to his attention and is awaiting his instructions as to what he should do. He has reminded Hans Hofmann to respond to Nádasdy, to which he said that he had already done so and would write again.

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

[1.] Litteras,<sup>1</sup> quas Dominatio Vestra Magnifica ex Diozeg<sup>2</sup> decima quarta Martii ad me dedit, ante dies aliquot accepi unacum litteris ad dominos Hoffmanum<sup>3</sup> et Guzmanum,<sup>4</sup> quas illis reddidi. In litteris, quas ad me dedit, rogavit me, ut apud 5 maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum pro annuentia et permissione redemptionis decimae Soproniensis intercederem. Feci, quod mihi Dominatio Vestra Magnifica mandavit, et non aliter, quam in re mea, diligentiam omnem praestiti. Effecissemque nunc quoque, si Dominatio Vestra Magnifica tardius, quam opus erat, voluntatem suam non significasset, verum quid maiestas sua regia responderit, Do- 10

715,31 admittet] *auth del. ex* admittet istum 715,34 dominos] *auth add.* 715,34 aulicae] *auth corr. ex* aulicos 716,4 ante ... aliquot] *O corr. ex* nudiustertius

715<sup>7</sup> I.e. sacrae regiae maiestatis consilarii. 716<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 716<sup>2</sup> Tuta. 716<sup>3</sup> Hans Hofmann, see Ep. 347. Cap. 5. 716<sup>4</sup> Márton Guzman occurs in the correspondence of Antal Verancsics and Tamás Nádasdy.

minatio Vestra Magnifica ex litteris eiusdem intellegit. Ego deinceps quoque post  
maiestatem regiam faciam omnia in re Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae diligenter  
modo, quid praestare possum.

[2.] Stepan<sup>5</sup> ex Constantinopoli his diebus reversus huc venit et attulit litteras  
15 has praesentibus adiunctas domini Maylath<sup>6</sup> ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam  
datas, quas nunc eidem mitto. Si frater ille noster bene valet, et liberationis suae spem  
facit aliquam, Dominatio Vestra Magnifica faciat me certiozem.

Agriensia mea negotia Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae commendo, et rogo, ut  
dum revertetur divino auxilio, me de singulis edoceat, quae ibi fiant. Et si spes est  
20 aliqua pecuniae illinc mihi nunc expectandae in his meis maximis expensis.

Dominum Hofmanum admonui, ut responderet; dixit se iam scripsisse Domina-  
tionem Vestrae Magnificae et adhuc scribere velle. Quod reliquum est, Dominationem  
Vestram Magnificam feliciter valere opto, ut fratrem optimum.

Ex Praga undecima Aprilis anno 1549.

25 Servitor et frater Agriensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Ad manus spectabilis et magnifici domini Thomae Nadasdi  
perpetui comitis terrae Fogaras etc. domini et fratris observandissimi.

717

Christoph Linck to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 10 May 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 25.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Sándor Rokawy has made 300 in gold available to Linck because of Oláh, coming to a total of 420 florins, which  
he owes Oláh. He has every intention of paying it, he only asks to get back the debenture he had given to Oláh  
and the receipt he had given to Rokawy when the money is handed over. Oláh clearly understands what Linck  
is referring to in the other case.*

Hochwirdiger herr unnd fursst!

Mir hat Alexannder Rokawy<sup>1</sup> vonn. e. f. g.<sup>2</sup> wegenn zwgestellt stuckh 300 allerlei  
gold, tut zw 10 ß fur ein gulden, per ait 420 f.,<sup>3</sup> was ich nu fur meine herrn, und was  
ich selbst empfangen, eurn f. gnaden schuldigh bin. Das ist e. f. g. woll wissennt, wem  
5 eur. f. g. solchs verschafft, will ich das geltt erlegenn. Allain beger ich, das mir meine  
obligattionn und quitung, die ich e. f. g. gebenn hab, auch die ich dem Alexannder  
geben hab, widerumb werden gegen uberantwortung des gelttes herausgegeben. Der  
anndern sahen halb schreib ich e. f. g. <...>ier, wie e. f. g. wol verstett, was ich maine.  
Thwe mich e. f. gnaden dinstlich bevelhen, die gnad Gotts mit unns allen.

716,20 nunc] *O add.*

716<sup>5</sup> We do not know him more closely. 716<sup>6</sup> István Majláth. 717<sup>1</sup> Sándor Rokawy. 717<sup>2</sup> I.e. eure  
fürstliche Gnade. 717<sup>3</sup> I.e. Florin.

376



Dattum Wienn 10. Maii anno 49<sup>ten</sup>.  
E. f. g. williger

10

Cristoff Linckh

[On the outer side:] Dem hochwirdigenn herrnn und fursten, herrnn Niclasen Ollahus, bischoven zw Erlach, cannzler der cronng Hungern etc., meinem g. furssten und herrn zu handen.

15

718

Miklós Oláh to Bardejov Town Council  
Prague, 6 June 1549

*Manuscript used:* Manuscript has been lost.

*Published:* ZSINKA 1927, 22–23.

*He has learned that there is a subdeacon among them who is abusing this title and is secretly ordaining priests. Since this is both against the King's wishes and constitutes an impairment of his right, he orders the citizens of the town to remove the fake subdeacon from among themselves; he should stop ordaining priests, to which he has no lawful right.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini ac Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Scitis, quo favore et patrocinio erga Dominationes Vestras fuerimus semper, eodem ne quidem posthac esse desinemus. Faciatis modo id, quod facere decet. Intellegimus, et ab his, qui istinc huc veniunt, uno ore praedicatur, esse inter eosdem vicearchidiaconum quendam, qui sibi eo nomine et titulo usurpato, clam sacerdotes 5 ordinaret. Quod non potest contra regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum, et nostrae iurisdictionis auctoritatem non esse. Itaque hortamur vos et rogamus, quo praedictum vicearchidiaconum, qui sibi vel illud nomen falso vendicavit, a vobis dimittatis, ne amplius ordinet. Non enim auctoritatem ordinandi legitimam, aut vocationem habet. Alioqui persuasum habeatis, neque regiam maiestatem, neque nos 10 post suam maiestatem istud vobis perferre, de quo ad haec nostra scripta relationem a Dominationibus Vestris expectamus, quas in reliquo optamus valere feliciter.

Datum Pragae 6. Iunii 1549.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria 15

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspectis dominis, iudici et iuratis civibus civitatis Bartffensis, amicis nobis honorandis.

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718,4 ore] *corr. ex oro*

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 16 July 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 12.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Nádasdy should forgive Oláh for having taken a long time to answer, but his kidney problem and his bureaucratic affairs have hindered him. He only talked to the King about redeeming the Sopron tithe after Nádasdy had written to him. Since there is no decision yet in the case of Pál Bakics and Ferenc Révay, and the King wants them both to be happy with the decision, Oláh will only do anything afterwards, so that it is favourable for Nádasdy. 2. István Majláth has written to him that he is looking forward to the French intervention very much, but the King has repeated again that he has not yet received an answer from the imperial legate who is active among the French, and that he should talk to Wandar, the French secretary, which he has done. Wandar could not talk to the King due to some febrile illness, and then he went hunting, but he will return around the 20<sup>th</sup> of this month. They will talk to him, and he will write the response.

Salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

[1.] Ignoscat Dominatio Vestra Magnifica, quod tardius scribam, quam fortasse vellet. Mala valetudo ex renibus mea et occupationes etiam molestae me tardio-  
5 scribendo et fecerunt et faciunt. De redemptione decimarum Soproniensium, de qua  
Dominatio Vestra Magnifica nuper ad me scripserat,<sup>1</sup> mox fui locutus maiestati regiae.  
Quia tamen negotium Bakyth<sup>2</sup> et Reway<sup>3</sup> nondum est conclusum,<sup>4</sup> immo illud rursus  
sua maiestas Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae et domino locumtenenti<sup>5</sup> tractandum  
10 commisit, non visum fuit suae maiestati in hoc aliter decernere, quam prius decre-  
verat, ante quam finem videret tractatum; cuperet enim utrumque praedictorum  
bonorum virorum eo esse contentum, quod conveniens et aequum esset. Ego sive  
nunc, sive postea faciam, quicquid in commodum Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae  
fore putavero.

[2.] Dominus et frater noster Maylath<sup>6</sup> dedit ad me nuper litteras suas,<sup>7</sup> ex quibus  
15 postquam intellexi eum sollicitè exspectare intercessionem Galli,<sup>8</sup> maiestatem regiam,  
dominum nostrum clementissimum sum in negotio ipsius allocutus, respondit iterum,  
sicut prius, se nondum habere responsum ab oratore caesaris apud Gallum agente,  
dixit tamen, quod cum Wandar A.<sup>9</sup> secretario Gallo hac de re loquerer, quod feci.  
Is tamen, nescio, quo casu correptus febre, tunc, cum maiestas regia ante nonum  
20 diem venatum proficisceretur, non potuit regem alloqui. Ego quoque propter prae-  
missum renum meorum dolorem non fui secutus regem, quamvis hic vocatus. Quare

719,20–21 praemissum ] *corr.* ex praemissam

719<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter, but Oláh mentions it in his previous letter, see Ep. 716. 719<sup>2</sup> Péter Bakics. 719<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Révay. 719<sup>4</sup> They fought about the possession of Holič castle. They publicly insulted each other at the diet in 1546, see PAULINYI 1934, 216–217, and 212. Note 34. 719<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Révay. 719<sup>6</sup> István Majláth. 719<sup>7</sup> We do not know this letter. 719<sup>8</sup> King Francis I. 719<sup>9</sup> The French secretary of Emperor Charles V. We do not know him more closely.

cum primum maiestas sua revertetur, quod ad diem 20. huius futurum esse credo, et apud maiestatem regiam et apud Vonder A. secretarium sollicitato negotium, et quicquid responsi habuero, faciam Dominationem Vestram Magnificam certiozem. Quam unacum domina mea observandissima, domina coniuge sua carissima felicem 25 valere opto, quibus servitia mea unice commendo.

Ex Praga 16. Iulii anno 1549.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras iudici curiae regiae maiestatis ac supremo regni Hungariae 30 capitaneo etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

Ad manus proprias Posonii vel in Sarwar. Cito, cito, cito, cito.

720

Miklós Oláh to Bernát Sárkány, Gábor Rajki, Antal Sárkány, István Gosztonyi, Péter Ivánczy, Farkas Ivánczy, Lénárd Gosztonyi, and other friends  
Prague, 27 July 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – Sárkány Bernát – No. 1.

*Notes:* Original letter.

*He has intervened with the King in their interest and arranged for the ispáns to be sent there by Saint Michael's day. He is surprised that the investigation has been dragged out this long because the King sent the commissioners there a long time ago, and they should have finished already.*

Egregii Domini, Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Ea, quae Dominationes Vestrae nobis scribunt, intelleximus. Nos pro negotio earundem apud regiam maiestatem satis superque laboravimus et perficiemus, ut ad festum sancti Michaelis archangeli<sup>1</sup> proxime venturum commissarii illuc mittantur ad determinandum Dominationum Vestrarum omne negotium. Quod autem revisio 5 illius hactenus dilata sit, miramur, nam commissarii maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi quia antea istuc iussi erant, potuissent Dominationum Vestrarum negotia finire. Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere optamus.

Ex Praga 27. Iulii anno Domini 1549.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis 10  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis manu propria

[On the outer side:] Egregiis dominis Bernardo Sarkan, Gabrieli Rayky, Anthonio Sarkan, Stephano Gostony, Petro Iwanchy, Wolffgango Iwanchy et Leonardo Gostony et amicis nobis honorandis.

719,26 unice ] *O add.* 719,30 iudici] *corr.* ex iudi

720<sup>1</sup> 29 September.

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Prague, 26 August 1549

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6340.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*They will understand from the King's letter what injustices and abuse Sándor Rokawy's wife has suffered from a Bratislava barber, and what King Ferdinand I is planning to do in the matter. He is asking them to do everything for Rokawy so that he can return to Eger and that Rokawy and his family are left alone by this Bratislava barber.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostram commendationem!

Ex litteris regiae maiestatis ad vos datis intelligetis, quibus iniuriis et contumeliis et verberibus uxor egregii Alexandri Rakowy,<sup>1</sup> aulici regiae maiestatis a quodam  
5 barbitonsore concive vestro Urbano Regio<sup>2</sup> vocato sit affecta, et quid sua maietas a  
Dominationibus Vestris propter tale facinus fieri velit. Quare et nos easdem rogamus,  
diligenter velint suadente communi iustitia ipsi Alexandro Rakowy de praefato  
barbitonsore citra dilationem iustitiam et debitam executionem facere, ut ipse Ra-  
kowy, ex quo aulicus et contrascriba regiae maiestatis est,<sup>3</sup> Agriam ad servitia regiae  
10 maiestatis primo quoque tempore redire possit. Deinde Dominationes Vestrae curent  
committere, ut ipse Alexander Rakowy cum uxore et liberis suis in hospitio suo ab  
ipso barbitonsore et aliis quietus permanere possit. Nam si deinceps quoque talibus  
iniuriis a quopiam afficietur, regia maiestas non aequo animo feret, quandoquidem  
ipse est aulicus suae maiestatis, credimus autem Dominationes Vestras nostra etiam  
15 maiori amicitia id reponere volumus, easdem valere optamus.

Datum Pragae 26. Augusti 1549.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspectis dominis, iudici ac iuratis civibus  
20 civitatis Posoniensis dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

721,17–18 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.*

721 <sup>1</sup> Sándor Rokawy. 721 <sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 721 <sup>3</sup> He was Counter-signer (*constrascriba*) until 30 August, 1549, see Ep. 675. Cap. 3.

Pál Várday to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 3 September 1549

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL Khuen–Héderváry cs. lt. No. 101.

*ms. II:* EFK Cat. V. Tit. IIg. No. 124.

*Published:* R. KISS 1908, 144–146; KARÁCSONY–KOLLÁNYI–LUKCSICS 1912, 203–205.

*In Hungarian:* R. KISS 1908, 144. [regesta]; KARÁCSONY–KOLLÁNYI–LUKCSICS 1912, 203. [regesta]

*Notes:* Ms. I, the original collection of letters has been lost. Ms. II is a copy.

1. He asks Oláh to leave the smaller Eger provostry to Marcantonio Bentivoglio, as he already gave it to him a year ago by royal command. He has also heard that István Dobó has occupied the provostry, which has hurt his feelings. 2. He should likewise not object to his donating the Turóc provostry to his cousin because he redeemed it from Révay partly with his own money, and the reconstruction of the church cost him a lot, too. He can also imagine how much it costs him to pay for his nephew's studies. Anyway, he promises that he is ready to give him and his relatives lucrative ecclesiastic positions in his church, according to his wishes.

Ad dominum cancellarium.<sup>1</sup>

Reverendissime Domine etc.!

[1.] Inter cetera negotia, de quibus nuper per egregium Ioannem Feyerthoy<sup>2</sup> Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae nuntiaveramus, illud fuerat non postremum, quo minorem praeposituram Agriensem petebamus apud Marcum Anthonium Bentivolum<sup>3</sup> relinqui, cui a nobis regia autoritate annum ferme iam fuit collata, cum sane nondum episcopatus Agriensis palam esset in potestate et sub nomine Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis. Verum cum de reliquis negotiis idem Feyerthoy ad nos proxime rescriberet, hac de re nec quidem verbum fecit; interim autem allatum ad nos est Stephanum Dobo<sup>4</sup> praeposituram ipsam et eius bona ac proventus occupasse. 10 Quae res incredibilem nobis molestiam attulit. Nam cum superiori anno coram hac re praepositura simul et altera praepositura, quae prius erat Marcantonii, sed per translationem illius ad hanc praeposituram minorem<sup>5</sup> eodem tempore eademque regia autoritate, qua absente maiestate sua fungimur, Petro Paulino<sup>6</sup> fuerat a nobis collata, cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra transegerimus, neque quicquam amplius 15 hoc nomine curae accessurum persuasum haberemus, praesertim, quod eam nostram in se voluntatem, eam plane observantiam Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra multis argumentis quotidie perspiceret, ut longe maiora ab ea officia iure optimo expectari posse videremur, quam ut legitimae collationi nostrae, nobis id obnixae petentibus, locum esse sineret in ecclesia sua. Frustratos nos ista esse spe nostra non potest 20 non esse molestissimum. Ac tametsi proxime per Iohannem litteratum<sup>7</sup> eadem de re

722<sup>1</sup> On this letter, see LACZLAVIK 2012, 192–193; and LACZLAVIK 2013b, 25. 722<sup>2</sup> János Fejérthóy.

722<sup>3</sup> Marcantonio Bentivoglio. 722<sup>4</sup> István Dobó. 722<sup>5</sup> Here is going to the St. Peter provostry in Eger.

722<sup>6</sup> Petrus Paulinus (†1561) was the Révay boys' tutor in Padua between 1546 and 1551, when he was already Prebend of Esztergom. Then he was Oláh's Secretary from 1551, Provost of Bratislava from 1555, and finally Bishop of Csanád (1559–1561) and Provost of Spiš (1560–1561), see FRANKL 1873, 30; PIRHALLA 1899, 248–252; JUHÁSZ 1935, 55–63. 722<sup>7</sup> Probably János Fejérthóy.

copiose satis Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae nuntiaverimus, neque in animum nostrum possumus inducere, usque adeo parum illi acceptam esse singularem nostram voluntatem, ut omnino palamque sese nostrae velit auctoritati opponere. Petimus  
25 tamen ob eadem rursus vehementer, ut praeposituram hanc minorem Marci Anthonii esse sinat, cui a nobis legitime collata est, quique et sacerdos et ea doctrina, eis moribus est praeditus, ut facile in consortium coetumque aliorum in ecclesia Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae ibidem, et ubicumque necessitas postularit, non minus, quam alter quisquam potest invenire.

30 [2.] Neque vero est, quod Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra impetratam nobis, vel nepoti nostro<sup>8</sup> praeposituram de Thurocz obiiciat, quamvis enim officium illud Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae in nos collatum nobis gratum fuit, uti omnia esse solent, quae in nos ab ea proficiscuntur, recordari tamen eadem potest, praeposituram illam a domino Reway<sup>9</sup> 4 millibus Florenorum fuisse redemptam, ex quibus quingen-  
35 tos tantummodo maiestas regia contribuit, reliquos nos partim iam solvimus, partim solvendos promisimus provisorio nostro, qui interim, dum suam pecuniam recipiat, quam numeravit, quo millia videlicet et quingentos Florenos, praeposituram ipsam cum pertinentiis possidet, neque nos aliud quicquam habemus ex ea, quam quod ad cultum divinum in ecclesia simul et templum claustrumque instaurandum non  
40 mediocres hactenus sumptus fecimus facimusque quotidie, uti antea Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra potuit intelligere. Alendo autem nepoti nostro in gymnasio quantas impensas faciamus triennium iam, Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra id quoque potest facile existimare. Ac proinde velit eadem omnibus his de causis id, quod superiori anno nobis obtulerat, collationi nostrae praedictae consentire pro certoque habere,  
45 si Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra vel sibi, vel alicui ex suis in ecclesia nostra pingue aliquod et magnorum reddituum sacerdotium cuperet, libenter collaturos fore et absentem tolleraturos, quando omni genere officii probare illi nostram voluntatem nobiscum iam pridem constituimus. Vicissimi ut ipsa benivole et fraterne omnibus in rebus aget nobiscum, ab eadem etiam atque etiam petimus vehementer. Valere etc.

50 Posenii die 3. Septembris 1549.

Strigoniensis etc.

723

Hungarian Chamber to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 3 September 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1549, fol. 79r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*The King has to negotiate with the Dóczy–Lipsey family. They say they still have the letter in which Queen Beatrix transferred the castles of Slovenská Lupča and Šášov to Orbán Dóczy for 8,000 florins. According to*

722,24 opponere.] *aut del. ex* opponere ut praeposituram hanc minorem Marci Anthonii

722<sup>8</sup> Tamás Várday. 722<sup>9</sup> Ferenc Révay.

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the János Zomor, it is not a big problem to recover the Šášov castle for the royal treasury. They thought that Christoph Konritz, the prefect of the Banská Bystrica copper mines, knew the case well, and when they wrote to him, Konritz answered that indeed that letter is in Oláh's hands, and he last saw it a year ago. So they ask him to send the original letter to the Chamber so they can start the administration.

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime Domine, nobis Observandissime, servitorum nostrorum commendationem!

Cogitur maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus quotannis numerare dominis nobilibus Doczy et Lyppchey iuxta factam cum eis transactionem certam summam pecuniae. Et non obscure dicitur exstare adhuc litteras quondam Beatricis reginae, quibus inscripsisset tam arcem Lypche,<sup>1</sup> quam Saskew<sup>2</sup> quondam reverendissimo domino Urbano episcopo thesaurario<sup>3</sup> pro octo millibus Florenorum.<sup>4</sup> Contulimus de his cum domino direttore causarum regiarum,<sup>5</sup> qui asserit posse non magno negotio recuperari arcem Saskew pro fisco regio, liberarique maiestas regia ab praedicta pensione et obligatione. Existimabamus autem domino Christofero Kewrish<sup>6</sup> praefecto fodinarum cupri Novosoliensis rem exactus constare, ad quem cum scripsissemus, respondit haberi eas ipsas litteras apud manus Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quas scribit se anno proxime praeterito vidisse immo et processum, quem pro recuperatione castrorum illorum instituisset felicitis memoriae quondam dominus Ludovicus rex.<sup>7</sup> Quare Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima de voluntate sacrae regiae maiestatis (ad quam etiam per annexas scripsimus) velit praedictas litteras originales in specie ad hanc regiam cameram dirigere, ut communicatore, direttore et aliis fidelibus servitoribus suae maiestatis consilio incipiamus rem aggredi, in commodum et voluntatem domini nostri clementissimi. Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram Deus servet feliciter.

Posonii die 3. Septembris anno 1549.

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae deditissimi servitores

723,2 nostrorum] *corr. ex nostrae* 723,5 transactionem] *auth del. ex transactionem numerare* 723,7 tam] *auth del. ex tam eam* 723,10 negotio] *auth del. ex negotio tibi* 723,10 maiestas] *corr. ex maiestate* 723,14 quas] *auth del. ex quas ut*

723<sup>1</sup> Castle of Zólyomlpcse, Lupčiansky hrad today. 723<sup>2</sup> Castle of Saskő, Šášovský hrad today. 723<sup>3</sup> Orbán Dóczy of Nagylucse (†1491) was Bishop of Eger. 723<sup>4</sup> Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Hungary gave these two castles to the Dóczy family via *inscriptio*, which was why the family was in constant litigation regarding these possessions, see WENZEL 1876, 19–20. 723<sup>5</sup> János Zomor. 723<sup>6</sup> Christoph Konritz. On the contract regarding the handover of the two castles in return for an annual amount of 600 florins, see ÖStA FHK A HFU RN 2. Konv. 1549 fol. 147–150. 723<sup>7</sup> King Louis II. In fact, King Wladislaus II confirmed Beatrice of Aragon's donation, see ORTVAY 1894, 65.

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Révay  
Prague, 1 October 1549

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SAR Korešpond. č. 72, fol. 42–43.

*Published:* FRANKL 1873, 33. [excerpt]

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Révay should forgive him for not having answered him for a long time, he now responds to several of his letters at the same time. He thanks him for his help in recovering the castle of Szarvaskő. He has also written a letter of thanks to Magdolna Székely, but she has not responded yet. 2. As for Holič, Révay should believe him that Oláh would also be happiest if this matter was concluded already, and if Révay was satisfied. Now that he has received Révay's letter about Holič, and Péter Bakics happens to be here to see the King about his affairs, Oláh will try to represent Révay's interests, then he will write to him what the King has decided. Both Oláh and the King want to unload this burden already. 3. He has already reported about the matters of the Saint Peter provostry through Tamás Tapolcsányi. If anyone, he is fond of learned people, and he has already helped many people, so he wants to see the man Révay has recommended to him; if he works out, Oláh will support him. Oláh has instructed István Dobó and the Chapter of Eger to give all the confiscated incomes to the one who had collected them before. The church service cannot stop, they should continue it. He also wrote to Várday the other day, Révay must surely know about it already. He is happy to support the education of Révay's sons, and it would be good if at least one of them returned home to familiarize himself with the Hungarian procedures as well.

Salutem plurimam et obsequiorum meorum commendationem, Magnifice Domine et uti Frater Observandissime!

[1.] Ignoscat mihi Dominatio Vestra, quod tam tarde respondeam ad postremas eius litteras, quas diverso tempore ad me dedit plurimas. Ad quas inter multas meas  
5 occupationes, quae etiam antea tardio rem me fecerunt, cogor summarie respondere. Gratias maximas habeo Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae, quod iustitiae primum, deinde meae amicitiae ac fraternitatis rationem habuerit, mihi que immo ecclesiae Dei et meae favore suo subvenerit in obtentione arcis Zarwaskw.<sup>1</sup> Non praetermittat etiam deinceps Dominatio Vestra ecclesiae imprimis, postea mei rationem in rebus  
10 iustis habere et curare cum reverendissimo domino Strigoniensi, ut ipsa arx, quae satis destructa et in se et in bonis suis esse dicitur, quamprimum ad manus meas reddatur. Quod Dominationi Vestrae omni obsequio et officio fraterno rependere curabo. Domina vidua a Pernsthan,<sup>2</sup> ad quam nuper scripseram litteras gratiae, ad eam per me missas remitteret, nondum quicquam respondit. Si rursus ad me, immo  
15 ad maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum miserit, opera illi mea pro posse meo non deerit.

[2.] Quod ad Holycz pertinet,<sup>3</sup> de quo Dominatio Vestra ad me pluribus scripsit, profecto nihil mihi fuisset iam a longo tempore et nunc quoque esset gratius et

724,13 scripseram ] *O del. ex scripseram ut*

724<sup>1</sup> Szarvaskő belonged to the Bishopric of Eger. 724<sup>2</sup> Magdolna Székely, see Ep. 672. Cap. 1. Johann von Pernstein died in 1548. 724<sup>3</sup> On the debate regarding the possession of Holič castle, see Ep. 719. Cap. 1.



optabilius, quam Dominationem Vestram Magnificam finem sibi commodum in rebus  
suis habere. Et ille quoque amicus noster, cui maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum 20  
clementissimum ob eius servitia necessario tempore exhibita, virque, ut Dominationi  
Vestrae clementem esse principem ac dominum esse video et comperio, contentaretur,  
ac utraeque Dominationi Vestrae imposterum bene essent contentae res, nec nuper  
moverat, quod per communem nostrum amicum, Thapolchany<sup>4</sup> aliqua verba pauca  
nuntiarem. Illa, quae ego in comitiis praeteritis Pisoniensibus de iure regio impetrato, 25  
de quo nunc satis abunde scribit, Dominationi Vestrae dixeram, non terrendi, ut  
scribit nunc, gratia, sed animo benevolo dixeram. Audiverim ab aliis talia dici, quae  
tunc volui Dominationi Vestrae referre etiam domino Strigoniensi non fucatis, sed  
benevolis et sinceris verbis, quorum semper fui, si Dominatio Vestra me bene novit,  
amantissimus. Blandiri enim neque domino meo, nec amicis volo, sed qua via incepti a 30  
pueritia, sincera et aperta, eam progredior et tero. Nunc, cum acceperim Dominationis  
Vestrae super ipso castro Holycz articulos huc missos et forte fortuna etiam Bakyth<sup>5</sup>  
huc miserit ad maiestatem regiam, dominum ipsum nostrum clementissimum non  
tantum pro Holycz, quantum pro suis aliis negotiis, apud suam maiestatem proponam  
desiderium Dominationis Vestrae et curabo, si voluntas suae maiestatis regiae erit, 35  
etiam illum admonere. Et quicquid suae maiestati visum fuerit, Dominationi Vestrae  
significabo simulque perscribam, quid sua maiestas concluderit. Quare ut ad id rever-  
tar, unde digressus eram, nihil mihi cupidius esset, quam ut Dominationes Vestrae  
concordarent, ut et maiestas regia et post suam maiestatem ego quoque a molestiis 40  
rerum Holicensium et tot sollicitationibus liberarer. Non dubito autem id propediem  
futurum, si Dominationes Vestrae ambae ad aequas tollerabilesque conditiones, quas  
maiestas quoque sua pati posset, condescendent. Quod ut faciant et temporis rationem  
habeant, ambas rogo non modo pro scriptis, sed pro me quoque ut liberer ab hac  
malestia et maiestas regia ab utraque parte habeat quietem.

[3.] De praepositura Sancti Petri<sup>6</sup> in ecclesia mea existenti nuntiaveram per Tha- 45  
poczanii, nunc quoque dicere aliud, quam prius nuntiavi, non possum. Si unus qui-  
spiam est, ego certe amatissimus sum virorum doctorum et eruditorum, cuius rei  
testimonio sunt hi, quos hactenus omni diligentia et curavi promovendos et solus  
promovi. Utinam et mei antecessores eius fuissent, cuius ego amici. Non tam orba  
esset respublica nostra bonis eruditisque viris. Cupio igitur illum, de quo Dominatio 50  
Vestra nuntiarat, videre, et si merebitur eiusque doctrinam cognoscam, non modo  
beneficio suo, si quod habet, privari non patiar, sed etiam ad maiora promovebo.  
Interim commisi Stephano Dobo, et capitulo meo Agriensi, ut proventus arestatos  
homini illi, qui Agriae eos percepit antea, integre reddant. Hoc tamen volo et cupio,  
ut onera beneficii et ministeria divina non negligantur, sed peragantur. Litteras ipsas 55  
miseram superioribus diebus ad reverendissimum dominum Strigoniensem, de quibus

724,53 Dobo ] *O del. ex Dobo ut pro* 724,55 ipsas ] *O add.*

724<sup>4</sup> Tamás Tapolcsányi was *ispán* of Bars county, as well as Royal Councilor (1553) and Councilor of the Hungarian Chamber (1553–1556), see SZABÓ-TURÁKNÉ PÓKA 2021, 262. 724<sup>5</sup> Péter Bakics. 724<sup>6</sup> On the provosty of Saint Peter in Eger, see NAGY 2000.

arbitror dominationem suam in hunc diem certiozem Dominationem Vestram fecisse. Ego non modo in his praemissis, sed in aliis longe maioribus Dominationis Vestrae filiorumque suorum negotiis ex animo certe cupio gratificari et inservire, quorum  
60 unum atque alterum tempus esset domum revocare, ut et Hungaricas practicas disce-  
rent, quibus si regnum manebit nostrum, ut spero mansurum, plus proficerent, quam  
urbanis.<sup>7</sup> Quas fundamento iam ibi iacto domi quoque inter Hungaricas practicas non  
intermittere poterunt. Si Dominatio Vestra neglectis rebus Hungaricis in aliis regnis  
egisset, non eum, quem habet, consecuta fuisset locum et bona. Haec Dominationi  
65 Vestrae volui ad plurasque litteras ipsius breviter rescribere, quam ad vota feliciter  
valere vivereque cupio, cui me commendo. Quas fundamento iam ibi iacto domi  
quoque inter Hungaricas practicas non intermittere poterunt. Si Dominatio Vestra  
neglectis rebus Hungaricis in aliis regnis egisset, non eum, quem habet, consecuta  
fuisset locum et bona. Haec Dominationi Vestrae volui ad plurasque litteras ipsius  
70 breviter rescribere, quam ad vota feliciter valere vivereque cupio, cui me commendo.  
Ex Praga prima Octobris anno 1549.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. cita manu

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Miklós Oláh to Sebestyén Szerémi  
Prague, 25 October 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 554 – No. 83., fol. 1r-2v.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations and signature. Seal has broken off.

*Oláh received two of Sebestyén Szerémi's letters at the same time: in one he asks the King for the inheritance of the late György Thurzó, in the other for the inheritance of the late György Horváth. In light of their long friendship, Oláh tried to represent Szerémi's interests; the King first wants to understand who is due what, he will decide after that. 2. While Oláh was working on this, the noblemen unexpectedly presented themselves to the King, waving around the title deeds and a letter of accreditation from Ferenc Thurzó, according to which the late Horváth's benefices should go to their wives – and the King did not want to deprive them of it. This is what he wanted to let him know, and as soon as the King sees more clearly in connection with the Thurzó estates, Oláh will try to represent Szerémi's interests.*

Egrege Domine<sup>1</sup> et Amice nobis Honorande, salutem et nostri commendationem!

[1.] Binas litteras Dominationis Vestrae Egregiae eodem tempore recepimus, in quarum alteris bona quondam Georgii Thwrzonis,<sup>2</sup> alteris bona olim Georgii Horwath,<sup>3</sup> omnino in comitatum Trinciniensium existentia eadem a regia maiestate,

724,57 Dominationem Vestram ] *O add.* 724,58 praemissis ] *O add.*

724<sup>7</sup> On the patronage of the Révay boys, see FRANKL 1873. 725<sup>1</sup> Sebestyén Szerémi began his career as the Secretary of Ambrus Sárkány of Ákosháza, then he became the Secretary of Elek Thurzó. He became Secretary of the Hungarian Chamber in 1547. Between 1547 and 1554, he was a Councilor of the Hungarian Chamber, see GECSÉNYI 2008a, 480–481. 725<sup>2</sup> György Thurzó. 725<sup>3</sup> György Horváth.

domino nostro clementissimo sibi impetrare petit. Sane pro veteri nostra neces- 5  
situdine, quantum potuimus, sedulo utraque bona Dominationis Vestrae Egregiae  
ordinari studuimus, in eoque diligentes fuimus, nec ullis nostris laboribus pepercimus,  
verum sicut eadem quoque in suis litteris ominabatur ac sibi timeri significavit,  
quominus voticomptes esse potuimus, illud restitit, quod regia maiestas responderit  
se intellegere velle, quae et quanta, cuiusque emolumenti ipsa bona Thwrzonis sint. 10  
Illis cognitis id postea facturam, quod faciendum videbitur.

[2.] In aliis bonis impedire ista. Nam forte eodem tempore, cum apud regiam  
maiestatem pro illis laboravimus, praeter opinionem adfuere nobiles cum litteris  
acquisitionis seu originalibus ipsorum bonorum, ad quorum uxores iure illarum lit-  
terarum attinere cernebantur, qui litteras quoque domini Nitriensis<sup>4</sup> credentiales 15  
habebant, quibus perlectis cognovit regia maiestas ipsa bona Georgii Horwat ad  
uxores illorum spectare ex eo, quod istarum dominarum maiores praedicta bona  
utriusque sexui acquisivissent, et hanc ob causam maiestas regia noluit illas his bonis  
ex misericordia quadam sua privare. Haec sunt, quae Dominationi Vestrae significare  
voluimus. Nostra opera et diligentia in promotionem rebus Dominationis Vestrae 20  
certe non defuit, sed praemissae causae obtinere, quin voticomptes vel in una, vel  
in altera re esse potuimus. Ubi de bonis olim Thwrzonis sua maiestas edocta fuerit,  
commoditate rei admittere iterum in illis impetrandis ea, qua poterimus, diligentia  
laborabimus, ac si quid aliud quoque erit, in quo res Dominationis Vestrae promovenda  
erunt, quicquid eidem nostra diligentia praestare poterit, habebit eam, praesto. 25  
Eandem in reliquo optamus valere feliciter.

Pragae 25. Octobris 1549.

Vester Nicolaus Olahus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Egregio domino Sebastiano Syrmiensi, consiliario Camerae Hun- 30  
garicae regiae maiestatis ac domino et amico nobis honorando.

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Royal Lieutenancy Council in Bratislava to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 14 November 1549

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL Khuen-Héderváry cs. lt. No. 101.

*ms. II:* EFK Cat. V. Tit. IIg. No. 150.

*Published:* R. Kiss 1908, 177.

*In Hungarian:* R. Kiss 1908, 177. [regesta]

*Notes:* Ms. I, the original collection of letters has been lost. Ms. II is a copy.

725,8 ominabatur ] *O corr. ex ominatur* 725,24 si ] *corr. ex se* 725,28–29 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

725<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Thurzó.

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They want to avoid the mess that happened during the assigning of accommodation last year. Having learnt from the experiences of the last few years, that the German person assigning the accommodation abused his position and his master's name when he assigned the different places, they now ask Oláh to intervene and make sure that to stop the abuse, Ferenc Nyári is the one to assign the accommodations.

Ad cancellarium dominum.  
Reverendissime Domine etc.!

Cognoscet Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra tum ex litteris nostris, quas ad regiam maiestatem scribimus, tum vero ex hoc egregio Paulo Mwchay,<sup>1</sup> quid nobis  
5 faciundum esse videatur pro evitando superioris anni tumultu, qui tempore conventus acciderat propter male distributa hospitia. Cum igitur Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ea de re optime etiam tacentibus nobis instructa sit satisque meminerit inter cetera illud quoque superiori anno deprehensum esse, quod Germanus distributor commodiora quaeque et ampliora hospitia occupasset sub eorum dominorum nomine,  
10 qui partim in arce ipsi deversabantur paucos admodum asseclas, ut dominorum Germanorum mos est, in inferioribus illis hospitiiis habentes, partim etiam omnino absentes erant ex huiusmodique hospitiiis pleraque per idiotas et mechanicos, qui aulam sequuntur, pretio redimi solere ab eodem distributore, dominis interim Hungaris compluribus et aliis nobiles vel incommode vel plane nusquam diversantibus.  
15 Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima velit omnibus de causis eniti, ut domino Nyary<sup>2</sup> (cuius id in Hungaria interest) haec tota distributio committatur, quippe qui pro sui muneris ratione ut Germanis et Hungaris et Hispanis, qui regiam maiestatem sequi solent, competentia constituet hospitia, ita, ut nemini iustae querelae supersit locus, prout haec omnia latius is Paulus<sup>3</sup> litteratus Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae  
20 coram explicabit, cui fidem adhibere velit. Valere etc.

Posonii die 14. Novembris anno 1549.

Consilarii

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Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Prague, 2 December 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 13.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

*The King will travel to Vienna on the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month. He is sending István Majláth's letter to Nádasdy, and there seems to be hope for his release if the Sultan returns in one piece. The Sultan is rumoured to be suffering from severe dropsy, both of his legs are swollen, similarly to the one-time Archbishop of Esztergom, and the*

726,17 muneris] corr. ex numeris

726 <sup>1</sup> Pál Mucsey (†1557/1558) was Registrar, Sealkeeper, and Royal Notary and Scribe in 1543–1544. He became Provost of Alba Julia in 1551, Canon of Oradea between 1555–1557, and died as Canon of Bratislava, see FAZEKAS 2019, 30; and FAZEKAS 2021, 425. 726 <sup>2</sup> Ferenc Nyári. It was his duty as Royal Master of the Horse. 726 <sup>3</sup> Pál Mucsey.

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*Sultan's army is also rumoured to be being squeezed. If he has anything to discuss with the King, it would be good to do so before the Bratislava trip.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, ac Amice nobis Observandissime, salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Quod Magnificae Dominationi Vestrae scribere possemus, tantundem hoc tempore habemus. Regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus decima huius mensis hinc Viennam versus profectura est. Litteras<sup>1</sup> domini Maylath<sup>2</sup> ex Constantinopoli 5 scriptas mittimus in specie ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam. Quantum res ipsa ostendit, spes est de eius eliberatione, si potissimus Turcarum caesar<sup>3</sup> salvus redire poterit, sed quid de hoc futurum sit, Deus scit. Constans enim ac non vulgaris fama est apud nos, caesarem Thurcarum hydropisi graviter laborare, praeterea simili fere 10 tumore pedum teneri, qui ipsum etiam dominum olim Strigoniensem<sup>4</sup> invaserat, Ruwzthan passam<sup>5</sup> etiam vehementer aegrotare, et ipse exercitus caesaris aliis pressuris cinctus esse dicitur, adeo, ut, quid inde nascatur, in manu solius Dei sit.

Si Magnifica Dominatio Vestra aliquid negotii haberet, cuius causa Viennam ad regiam maiestatem venire deberet, id valde optaremus, ut nimirum cum eadem prius, quam Posonium veniendum esset, de rebus communibus aliisque quibusdam collo- 15 qui et tractare possemus. Si itaque tale quippiam habet, rogamus, ne praetermiserit advenire.

Quod reliquum est, optamus Magnificam Dominationem Vestram valere feliciter.  
Datum Pragae 2. mensis Decembris 1549.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria 20

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, consiliario ac iudici curiae regiae maiestatis nec non supremo regni Hungariae capiteo etc. domino et amico nobis observandissimo.

728

Miklós Oláh to Gábor Majláth  
Prague, 3 December 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 142 Fasc. 38. No. 32.

*Published:* KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI 1909, 391.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

*Oláh is sending Gábor Majláth's father's letter to him (attached); they are hoping that he will be released soon. Gábor Majláth should make sure to immerse himself in science and good manner. This way, when his father returns, he will find an educated young man.*

727,7 caesar ] *O corr. ex exercitus* 727,10–11 Ruwzthan ] *O corr. ex Orozlan* 727,20 Servitor ... propria ] *O add.*

727<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 727<sup>2</sup> István Majláth. 727<sup>3</sup> Suleiman I. 727<sup>4</sup> Probably Pál Várday who died on 12 October, 1549. 727<sup>5</sup> Rüstem Pasha (ca. 1500–1561).

Magnifice tanquam Fili nobis Dilecte, salutem et omnem felicitatem!  
Scripsit ex Constantinopoli ad nos et ad te pater tuus dominus Maylat,<sup>1</sup> cuius  
litteras<sup>2</sup> cum praesentibus ad te mittimus. Ut speramus et res ipsa ostendit, ex Dei  
beneficio genitorem tuum cum tempore eliberari credimus. Tu igitur curabis et ita  
5 litteris incumbe, simulque bonis et piis moribus, ut cum redierit, te et litteris et  
suavissimis moribus probe excultum inveniatur, in teque tamquam tui cupidissimus  
conquiescat. Vale.

Pragae 3. Decembris 1549.<sup>3</sup>

10 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Magnifico Gabrieli Maylat Viennae, litteris dedito etc. tamquam  
filio nobis dilecto.

729

Wolfgang Haller to Miklós Oláh  
Brussels, 3 December 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 21.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Wolfgang Haller already indicated to Oláh in his last letter that Emperor Charles V and Queen Mary have not written to King Ferdinand I in Oláh's case due to different obstacles. But then the Queen finally wrote in her own hand to King Ferdinand I at the request of Haller's and Nogarola's wives, a copy of which he attaches to this letter, along with a translation. He is sorry that the Queen had not done so for a long time, but this is not Haller's fault. God grant that [an answer?] arrives in time, and that it is fruitful. Haller also lets Oláh know that he will either furnish the wallpapers, and the blankets for the donkeys with coats of arms and inscriptions, or he will have to keep delaying them. P.S.: from the copies he can see the Queen's determination; but because they could not persuade Emperor Charles V to write a letter, the Queen and Haller have done what they can.*

Hochwirdiger fürst, gnediger fürst und herr, e. f.<sup>1</sup> gnaden sein mein ganz willig  
dienst jederzeit bevor!

Gnediger herr, ich hab e. f. gnaden mit jungster post anzaigt, was die verhinderung  
bracht hat, das von ro. kay. mt.<sup>2</sup> unnd der künigin an die ro. ku. mt.<sup>3</sup> e. f. gnaden  
5 halben nit geschriben wer worden. Also seidt hat ir mt.<sup>4</sup> auf mein und der gräffin  
von Nogeroll<sup>5</sup> anhalten ain schreiben von ir mt. aigen handt an sein mt. in fast gutter  
form geschriben, wie e. f. gnaden in der copey, so ich hieneben neben ir mt. brief e. f.  
gnaden sambt ainer translatierten copey zuschickh. Ist unns wol laid, das ir mt. es nit  
lengst gefertigt hat, unnd genzlich ist unserer sollicitierung schuld nit. Got der herr

728,1 tanquam] *O add.* 728,5 et] *O add.* 728,9–10 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.* 729,4 von] *auth add.*

728 <sup>1</sup> István Majláth. 728 <sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 728 <sup>3</sup> In the earlier edition, the letter is dated 1544.  
729 <sup>1</sup> I.e. eure fürstliche. 729 <sup>2</sup> I.e. römische kaiserliche Majestät. 729 <sup>3</sup> I.e. römische königliche Majestät.  
729 <sup>4</sup> I.e. Majestät. 729 <sup>5</sup> Lucretia Caballis (vom Ross), see Ep. 610.

geb, es zeitlich genug kom und e. f. gnaden wol erschieslich sey. E. f. gnaden wirt mich 10  
auch wissen lassen, ob ich die tappissereyen unnd eseldecken mit den wappen und  
dem titl also fertigen oder noch verziehen soll. Pit, e. f. gnaden in mein aigen sachen  
auch underthenigist bevolchen lassen sein. Damit bevelich ich mich e. f. g. meinem  
gnedigen fürsten und herren gantz underthaniglich.

Datum Brüsl den III<sup>ten</sup> Decembris anno etc. im XLIX<sup>ten</sup>. 15

Ir mt. hat das dattum hintter sich umbe pesten willen gesizt, wie e. f. g. sehen in  
den copeyen mag. Weil die schreiben von kay. mt., wie ich geschriben hab, nit der  
massen haben erlangt kunden werden, hat ir mt. und mich fur im angesehen, es nit  
zu legen weitter furwaer. Es hat an mein anhalten nit gemangelt, und mer laidt genug  
wissen ich nichtz ausrichten k. hab kunden. 20

Ewr furstlichen gnaden untterdeniger dienner

Wolff Haller

[On the outer side:] Dem hochwirdigen fürsten und herren Herren Nicolaus Olahus,  
bischoven zu Erla, ro. ku. mt. rath unnd canzler in Hungern etc., meinem gnedigisten  
fürsten und herren. 25

730

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Prague, 3 December 1549

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6350.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He sends word to them about quite a few things through Pál Mucsey, who is handing this letter over. He asks  
them not to doubt what he will present on Oláh's behalf.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi!

Nuntiavimus vobis nonnulla negotia per hunc egregium Paulum litteratum de  
Mwche,<sup>1</sup> qui has nostras vobis reddet litteras. Quare rogamus vos, velitis eius verbis  
nostro nomine fidem indubiam praestare. Valet.

Datum Pragae tertia mensis Decembris 1549. 5

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis magistro civium ac iudici  
et iuratis civibus civitatis Poseniensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

729,16–20 Ir ... kunden ] *auth add.* 729,21 Ewr ... dienner ] *auth add.* 729,22 Wolff Haller ] *auth add.*  
730,6–7 Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

730 <sup>1</sup> Pál Mucsey.

731

Royal Lieutenancy Council in Bratislava to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 16 December 1549

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* MNL OL Khuen–Héderváry cs. lt. No. 101.

*ms. II:* EFK Cat. V. Tit. IIg. No. 180.

*Published:* I: R. Kiss 1908, 209–210.

*In Hungarian:* I: R. Kiss 1908, 209. [regesta]

*Notes:* Ms. I, the original collection of letters has been lost. Ms. II is a copy.

*Oláh should know that they are writing to the King on behalf of the sons of the late Mihály I Büdy. They are sending the supplicatio written on the orphans' behalf so that he understands what they are asking from the King. They think the matter is worth supporting and ask Oláh to make sure that what they are asking for and their recommendation is taken into sufficient account.*

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime etc.!

Scribimus ad regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum in commendationem filiorum quondam egregii Michaelis Bydy,<sup>1</sup> praefecti arcis Munkach,  
5 Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra cognoscat. Mittimus etiam ad suam maiestatem  
supplicem libellum nobis eorundem orphanorum nomine<sup>2</sup> porrectum, ex quo pariter  
intelliget Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, quid illi petant a sua maiestate. Nobis  
causa ipsa multis rationibus favore visa est bene digna ac proinde Reverendissima  
10 Dominatio Vestra, ut solet, favere ipsis supplicantibus velit, ut impetrent, quod pe-  
tunt et nostra commendatio pondus habuisse videatur. Optamus Reverendissimam  
Dominationem Vestram feliciter valere etc.

Posonii die 16. Decembris 1549.

732

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Vienna, 21 December 1549

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6357.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

*They have heard that the rumour has started to spread that the King does not want to attend the next parliament session, which has been announced for the day of the Epiphany. This rumour is false, the King will be there, and he has already sent the Hungarian lords ahead. So they should announce the King's return, lest the lords stay away due to the false rumour.*

<sup>1</sup> Mihály I Büdy (†1546) was loyal to Queen Mary and King Ferdinand I, so he became *ispán* of Bereg county in 1545 and Castellan of Mukachevo from 1543. <sup>2</sup> Mihály I Büdy's orphans were Mihály II, Klára, and Farkas. In 1547, Mihály II became *ispán* of Bereg county. He later married Oláh's niece, Anna Oláh. See NAGY 1858, 280–281.



Prudentes ac Circumspecti Domini, Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et felicitatem!

Intelligimus istic eum rumore divulgatum esse, quod nolet regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus ad dietam ad festum Epiphaniarum Domini<sup>1</sup> proxime affuturum indictam eo descendere. A quocumque hic rumor prodiit, falsus est, nam quemadmodum sua maiestas constituit, omnino ad idem festum Epiphaniarum istuc ventura est, praemissuraque est dominos Hungaros, quos hic secum habet statim. Publicent igitur Dominationes Vestrae suae maiestatis reditum et praedicent omnibus, ne praedicto falso rumore domini regnicolae terreantur, aut a profectione ad eandem dietam alienentur. Eisdem in reliquo optamus valere feliciter. 10

Viennae 21a die Decembris 1549.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspectis dominis iudici ac magistro civium civitatis Poseniensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis. 15

733

Christoph Linck to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 9 [July?] 1549

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 26.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal. The dating is problematic, but because the outer side says that he received it in Prague, based on Oláh's itinerary, the letter was written between February and December.

*Linck has received the money from Oláh, and his masters have to pay interest to Oláh. However, he will be the one to pay the interest rather than his masters, which should be set at three percent for six months. He will send him a statement and a debenture bond about it, and he will also draw up a debenture bond for Sophie Etisperin. He will send news about himself within a fortnight.*

Hochwirdiger furst, gnediger herr!

Demnach ich gelt hab von wegen eur furstlichen gnaden empfangen, das ligt hiebei meiner herrn gelt, so seind meine herrn eurn f. g.<sup>1</sup> ain interesse auch schuldig. Wem e. g.<sup>2</sup> dasselb gelt wirt verordnen, so will ich es im erlegen, dann meine herrn wollen kain zins darvon geben. Will mir aber e. g. solch gelt, waz es sein wirt, 5 lassen auf ain halb jar umb 3 f. aufs hundert zinsung, so will ich e. g. ain auszug und schultbrief schicken, gleichwol wurd ich den schultbrief stellen auf fraw Sophia Etisperin.<sup>3</sup> Mein schweger, dann ich prauch meiner herrn halb mein namen nitt geen. Las mich e. g. in 14 tag <...> ain antwort wissen, mich hab darnach zu richten.

732,<sup>11</sup> Decembris ] *O corr. ex Ianuariis* 732,<sup>12-13</sup> Nicolaus ... propria ] *O add.*

732<sup>1</sup> 6 January, 1550. 733<sup>1</sup> I.e. fürstlichen Gnade. 733<sup>2</sup> I.e. eure Gnade. 733<sup>3</sup> We do not know her more closely.

393

10 Datum Wienn 9. <...> anno 49<sup>ten</sup>.  
E. f. g.<sup>4</sup> williger

Cristoff Linckh

[On the outer side:] Dem hochwirdigenn herrn und fursten, herrn Nicolaus Ollahus,  
bischoven zw Erlach, cannzler der cronng Hungern etc., meinem gnedigen fursten und  
15 herrnn!

734

Miklós Oláh to Michael Manlich  
Bratislava, 15 February 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 25. Fasc. M. No. 599.

*Published:* KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI–LUKCSICS 1912, 303.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal. To this letter, see LACZLAVIK 2014, 120–121.

*The late Pál Várday owed doctor Joannes Maria Cataneus 111 florins and 50 denarii, which debt Oláh has assumed. He asks that he pay 75 florins from the above-mentioned sum, which he will settle, and he should keep the receipt (which either the physician or a representative of his will provide to him).*

Carissime Domine Manli!<sup>1</sup>

Debat reverendissimus quondam dominus Paulus<sup>2</sup> archiepiscopus Strigoniensis  
huic domino Ioanni Mariae Cataneo,<sup>3</sup> artis medicae doctori, centum et undecem  
Florenos Hungaricos in monetis et denarios quinquaginta, quos nos in nos ipsos  
5 recepimus.

Quare rogamus vos, velitis nomine nostro ipsi domino Ioanni Mariae doctori, vel  
homini suo, hos centum et undecem Florenos et quinquaginta denarios, singularem  
Florenum per septuaginta quinque cruciferos computandos persolvere, quos nos apud  
vos rectificabimus.

10 Praesentes vero una cum litteris quietantiae<sup>4</sup> praefati Ioannis Mariae doctoris, vel  
hominis sui, qui plenum mandatum ab eo habuerit, pro vestra expeditione reservare.

Datum Posonii quindecima die Februarii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo  
quinquagesimo.

15 Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis  
cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Domino Michaeli Manli factori Fucarorum Viennae constituto  
etc. amico nobis honorando.

733 <sup>1</sup>I.e. Eure fürstliche Gnade. 734 <sup>1</sup>Michael Manlich was a factor of the Fuggers in Vienna, see LACZLAVIK 2014, 121. On the network of the Manlich family, see TÓZSA-RIGÓ 2013, 31. 734 <sup>2</sup>Pál Várday died on 12 October, 1549. 734 <sup>3</sup>Johannes Maria Cataneus. We know a physician with the same name from the 1510s, who was in the service of Emperor Maximilian I, see KONSTENZER 1970, 79–80. It is not clear if this is the same physician. 734 <sup>4</sup>A letter of discharge from debt.

735

Miklós Oláh to Michael Manlich  
Bratislava, 15 February 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 25. Fasc. M. No. 598.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*The late Pál Várday owed doctor Stephanus Laureus 120 florins, which debt Oláh has assumed. He asks that he pay 75 florins from the above-mentioned sum, which he will settle, and he should keep the receipt (which either the physician or a representative of his will provide to him).*

Carissime Domine Manlii!

Debeat reverendissimus quondam dominus Paulus de Warda<sup>1</sup> archiepiscopus Strigoniensis huic domino Stephano Laureo,<sup>2</sup> artis medicae doctori centum et viginti Florenos Hungaricos in monetis, quod debitum in nos ipsos recepimus.

Quare rogamus vos, velitis hos centum et viginti Florenos Hungaricos in monetis, 5 quem licet Florenum per septuaginta quinque cruciferos computandos praefato domino Stephano Laureo doctori pro nobis persolvere, quos nos apud vos rectificabimus.

Praesentes vero unacum litteris ipsius Stephani doctoris quietantiae, pro vestra expeditione reservetis.

Datum Posonii decima quinta Februarii anno Domini millesimo quingentisimo 10 quinquagesimo.

Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Domino Michaeli Manli factorum dominorum Fugerorum Wien-  
nae constituto etc. amico nobis honorando.

736

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 23 March 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 14.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*1. He answers briefly. István Majláth is well, he is healthy, and there is hope for his release, but they will discuss this in person. A Turkish legate has arrived, according to whom even if they defeated the Persians, it would not bring great glory. 2. He has already gotten rid of his sadness, and he bids farewell to excess, though not to good and faithful men. He bought Pál Várday's one-time accommodation in Vienna the day before yesterday. He can live there together with his sister, nephews, and nieces. The Persians are said to have occupied the Turkish territories, the Emperor is in Brussels, and the Pope is generous with everyone.*

735 <sup>1</sup> Pál Várdai. 735 <sup>2</sup> Stephanus Laureus of Amersfoort (ca. †1564) was the Imperial Physician of Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. He studied in Leuven, see STOLBERG 2015, 77; and Konrad Gessner's letter to Caspar von Nidbruck on 2 February, 1556, in ÖNB Cod. 9737k, fol. 23–25.

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine ac Frater Observandissime!

[1.] Brevibus respondeo ad litteras<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae. De domino et fratre nostro Maylath<sup>2</sup> sit bono animo, sanus erat, non fulmine tactus, non circumciscus, nec servitio Turcico aut Gallo datus. De liberatione illius aliquid intellexeram, de qua coram plura.<sup>3</sup> Res Deo volente melius succedet, bono igitur sis animo.

Nuntius<sup>4</sup> Turcicus non repetitum castr<a> aliqua venerat, sed nuntiatum victorias domini sui. De qua tanta depraedicavit, ut si Persam expulisset, non maiori gloria inani uti potuisset, contrarie his omnia, quae ibi passus est, nuntiavit. Bene hic et lautissime tractatus atque renuntiatus hodie hinc discessit.

[2.] Iam liberatus sum ab illo animi mei maerore, quem antea conceperam. Valedicam in posterum, si Deo ita visum fuerit, magistri civium et aliorum insolentiae neque eorum, qui nihil pensi bonorum et fidelium virorum habent operam in hac parte desiderare, ut ut res cadet, videbo. Hospitium quondam Strigoniensis<sup>5</sup> hic Viennae emi<sup>6</sup> nudiustertius, quod felix faustumque sit, tribus millibus in monetis Hungarorum Florenorum et quadraginta magna licet pecunia. Tamen maioris facio quietem et corporis et animi magno emptam, quam inquietem nihili constantem. Arbitror me iam simul cohabitare posse sorori,<sup>7</sup> nepotibus et neptibus, nepotibus et neptibus,<sup>8</sup> si Dei id promiserit clementia. Ampullati uti tituli et magistratus valeant. Deus Dominationem Vestram Magnificam unacum domina mea observandissima domina coniuge<sup>9</sup> sua carissima felicem et incolumem conservet ad multos annos.

Ex Vienna 23. Martii 1550.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc.

Persae dicuntur ditionem Turcicam post eius reditum invadere cepisse. Alia nunc nulla nova. Imperator noster Bruxellis bene valet, pontifex<sup>10</sup> liberalis est in omnes et bonis caesaris ac regis amicis, contra Galli opinionem. Alia curam.

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Thomae de Nadasdi perpetuo comiti terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae et supremo capitaneo regiae maiestatis etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

736,8 inani] *O del. ex inani usus* 736,18 posse] *O del. ex posse cum* 736,18 sorori] *O corr. ex sorore* 736,19 Ampullati] *O corr. ex Ampullam* 736,20 domina] *O del. ex domina mea*

736<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 736<sup>2</sup> István Majláth. 736<sup>3</sup> In fact, István Majláth was not rescued, he died in prison at the end of 1550. 736<sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely. 736<sup>5</sup> Pál Várday. 736<sup>6</sup> Palais Esterházy (Wallnerstraße 4) in Vienna today, see FAZEKAS 2005, 344 and 354; and FAZEKAS 2017, 221. 736<sup>7</sup> Orsolya Oláh. 736<sup>8</sup> Oláh's sisters, Orsolya and Ilona, and their families lived here, and they inherited it after Oláh's death according to his will, see MERÉNYI 1896, 139–140. 736<sup>9</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 736<sup>10</sup> Pope Julius III.

737<sup>739</sup>

Hungarian Chamber to [Miklós Oláh]  
Bratislava, 23 April 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1550 – április.

*Notes:* Original draft. There is no addressee but according to the content, it should be written to Oláh.

1. They wanted to talk to Oláh about the details of the payment when they were last in Vienna, but they did not have the time. In any case, they wanted to let him know that they are ready to pay both last year's and this year's salarium before Saint Urban's day. 2. They will also take care of the leasehold of the tithes of the Sáros and Bereg county tithe districts. The Sáros leasehold would be 800 florins, but because part of this is collected by others, as they have already written to Oláh, they have only been able to collect 550 florins so far. They will pay the leasehold of the two other tithe districts, 730 florins, in full, plus the leaseholds of Prešov, Bardejov, and Zebyn, a total of 215 florins. Since they have already paid 1,000 florins, they only owe 502 florins, which they will take care of. 3. As for the income of the Eger bishopric, which Oláh is asking for from the day he took his seat, there the King's order binds them, according to which it has to be counted from the date of his appointment; in this matter it would be better if Oláh himself discussed it with the King.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Fautor nobis Observandissime, post servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Quamquam valde cupiebamus cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra, dum proxime Wiennae essemus, de tota ratione solutionis, qua Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ab hac Camera exspectat, concludere, tamen cum neque Reverendissimae 5 Dominationi Vestrae, neque nobis eam ad rem satis vacuum tempus esset, coacti sumus ea propemodum infecta istinc discedere. Sed cum satis cognitum habeamus Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram finalem resolutionem huius negotii expectare, significandum eidem esse duximus, quod quantum attinet ad restantias denariorum decem Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae debitas et ad eam partem 10 salarii, quae eidem de anno praterito solvenda restat, nos paratos esse, tam de his, quam de alia media parte queri pro praesenti anno debetur, ad diem Divi Urbani proxime futurum<sup>1</sup> contentam reddere. Sicut nos quid coram facturos obtulimus, et eidem etiam in scriptis exhibuimus.

[2.] Curabimus praeterea Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae persolvi reliquam 15 partem arendae decimarum comitatus Saros, et duorum districtuum comitatus Beregh, quanta a nobis iuste dari debere videtur. Supputamus autem arendam decimae comitatus Saros ad Florenorum octingentos, prout ea decima prioribus annis semper fuit arendata. Sed quia magnam eius partem alii perceperunt, sicut Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae etiam in scriptis dedimus, nos pro ea parte, quae 20 ad rationem regiae maiestatis percepta est, iuxta priorem computum nostrum, quem similiter Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae coram proposuimus, nunc quoque computamus Florenorum quingentos et quinquaginta, ea tamen lege et conditione,

737,15 praeterea] *auth del.* ex praeterea pro eodem tempore 737,22 similiter] *auth add.*

737<sup>1</sup> 25 May.

ut si Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra perfecerit, ut reddantur ea, quae alii per-  
25 ceperunt, nos Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae, quod reliquum est usque ad  
completionem octingentorum Florenorum solvere teneamur. Decimas vero duorum  
districtuum Wary<sup>2</sup> et Kazzon<sup>3</sup> in comitatu de Beregh, quae consueverunt arendari  
Florenorum septingentis et triginta sex, integre persolvemus, et tamen etiam lege, ut  
30 Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra curet eam partem, quam dominus Andreas Bathory  
de eisdem decimis percepit restitui. Ad haec accedunt decimae civitatum Eperies,  
Bartpha et Lebyn,<sup>4</sup> quorum arenda ad rationem regiae maiestatis percepta facit Flo-  
renorum ducentos et quindecim. Facit itaque summa arendae dictarum decimarum  
modo praescripto Florenorum mille quingentos et duos. In quam rationem cum soluti  
35 quingenti et duo, quos cum aliis solutionibus Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae  
omnino curabimus expediri.

[3.] Quantum vero pertinet ad eam partem proventuum episcopatus Agriensis,  
quam sibi Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra a die occupationis arcis Agriensis reddi  
petit, nos quidem minime gravate in ea quoque petitione Reverendissimae Dominationi  
40 Vestrae responderemus, sed obstat nobis commissio regiae maiestatis, quae proven-  
tus in rationem Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae cedentes non a die occupatio-  
nis Agriae, sed a die, quo declarata est Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra in episcopum  
Agriensem, computari iussit. Intelligemus quidem allegationem Reverendissimae  
Dominationis Vestrae contra praemissam regiae maiestatis commissionem, et facile  
45 ei allegatione fidem habemus, sed nos commissionem regiae maiestatis propterea  
excedere non possumus, nec licet nobis maiestatem suam de hac Reverendissimae  
Dominationis Vestrae allegatione interpellare propter causas, quae Reverendissima  
Dominatio Vestra hoc per se commodius et facilius facere possit, et res eiusdem  
postulet, nos si prior maiestatis regiae commissio per eandem ad instantiam Reverendissimae  
50 Dominationis Vestrae abrogata fuerit, hac in re libentissime id praestabimus,  
quod cupit eadem Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui alioqui perpetuo gratificari  
et inservire parati sumus. Optamus eandem bene valere.

Datum Posonii vigesima tertia die Aprilis 1550.

Ceterum cum regia maiestas dictas decimas Saros et duorum in Bereg distric-  
55 tuum pro praesenti quoque anno ad provisionem arcium Saros et Hwzth arendari  
iusserit, rogamus Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram, ut committat provisorio  
suo Agriensi, ne eas cuique alii arendet, parati autem simus de eisdem quoque cum  
Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra convenire et solvere more consueto.

737,35 quos] *auth del. ex* quos ut supra dictum est 737,35 solutionibus] *auth del. ex* solutionibus ad  
praedictum diem Divi Urbani 737,39 ea] *corr. ex eo* 737,42 occupationis] *auth del. ex* occupationis  
arcis 737,52 parati] *corr. ex* parate

737<sup>2</sup> Vary. 737<sup>3</sup> Koson. 737<sup>4</sup> Instead of Zebyn. Today: Sabinov.

738

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 11 May 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 15.  
*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with emendations, signature and seal.

*The King will not stay here for long, but he will not leave before Pentecost, Oláh will only do so when the Emperor calls for him to go to the imperial assembly in Augsburg, which will be held on 20 June. If Nádasdy has any business with the King, he should let them know before that. Oláh craves Nádasdy's goose, chicken, and capon, but he will set some aside for him. Oláh is sending his regards to both him and his wife.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater nobis Observandissime, salutem et servitii nostri commendationem!

Nescimus, ubi locorum nunc Dominatio Vestra sit, propterea has quoque litteras nostras ventis et fortunae commisimus. Maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus, ut intelligimus, hic non diu tardabit, ante festa quidem Penthecostes<sup>1</sup> non discedet, sed post statim simul atque per caesaream et Catholicam maiestatem vocabitur, cuius litteras exspectat, conferet se ad suam maiestatem Augustam ad comitia imperialia, quae vigesima quarta Iunii mensis proxime venturi celebrabitur. Haec volumus Dominationi Vestrae tempestive significare, ut si quid apud suam maiestatem agendum esset, posset rebus suis, ante quam discedat, provideri. Quam bene valere optamus.

Datum Vienna undecima mensis Maii 1550.

Anseres, pullos et capones omnes Nadasdinos hic devoro, ex his tamen partem quoque Dominationi Vestrae reservabo. Coram plura Deo volente. Cupio servitia mea dominae meae observandissimae, coniugi.<sup>2</sup> Dominationis Vestrae carissimae, dominae et sorori magnificae unice iterum atque iterum commendari, eamque felicissime valere.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc.

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae, et consiliario regiae maiestatis ac supremo regni Hungariae capiteo etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

<sup>737</sup>739

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Thurzó and Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 20 May 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1550 – No. 23.  
*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

738,6 statim] *O add.* 738,13–17 Anseres ... valere] *O add.* 738,18 Frater ... etc.] *O add.*

738<sup>1</sup> 25 May. 738<sup>2</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

1. He has understood what they last wrote about settling the Máramaros affairs, and by the time he had written the letter, he received another letter from them, in which they changed their previous idea and decided to send Nagyváthi to be the director of the Máramaros affairs and asked Oláh for a new letter. He has provided it, but he asks them to be more observant next time because they may miss the deadlines, and it is not good practice to keep making changes in public affairs. 2. They know well that he will soon go to the imperial assembly with the King, where he will need money, so they should bring money there for him on Saint Urban's day. They also wrote about the tithes of Sáros and Bereg counties, but he cannot respond to that now, they will discuss it in person when they are all there.

Reverende ac Egregii Domini et Amici nobis Observandi, salutem!

[1.] Ea, quae Dominationes Vestrae prioribus litteris suis de expeditione negotiorum Maromarusiensium nobis scripserunt, intelleximus. Cumque litteras ad id necessarias expedivissemus, supervenerunt aliae quoque litterae<sup>1</sup> Dominationum 5 Vestrarum, quibus mutato priori proposito dominum Anthonium Naghwathy<sup>2</sup> loco directoris causarum Maromarusium mitti statuerunt, novasque litteras per nos expediri petierunt. Nos quidem eas quoque expedivimus, et una cum prioribus praesentibusque nostris ad Dominationes Vestras misimus. Iam stabit in earum arbitrio priorine, an posteriori expeditione velint uti. Verum deinceps in talibus rebus Dominationes 10 Vestrae sint diligentiores, ne negotiorum regiae maiestatis expeditionem ad terminum praefixum differant. Nosque faciant tempestive de his rebus certiores, quae expediri debent. Nam praeterquam quod non est bona talium negotiorum crebra mutatio, non semper datur opportunitas huiusmodi negotia expediendi, tum quod maiestas regia crebro multis rebus occupatur. Interdum etiam solatii gratia venari solet, tum vero 15 quod temporis brevitatis in seriis negotiis damnum dare consuevit, sed de his satis.

[2.] Praeterea non ignorant Dominationes Vestrae maiestatem regiam et nos cum ea brevi ad comitia imperialia profecturos,<sup>3</sup> ubi praesente pecunia opus erit. Cum autem festum Urbani,<sup>4</sup> ad quod Dominationes Vestrae se nobis pecuniam daturas obtulerunt,<sup>5</sup> in proximo sit, rogamus easdem, velint iuxta suam pollicitationem nobis 20 pecuniam reddere. Ceterum scripserunt nobis Dominationes Vestrae de decimis Sáros et Bereg comitatum. Nunc ad id Dominationibus Vestris respondere non possumus, verum ubi eaedem huc venerint, tractabimus cum eis. Nescimus tamen, quid difficultatis Dominationes Vestrae in ea re faciunt, cum nec ipsi decimas illas arendant, nec aliis, qui multi essent, permittunt arendare, sed hoc reiicimus in adventum huc 25 Dominationum Vestrarum, quas bene valere optamus.

Datum Viennaevigesima mensis Maii 1550.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendo domino Francisco Thwrzo eipscopo Nitriensi praefecto, ceterisque consiliariis camerae Hungaricae regiae maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis 30 nobis observandis.

739,27 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

739<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 739<sup>2</sup> Antal Nagyváthi was Secretary of the Palatin in 1527, Castellan of Devín in 1543, and Personalis (*locumtenens personalis praesentiae*) from 1549, see FAZEKAS 2021, 42; GECSÉNYI 2008b, 402. 739<sup>3</sup> To Augsburg, see Ep. 738. 739<sup>4</sup> 25 May. 739<sup>5</sup> See Ep. 737. Cap. 1.



## 740

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Tulln, 14 [June] 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 16.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature. Seal has broken off. We do not know the exact dating. That is I...i, i.e. Iunii or Iulii.

*Having left Vienna yesterday, Oláh could not say goodbye to Tamás Nádasdy because he was very busy and Nádasdy had guests, but at least he wishes him and his wife all the best via this letter. He also recommends his Vienna house, together with his relatives. He attaches a letter on behalf of the King, which Nádasdy should forward to Pál Kapornaky.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, ac Amice nobis Observandissime, salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Heri Vienna discedentes, non minus propter occupationes nostras varias, quam quod etiam Magnifica Dominatio Vestra convivas habuerit, eidem vale dicere non potuimus. Quare saltem per litteras eo officio fungi placuit, conservet igitur Deus 5 Dominationem Vestram Magnificam unacum domina coniunge<sup>1</sup> sua in omni rerum prosperitate faxitque idem, ut vicissim mutuo nos incolumes videre possimus. Domum autem nostram Viennensem simul cum consanguineis nostris Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae iterum iterumque commendamus.

Litteras praesentibus nostris iunctas ex mandato maiestatis regiae, domini nostri 10 clementissimi mittimus ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, quas eadem ex eiusdem maiestatis regiae voluntate per proprium et spectabilem hominem suum mittere debeat ad Paulum litteratum Kapornoky.<sup>2</sup> Omnipotens eandem in reliquo felicissimam conservet.

Ex civitate Thwllensi 14. <mensis> I<un>ii 1550.

15

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili ac magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdi comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae ac consiliario maiestatis regiae, necnon supremo regni Hungariae capiteo etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

## 741

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Linz, 20 June 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 148a – Fasc. 985. – No. 2.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

740,6 unacum] *O corr. ex in* 740,6 domina ... in] *O add.*

740<sup>1</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 740<sup>2</sup> Pál Kapornaky, who was obviously a relative of Ferenc Kapornaky. On Ferenc Kapornaky, see FAZEKAS 2018, 235.

1. He received his letter today in which he writes that he is sad that he could not say goodbye, but there is no reason to be sad because he only left Vienna so that they can meet. As far as Márton Czobor's orphans are concerned, the King has decided after a lot of negotiations that since Péter Bakics has to pay Mihály Révay for purchasing Holič, the castle cannot be expropriated because part of it belongs to the Czobors. So the King has concluded what Bakics also suggested, i.e. Bakics should pay 2,500 florins to the boys, and they should pay 15,000 by two or three specific deadlines to him – that way they can keep the castle. The governor can deprive Bakics of the late Czobor's usufructuary rights and income beyond the deadline. 2. He wrote Farkas Csaby the letter Nádasdy asked him to write. If he wants a different one, he should let him know, and he will send it right away. He recommends both his Vienna and his Eger house to him, together with his relatives.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Observandissime, salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Hodie litteras<sup>1</sup> Magnificae Dominationis Vestrae recepimus plenas doloris, quominus Viennae die nostri discessus<sup>2</sup> <no>s valedictura convenire potuerit. Non est <...> super hoc ulteriorem concipere dolorem, sic enim Vienna discessimus, ut ex gratia omnipotentis iterum nos mutuam videamus. Quod ut fiat, faxit idem, atque interim Dominationem Vestram Magnificam simulcum generosa ac magnifica domina coniuge<sup>3</sup> sua, domina nobis observandissima, longe felicissimam valere optamus.

Quod ad negotium orphanorum Czobor<sup>4</sup> attinet, maiestas regia post multos tractatus ita in postremo consilio conclusit, quod postquam Bakyth<sup>5</sup> propriam suam pecuniam dare debet Reway<sup>6</sup> in redemptionem Holycz, non potest parte pecuniarum suarum privari arcis Holycz dimidia parte apud ipsos Czobor permanente, sed visum fuit suae maiestati ex consilio, quod sicuti ipse Bakyth sic obtulit, duo millia et quingentos Florenos ipse pueris ipsis relaxet et quindecim millia Florenorum in duobus aut tribus terminis prout mutuo concordari poterunt, pueri ipsi Czobor ei persolvant, et ita in dominio dimidiae partis Holycz permaneant.<sup>7</sup> De usu fructuum autem et perceptione proventuum dicti Czobor eundem Bakyth extra omnes terminos octavar<um> domino locumtenente evocare poterunt, ac si <ita> in aliquo convictus fuerit, orphanis Czobor satisfacere tenebitur.

[2.] Litteras in negotio domini Czabi<sup>8</sup> tales misimus, quales Dominatio Vestra Magnifica a nobis optavit, quodsi alias optaverit, faciat certiores et quascumque voluerit, mittemus. Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae nos, sororem, consanguineos ac domum nostram Viennensem et Agriensem unice commendamus.<sup>9</sup> Quam in reliquo optamus felicissime valere.

25 Ex civitate Lyncz 20. Iunii 1550.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

741,16 fructuum] corr. ex fructu 741,25 Lyncz] O corr. ex Amaso 741,25 ] O corr. ex 19 741,26 Frater ... propria] O add.

741<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 741<sup>2</sup> On 13 June, according to letter Ep. 740. 741<sup>3</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 741<sup>4</sup> Márton I Czobor's (1457–1505) children were János, Anna, and Farkas, see NAGY 1858, 206. 741<sup>5</sup> Péter Bakics married Anna Czobor, see NAGY 1858, 206. 741<sup>6</sup> Mihály Révay. 741<sup>7</sup> A few years later, Mihály Révay married the daughter of Péter Bakics, Anna Bakics, see PÁLFFY 2009a, 13–14. 741<sup>8</sup> Farkas Csaby († after 1551) and his family had possessions in Zala county, and he was Tamás Nádasdy's retainer (*familiaris*), see HEGEDŰS–PAPP 1991, 292. 741<sup>9</sup> On his household in Vienna, see Ep. 740.; and FAZEKAS 2005; and FAZEKAS 2017.

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo comiti terrae Fogaras iudici curiae consiliarioque maiestatis regiae ac supremo regni Hungariae capiteo etc. domino et amico nobis observandissimo.

742

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 2 July 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681, fol. 418v–420r.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 76–77.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendation.

*A benefice in not too bad a state is said to be vacant in Esztergom, although he unfortunately learned about it too late. Even though he is not worthy of it, he is not afraid to ask Oláh because he knows how gracious and kind he is. He also has no doubt that Oláh has already ascertained that he is above reproach and that he will serve him for the rest of his life. He knows he already accomplished everything when he gained Oláh's favour, and what can he promise in return?*

Antonius Wrancius<sup>1</sup> Nicolao Olaho praesuli suo salutem plurimam!

Beneficium quoddam non exile, ut referunt, vacavit per hosce dies Strigonii,<sup>2</sup> cuius causa dudum quidam istuc iam profecti sunt, quod ego serius quidem intellexi, quam res mea postulabat. Quamquam igitur satis verecunde agam pro me ipso in hoc beneficio consequendo, cum adhuc nulla merita me in factione vestra commendent: 5 non desunt tamen causae, quibus id audere non expavescam. Clementia imprimis et bonitas munificentissimi principis, tuum deinde singulare iudicium, quo polles in hominibus cognoscendis. Non dubitans igitur, certum te iam et persuasum esse de integritate mea, qua in istius optimi principis servitio reliquum id aetatis meae sum exacturus, te, Praesul Amplissime, maiorem in modum peto, ne dedigneris, si 10 licebit, viderisque e dignitate eque re mea futurum, mei apud serenissimum regem meminisse. Nihil volens interea tanto domino, tamque pio parenti<sup>3</sup> meo, de me iam non mediocriter in episcopatu suo<sup>4</sup> merito vel oneris vel molestiarum imponere. Cuius quidem erga me animum tanti facio et facturus sum per omnem vitam, quanti quidvis beneficiorum, quod in homines quam dignissimos conferri possit. Omnia enim optima 15 et felicissima mihi accessisse perspexi, ubi me in gremium benevolentiae tuae vidi pervenisse. Sed ex me quid vicissim velim polliceri aut debeam? Equidem praeter fidem atque obsequia nihil invenio magnitudini tuae convenientius. Haec tamen ita

742,9 optimi] *auth corr.* ex optimis

742<sup>1</sup> Antal Verancsics or Antun Vrančić (1504–1573) was a humanist, prelate, and historian of Dalmatian origin. He studied at the University of Padua, and after Mohács, he became a diplomat of King John I. In 1549, he changed side and remained loyal to the Habsburgs until his death. He was Canon of Eger from 1550, Bishop of Pécs from 1553, and Bishop of Eger from 1557. Following Oláh's death, he was elected Archbishop of Esztergom in 1569. Today he is known of his historical work and his collection of letters. See SÖRÖS 1898; TORBARINA 1969; NEMES 2011; and GYULAI 2021. 742<sup>2</sup> Esztergom. 742<sup>3</sup> Sc. Oláh as his patron. 742<sup>4</sup> Verancsics received the canonry of Eger in 1550.

iam data, dedita atque addicta tibi sunt, ut nisi morte mea divelli a tuo limine minime  
20 queant. Quicquid igitur tua opera tuaque commendatione accedet mihi fortunarum,  
id tuum censebo semper, nempe in tuum hominem collatum. Vale.

2. Iulii 1550. Viennae.

743

Royal Lieutenancy Council in Bratislava to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 9 July 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL Khuen–Héderváry cs. lt. No. 101.

*Published:* R. Kiss 1908, 245.

*In Hungarian:* R. Kiss 1908, 245. [regesta]

*Notes:* Manuscript has been lost.

1. Since it is rumoured by several sources that the Turks want to attack the castle of Eger, or at least devastate the surrounding area, and they do not think this is fake news, they have written to the King on this matter, as Oláh may also know. They ask Oláh to consult with the King about the defence of the castle and its neighbourhood, assessing the magnitude of the danger. 2. Oláh can be certain that it is not the Turks but trustworthy Christians who are spreading this news, so it is indeed necessary for Oláh to be careful because as this news is also being delayed, and many are hindering its dissemination, news of new activity may also reach the Turks.

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime Domine etc.!

[1.] Cum ad nos ex multis locis constanti rumore indies afferatur de conatibus  
Thurcarum ad obsidionem arcis Agriensis<sup>1</sup> vel saltem devastationem circumvicinae  
5 regionis, idque propter iniurias damnaeque quae sese in dies ab officialibus eius arcis  
perpeti Thurcae vociferantur, etsi nos quidem arbitramur falsas esse magna ex parte  
Thurcarum querimonias adversus praedictos officiales satisque et regiam maiestatem  
et Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram illis serio mandasse, ut ab huiusmodi  
iniuriis et damnis abstineant; facere tamen non potuimus, quin ad regiam maiestatem  
10 ea de re scriberemus, quemadmodum scilicet Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ex  
nostris ad maiestatem suam litteris cognoscet. Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra  
considerata periculi magnitudine id consulet suae maiestati, quod ad tuendam tum  
arcem Agriensem, tum regionem circumquaque maxime pertinere intellexerit. Servet  
etc.<sup>2</sup>

15 Posonii die 9. Iulii 1550.

[2.] Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra pro certo habeat, non tam a Thurcis, quam  
a Christianis et his fidedignis plerisque viris quotidie circumferri constanti rumore  
magnis in dies iniuriis et damnis Thurcas ab officialibus Agriensibus provocari; ac

742,21 tuum hominem] *auth corr. ex <...>itate tuum* 743,5 iniurias] *auth corr. ex indutias* 743,11  
cognoscet] *auth del. ex cognoscet Dominatio* 743,12 periculi] *auth del. ex periculi magni*

743<sup>1</sup> Eger. 743<sup>2</sup> I.e. Servet Deus optimus maximus Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram incolumem.

proinde videtur omnino necesse esse, ut Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ita huic rei studeat prospicere, ut etiam communis haec fama cesset et obstruantur ora multorum 20 atque ita etiam praetextus hic novi aliquid moliendi Thurcis auferatur.

Locumtenens, capitaneus generalis et consiliarii etc.

744

Miklós Oláh to Gábor Perényi  
Augsburg, 16 July 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 707 – XXXII. – No. 8382.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal. On this letter see ECKHARDT 1943, 53.

*He is attaching the letter he recently received from the royal legate in Constantinople about Gábor Perényi's brother. He would prefer to be in Eger if the King permitted it, but since he is here, he recommends himself and his services to Perényi. It is very useful for young noblemen to stay at the royal court because they can learn a lot there, so he also recommends him to follow the King's court, where he can entertain himself in the company of other young noblemen.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorandissime, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Quae nova ex parte fratris<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae ex Constantinopoli ab oratore maiestatis regiae habeamus, eorum litteras in specie praesentibus inclusas ad eandem pro tuendis rebus suis mittimus. 5

Nos, si per voluntatem maiestatis regiae licuisset, hoc tempore libentius Agriae<sup>2</sup> essemus, quam hic, ubi caritas omnium rerum magna est, verum ea nostra voluntas adempta nobis est, domestica igitur nostra negotia Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae commendamus rogamusque, ut paratam vicinitatem nobiscum habeat. Nobilibus iuvenibus aula principum quantae utilitati sit, res ipsa loquitur, in ea enim ad bonos 10 mores retinendos, cognitionemque plurimarum rerum, utilia ab ingenuis imbibuntur, domi educati, cum nihil, nisi domestica videant, audiant, experianturque, ultra haec sapere non possunt, quam utilissimum foret, si Dominatio Vestra Magnifica aulam principis ad aliquod tempus sequeretur. Sunt hic alii etiam proceres iuvenes regni Hungariae, quibus quandoque taedium, si quid forte conciperet, excutere possit; illis, 15 ut nos videmus, aulica conversatio in multis utilis est. In reliquo Dominationem Vestram Magnificam optamus valere feliciter.

Augustae 16. Iulii anno Domini 1550.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

744,5 pro] O add. 744,19 Agriensis ... propria] O add.

744<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Perényi was captured and kept hostage from 1532, see KASZA 2021, 60. 744<sup>2</sup> Eger.

745<sub>750</sub>

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Vienna, 2 September 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681, fol. 439r–444r.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 97–102.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

1. It has been two months since he last wrote to Oláh, but he will forgive him. He did not have any money for the Augsburg trip, so he wanted to travel to Eger, but he only made it to Sárvár, where he was Nádasdy's guest for six days. On the way back to Vienna he contracted tertian malaria, and it took him 22 days to recover, but he is already planning his trip to Eger. 2. He has nothing to complain about as far as his friends go. However, he is really sorry that he cannot be of service to Oláh in Augsburg, and he cannot see the Emperor, but a better opportunity may arise another time. His plan is to go to Eger to look after his affairs and raise money, then he will wait in Vienna for Oláh to return. Nádasdy's headache radiated into his back, but he is better now. 3. George Martinuzzi and Péter Petrovics are said to have gathered at the same camp in Transylvania, and they are recruiting soldiers in Oradea and Debrecen. The conflict between Martinuzzi and Petrovics got out of hand at the last assembly: according to Martinuzzi, Petrovics's Turkish officer lied, but he says that he told the truth, and he is the Sultan's real legate. Verancsics says that both are lying, and they are selling out the freedom of their homeland for a pittance. 4. In the last few years, István Majláth and Boldizsár Bornemissza have been competing with each other, but while the former has stayed on the right path, the latter hoped to become a permanent voivode, and he wanted to occupy Transylvania with Martinuzzi's help. However, Martinuzzi deceived Bornemissza, and Majláth was imprisoned by the Turks. 5. It is a different story with the neighbours, they are playing games, according to Verancsics, only to obstruct him, but they are wrong to want to avoid this alliance. Oláh should forgive him for talking about them in anger. 6. As to Oláh's house, he cannot write about it because he has not seen it yet as he has been bedridden, but he has asked Bona and Johann Serifaber to look after it. He asks him again to help him become lector of Esztergom because he could be of more help to Oláh that way, but he does not want to let go of his Eger benefice, either.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi salutem!

[1.] Quod iam a duobus ferme mensibus nihil scripserim,<sup>1</sup> veniam dabis. Acceptis enim a vicario<sup>2</sup> tuo litteris, quibus de installatione duntaxat mea et de cura quartarum vinearum molarumque mearum commissa adolescenti meo rescribebat, cui minime  
5 volueram, ut inhabili tanto oneri: de spe pecuniae, quam itineri Augustano deputaveram, ne litteram quidem. Sic inita voluntate conferendi me Agriam<sup>3</sup> profectus sum, ut par erat, ad Nadasdinum<sup>4</sup> consilii gratia. Qui dum eundum esse consulit iubetque operiri saginam equorum meorum, qui ad id tempus in pratis apud eum fuerant, detinuit me sextilem totum, pancratice tractando in Sarvarinis hortis.<sup>5</sup> Redeunti inde  
10 febris tertiana occurrit in itinere meque Viennam usque deduxit, ubi datis curationi XXII diebus restitutus sum pristinae valetudini. Nunc iam hoc triduo Agriam cogito, ut ipsemet prospiciam rebus meis.

745,9 me ] *auth del. ex me ad*

745<sup>1</sup> We know his previous letter of 2 July, 1550, see Ep. 742. 745<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely. 745<sup>3</sup> Verancsics received the canonry of Eger in 1550. 745<sup>4</sup> Tamás Nádasdy. 745<sup>5</sup> Tamás Nádasdy's castle was located in Sárvár.

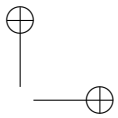
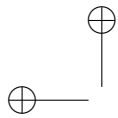
[2.] Nec est, ut ingenue dicam, quod de amico querar. Quis enim adeo vel pius vel sanctus est, qui pecunia his temporibus facile gratificetur, aut subveniat amicitiiis, cum undique insultet vicinus hostis, et metum de mutandis sedibus quotidie iniiciat? 15  
Exempla huius rei quilibet ex se petat, et in alium aequior erit. Igitur quicquid est hic mihi incommodi, vicario tuo certe non invitus condonavi. Illud tamen gravius habet, quod in celebritate et frequentia tantorum principum tibi non inserviverim, nec viderim Carolum imperatorem, quo me etiam infortunatiorem puto. At forsán dabitur postea aptior huic desiderio commoditas, et fruemur eius aspectu luculentius. Ceterum quod ad me perscripseris de sollicitudine et studio tuo ad nos redeundi, clementissimo principe annuente, meque monueris, te ut Viennae opperiar, humanitati tuae, Mitissime Praesul, atque amori, quo es in me, ascribo, agoque tibi et habeo ingentes gratias, faceremque, quod mones, longe certe libentius, quam quod institui. Quis enim per impacata loca, perque militum stationes homo aris magis quam armis assuetus 25 libens vagetur? Verum impensis Augustanae caritati, quam ferunt esse immensam, non sufficio. Alioqui expeditissime Agriam proficiscar, eoque animo, ut constitutis rebus meis, pecuniaque aliqua comparata, ad faustissimum reditum tuum Viennam regrediar quam maturrime. Rem nihilominus meam omnem in tuam voluntatem reiicio. Nadasdinus, quoque alter meus parens post te, pertulit nonnihil adversae 30 valetudinis ex fluxu, quod ei a capite in tergum descenderat, malumque prope in pleuritidem eruperat. Mature tamen occursum est, iamque, ut accepi, consurrexit.

[3.] De rebus novis referam audita. In Transsylvania dicunt Heremitam<sup>6</sup> et Petrovium<sup>7</sup> mutuo incensis animis in castra cum expeditis copiis descendisse. Huic favere Turcas et Valacchos ambos iussu Solymani; illi adhaerere Transsylvanos, Intratibiscanam nobilitatem, et quotidie Varadini ac Debrecenii delectus fieri. Proximo conventu missi erant ex Turcia in alterutrum ciusi, eoque controversiarum ventum est, ut Heremitanus<sup>8</sup> palam declamitarit Petrovianum mentitum esse ciausum, nihilque de eius legatione vel caesari vel passis constare. Hic contra verum se et caesianum esse ciausum affirmare, nihil praeterea iactare in adversarium iniuriarum, et subinde 40 dicere, caesianum sese esse nuntium, a quocumque ille venisset nihil sibi curae esse, et Solymanum ita esse potentem, ita regnorum abundantem, ut uno duntaxat nuntio non uteretur, multos quotidie ad diversas gentes obligare. Sic mihi visi sunt illi duo Parides Transsylvanae Amphytrionem<sup>9</sup> Plautinum egisse de mentito Sosia.<sup>10</sup> Sed o nostrorum caecitatem et stupiditatem plus quam bubalinam, ne de avaritia quorundam gravius commemorem, qui patriae libertatem parvo aeri subdiderint, seque in

745,28 faustissimum] corr. ex fustissimum 745,29 tuam voluntatem] corr. ex tua voluntate 745,32 pleuritidem] corr. ex pleurisim

745,46–47 in ... indito] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 1079. II,I,19. Naribus trahere. "Metaphora mutuo sumpta a bubalis animantibus, qui anulo in summam narem inserto circumducuntur, non aliter quam equi freno." MYNORS 1991, 27.

745<sup>6</sup> George Martinuzzi. He was a Pauline monk from the 1510s, see OBORNI 2017, 40. 745<sup>7</sup> Péter Petrovics or Petar Petrović (ca. 1486–1557) was *ispán* of Temes county from 1534, Commander of Timișoara, and loyal to King John I. He supported the Reformation in the Kingdom of Hungary. See VARGA 2020a; and VARGA 2020b. According to the last will of King John I, Martinuzzi and Petrovics were the guardians of the future King John Sigismund, see OBORNI 2017, 68. 745<sup>8</sup> Georg Martinuzzi. 745<sup>9</sup> The protagonist in *Amphytrion* by Plautus. 745<sup>10</sup> The cunning and lying slave in *Amphytrion*.



bubalorum morem anulo naribus indito huc illuc rapi patiuntur. De Transsylvanis miseris loquor, qui et vident et palpant pestes suas, et scientes, quod his evertentur, ferunt eas, nec volunt rebus suis consulere, recentibusque et domesticis uti exemplis, quorum referam unum.

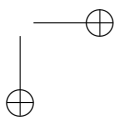
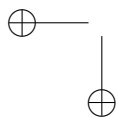
[4.] Proximis annis Mailadus<sup>11</sup> noster, homo et vita et libertate non indignus, hoc prope modo contendebat cum Balthasare Bornemisza<sup>12</sup> in eadem Transsylvania. Sed ille dudum iam in lucem et optimatum ordinem relatus virtute duce, hic Ioannis<sup>13</sup> regis licentia rapinisque paulo supra gregarium militem potitus nominibus, et inter veteranos Ioannis habitus, cura Heremitaie opponitur conatibus Mailadi, missusque Buda in Transsylvaniam cum imperio sub capitanei titulo, mox ambo eo animos ambitionis erexerunt, ut alter principatum provinciae usurpare, alter voivodatam appetere non dubitarit. Verum Mailadus exemplo divi Iulii,<sup>14</sup> qui legiones dimittere aemulorum coniuratione non audebat, iustiore causa monebatur. Aut enim sic superanda erat vetus Heremitaie hostilitas, provinciaeque regi Christiano conservanda, aut evitanda indignitas, ne homini obscuro et omni pietate atque humanitate carenti casu concedere cogere, cum iam et rerum omnium a Ioannis morte potiri anhelabat. Balthasar sub ministri imagine et in temporaria praefectura constitutus, rapta occasione ex periculo Budaie,<sup>15</sup> quae obsidione primum Germanica,<sup>16</sup> deinde perfidia Turcica excepta erat, speravit etiam sese posse esse aliquid. Sic inuito spiritu perpetuum vaivodatam consequendi intendit omnes vires, ut clandestinis praxibus tum fortunam, tum auspicia Heremitaie in Transsylvania occuparet. Tanta rei moles neutri sine Turcae patrocinio poterat succedere. Ad utrumque itaque a passis caesaris nomine missi sunt ciansi utriusque voluntati graphice accomodati, actaque per Transsylvanos vel me praesente hic illic crebra comitia, mutuoque inter sese adversantia, distracta in diversum nobilitas, populique, quocumque contententibus libebat, in effascinatorum modum circumducti. Quid demum actum! Delusus est Bornemisza calliditate Heremitaie, et a spe voivodatus pecunia abductus. Mailadus Turcae et Moldavi perfidia in captivitatem tractus. Sed an eadem tragoedia nunc quoque agatur, quae tunc, vides. Utinam non eandem finem sortiatur!

[5.] De vicinis nostris aliae sunt rationes. Mire ludunt in Zolnoccho<sup>17</sup> erigendo. Modo intendunt sui metum, modo remittunt. Nec aliud puto, faciunt, quam ut nos distineant ab his providendis, quibus eis et resistere et officere possemus. Atsi cui compertum est, quantum eis credi debeat, ego ne minimum quidem dicerem, etenim nec suam Turcae fidem habent, nec alienae quicquam tribuunt, et qui se ab eis amicitia, foederibus atque pecunia tutos fore existimant, oleum et operam perdunt.

745,54 regis] *corr. ex regni* 745,64 primum] *auth corr. ex partim*

745,81 oleum ... perdunt] Proverb. meaning 'to lose both time and trouble', and Plaut. *Poen.* 332.

745<sup>11</sup> István Majláth. 745<sup>12</sup> Boldizsár Bornemisza of Ártánháza († ca.1549) had possessions in Szilágy county, see PETRI 1903, 197–200. 745<sup>13</sup> King John I. 745<sup>14</sup> Julius Caesar. 745<sup>15</sup> Buda fell in 1541. The castle was besieged and the Turks eventually occupied it by a trick. See Verancsics' account on the fall of Buda, KASZA 2021, 353–355. 745<sup>16</sup> The Commander-in-chief of the imperial army was Wilhelm von Roggendorf. 745<sup>17</sup> Szolnok. Before the siege of 1552, there was only a plank castle here, which was fortified during 1550–1551, see M. ROMÁN–PÓRÁSZ 2010, 70–72; KORPÁS–KERTÉSZ 2013.





Ingratum est, parum est, vile est, et contemnitur, quicquid porrexeris, nisi et rapinas et captivitates in tuo fieri patieris. Amicitiam si secum colis, timeri se certo, non amari ait, et sic fallere foederatum, ne fidei quidem iacturam se facere arbitratur. Verboſius de his ad te quam fortasse decuiſſet. Nequeo tamen non dilatari quasi dolore incensus, 85 cum in pericula Transſylvaniae incido. Igitur te magnopere peto, ut ignoſcas mihi, tibiſue ac ſimilibus tui de his ſcribendum eſſe cenſeas, non eis, qui ad nulla mortalium commoda nati ſunt, nec publicorum cura tanguntur.

[6.] De domo tua,<sup>18</sup> quo in ſtatu ſint nova eius aedificia, apparatus, cultus, pictura, ornamenta, quoniam adhuc ipſe lectum urgeo, ſcribere nihil poſſum, ut quae 90 non viderim. Hortatus tamen ſum Georgium Bonam<sup>19</sup> et Oppolitanum<sup>20</sup> tuos, ut eo fungantur officio, quo pro ceteris omnibus tibi hoc tempore maxime gratificari poſſunt, quod aliud hinc nihil nunc magis ſcire deſideras. Non praeteribo etiam de petitione ſacerdotii Strigoniensis. Te etiam atque etiam rogo, mi Praeſul, ne velis gravate id a me, nescio, inſatiabilitatisne, an ambitionis, an quiddam tertium dicam, 95 accipere, quoniam certe et parvo potui ſemper eſſe contentus, et praeſens fortuna mea finem iam fecit meis cupiditatibus. Tantum autem abeſt, ut illud tertium in me ſuſpectum eſſe poſſit, ut monarchatu etiam quopiam maximo divelli abs te nunquam velim, immo inſuper ita tibi inhaerere atque inniti perpetuo decrevi, ut me habeas ſemper pedisequum obſequentiſſimum. Quicquid autem viſus ſum ambiſſe Strigonii, 100 alliciebar propinqui commodi facultate, quo tibi expeditius inſervire potuiſſem, nec emiſſem alioqui e manu Agrienſem meam fortunam primigeniam, eoſque etiam haberem cariſſimam, donantis perſona contemplanata. Vale.

2. Septembris 1550. Viennae.

746

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 26 September 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I., fol. 448r–450v.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 106–109; KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI–LUKCSICS 1912, 414–415.

*Notes:* Author’s copy with autograph emendations.

1. He has arrived to Eger in one piece, where the prefects have welcomed him with affection, and he took his seat as Archdeacon on the 10<sup>th</sup>. His house is in a terrible state, and it will cost him a lot of money and effort to repair it. His income is small due to the nearby war, and the ceasefire will also expire soon, but he will endeavour to save money. 2. The castle of Szolnok has been fortified. Niklas von Salm negotiated with András (Bonaventura) Báthori the day before yesterday in Abád, then he went to Szolnok to appoint János Balassa to

745,95 me] *auth del. ex me accipere* 745,104 2] *auth corr. ex II*

745<sup>18</sup> Oláh bought the Vienna palace of Pál Várday, the former Archbishop of Esztergom, see Ep. 736. 745<sup>19</sup> Georg Bona was Oláh’s brother-in-law. 745<sup>20</sup> Johann Serifaber of Opole (1530–ca.1553) published a collection of encomiums dedicated to King Ferdinand I in 1550, in which he celebrated the elite of the Hungarian nobility and prelates, including Oláh, Tamás Nádasdy, and Ferenc Révay, see Kiss 2018, 209, and 211; and TRUHLÁŘ–MARTÍNEK 1982, 47–50.

be the leader of the castle. The Turks have been quiet so far, in any case Báthori has 10,000 people on each side of the river. George Martinuzzi is said to have 25,000 people in Mediaș, who are quietly waiting for the King's help. Verancsics cannot keep up with what to expect, but he hopes that the fragmentation of Transylvania will come to an end. 3. More and more people are refuting Martinuzzi in Péter Petrovics's case. Martinuzzi is said to be lolling around his castle; Vinț has capitulated, but not without bloodshed; Cenad has been set on fire, and Pál Bánk, to whom he had entrusted Sebeș, slayed many of the defenders of Vinț.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho antistiti suo salutem!

[1.] Scito me iam Agriam<sup>1</sup> incolumem pervenisse nulloque vel periculo itineris vexatum vel incommodo, ubi a praefectis<sup>2</sup> tuis humaniter, a canonicis fraterne exceptus archidiaconatum IIII. Idibus Septembris<sup>3</sup> feliciter occupavi. Domum meam inveni  
5 desolatam, hiantem ruinis, possessam milite, oppressamque fere ad culmen fimo equino. Cui purgandae instaurandaeque addixi non mediocrem et curam et pecuniam, multis aliis de suo et de crastino desperantibus. Proventus habeo satis tenues propter  
belli vicinitatem, quo non Agriensis tractus solum, sed iam, ut videmus, et Hungaria et Transsylvania tota adeo succensa est, ut induciae,<sup>4</sup> quae quinquennales erant, vix  
10 legitimum finem assequantur. Porro et hic et ubique per omnes comitatus tanto spiritu omnis ordo, omnis status, omnis conditio, omnis aetas, omne denique pectus in arma ruit et manus hostem petit, ut huius motus initia maximum quoddam bellum in Turcas polliceri videatur. Nos tamen dabimus operam omni studio atque industria, ut et belli pericula evitemus, et alimentis non careamus. Et si copia defuerit, ad parsimoniam  
15 accurremus. Sed de privatis alias. Vocor ad publica, quae nunc ubique ab imo late commoventur.

[2.] Castellum Zolnocchi,<sup>5</sup> quod dudum etiam praeripiendum erat hostibus, iam exstructum et firmatum sic habemus, ut vim etiam non exiguam sustinere posset. Comes Salmus<sup>6</sup> summus huius expeditionis dux, nudius tertius habito colloquio cum  
20 Andrea Bathoreo<sup>7</sup> in Abad,<sup>8</sup> pago ad Tibiscum posito profectus est Zolnocchum, ut ei praeficiat Ioannem Balassam,<sup>9</sup> insignem iuvenem, imponatque praesidia et munitiones necessarias cum machinis. Ex parte Turcarum nulli adhuc motus audiuntur, mirandumque est, quod sileant. His hic bene constitutis, quo signa illaturus est comes, sunt enim tum ei tum Bathoreo, alteri cis, alteri citra flumen ad X ferme  
25 millium hominum, non facile intelligo, res enim secretissime et sine ullo tumultu geritur, tanta et in comite elucet solertia et scientia rei militaris, tanto et ceteri omnes consensu in rem bene gerendam incubuerunt. Et quanquam vox multitudinis est, quod Heremitae<sup>10</sup> suppetias ibitur, mihi tamen quoniam ignotum est consilium, non audeo quicquam scribere, cum alioqui omnem expeditionis huius rationem tibi  
30 vel ab ipso initio constituisse certum est. De viribus Heremitae omnia maxima et plena spei bonae afferuntur. Dicitur habere XXV millium hominum copias, sedereque

746,7 suo] *auth del. ex suo desperantibus* 746,24 X] *auth corr. ex XII*

746<sup>1</sup> Eger. 746<sup>2</sup> István Dobó and István Mekcsey. 746<sup>3</sup> I.e. 10 September. Verancsics became Canon of Eger in 1550 and Archdeacon of Szabolcs county in 1549. 746<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Treaty of Edirne (1547). 746<sup>5</sup> Szolnok. 746<sup>6</sup> Niklas von Salm. 746<sup>7</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 746<sup>8</sup> Abád, today part of Abádszalók. 746<sup>9</sup> János Balassa. 746<sup>10</sup> George Martinuzzi.

Meggiessii,<sup>11</sup> ac silere non sine admiratione multorum. Nec id ex metu aut ignavia perhibent illum facere, sed exspectatione regii subsidii, cupientem cum integris, tum auctis viribus rem aggredi atque perficere, quam hactenus tanto artificio fabricavit. Ego iam illi nequeo non bene velle, post quam sic induxit animum, ut Christianae reipublicae opera eius consulatur. Faxit Deus, ut succedat illi, si probe agit, cui si omnino succurrendum erit, succurratur iustis auxiliis, quo et Transsylvani rem secure amplecti audeant, quia feruntur id ipsum opperiri, dum adhuc neutri parti accesserunt, (solito enim agunt ingenio, ut etiam Gritteo<sup>12</sup> casu egerunt), deturque opera, ut ea provincia fractis seditiosorum conatibus non obtineri solum, sed etiam possessione occupari tenerique, et imposterum quicquid alicunde ingruerit, paucis castellis in quibusdam semitis constitutis fortiter tueri possit.

[3.] Rem Petrovii<sup>13</sup> omnes, qui inde veniunt, magis quam Heremitae infirmant, facileque ita esse credo, quod et avaritia labore, et audere raro solet, nullius magnitudinis appetens. Fertur aliud nihil agere, quam et dies et vires terere in castella quadam, quae etiam si adimantur, parum sint et illi allatura emolumenti, et Heremitae detrimenti. Vincium<sup>14</sup> deditione accepit, Cianadinum<sup>15</sup> igne vastavit,<sup>16</sup> ab arce repulsus est. Nec Vincii accessionem incruenta victoria obtinuit. Paulus cognomento Bank,<sup>17</sup> cui Heremita Saxosabesum<sup>18</sup> crediderat, facta in eos eruptione, qui Vincium receperant, non exigua caede affecit; ipse vulneratus abscessit. Quid deinceps futurum sit, Deus novit et Rhamnusia Adrastia,<sup>19</sup> quae malos male perdet. Omnino tamen postquam in tantos motus coniecta est Transsylvania, cuius causa etiam reliquiis Hungariae non parum fortasse oborietur sollicitudinis, maturandum esse censerem in recipienda et firmanda validis praesidiis ea provincia, ne postea duobus aut etiam pluribus in tantae molis tantique momenti locis laboretur. Haec mea est de his sententia. Vale.

XXVI. Septembris 1550. Agriae.

747

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 28 September 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I, fol. 450v–451v.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 114–115.

*In Hungarian:* GATTÁJI GOROVÉ 1876, 99–100. [excerpt]

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

746,36 ut ] *auth del.* ex ut ei 746,36 illi ] *auth add.* 746,36 cui ] *auth corr.* ex eique 746,37 omnino ] *auth corr.* ex erit 746,37 erit ] *auth add.* 746,39 casu ] *auth del.* ex casu olim 746,40 seditiosorum ] *auth corr.* ex obstantui 746,45 terere ] *corr.* ex terrere 746,49 eruptione ] *auth corr.* ex irruptione

746<sup>11</sup> Mediaş. 746<sup>12</sup> Lodovico Gritti. 746<sup>13</sup> Péter Petrovics. 746<sup>14</sup> Vinț. Martinuzzi lived here from 1546 until his death. 746<sup>15</sup> Cenad. On the devastation of Cenad and the expulsion of István Szegedi Kis, see BARTA 1993, 91. 746<sup>16</sup> See OBORNI 2017, 156. 746<sup>17</sup> Pál Bánk was Royal Castellan of Gherla and Deva, and Vice-Voivode in 1552–1553, see VERESS 1898, *passim*; and OBORNI 2018, 436. 746<sup>18</sup> Sebeş. 746<sup>19</sup> Ie. Nemesis.

He reports on the Eger affairs at Oláh's request: everything is horrible, filthy, and sad, not to mention people's fear. They have carried out the excrement to the bulwark, and they will raise a bell tower to defend the castle. The kitchen is done, as are the quarters that have a view; the rest still contains military equipment, so if Oláh came here, he would get more use out of the defensive armour than his priestly garments. But thinking of Szolnok can fill them with hope regarding the renovation of this castle, too.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho antistiti suo salutem!

Postquam a me de statu et de iucunditate genii Agriensis scire desideras, nihil sane iucundi est, quod ad te id temporis scribere possum. Minimam partem pristinae faciei non habet reliquam: omnia sunt horrida, omnia squallida, omnia moesta, omnia, 5 quam erant, longe alia, omnia martialium hominum licentia deformata. Et ne de metu populorum quicquam dicam, ita tamen sese omnes demiserunt et destituere, ut qui vix crastinum sibi polliceantur. Quocumque obtutum vertis, quocumque ingrederis, iniuriae, ruinae, miles, metus, rapinae, discrimina, desperatio occurrunt. In arce tectum palatii episcopalis, fenestrae quaedam, et una dumtaxat camera, quae angustior 10 habetur, expleta est, toto operi plurima desunt, templo fere omnia, si tectum excepero, quod iam finitur. Reliqua eius incrementa in propugnaculum conferuntur, quod e regione occidentis et capituli ex lapidibus campanilium erigitur, opus quidem firmum, insigne et tutelare futurum toti arci ex ea parte magis, quam dici possit. Absoluta est et culina, forma et magnitudine non incelebri, et domus quaedam pede plano posita 15 non sine et genio commendabili et prospectu. Reliqua omnia occupant propugnacula, munitiones, machinae, instrumenta bellica, ruinarum cumuli, stabula, militum casae et stationes, et id genus infinita, adeo ut huc si id temporis veneris, maiori usui erit tibi cassis quam mitra, gladius quam pedo, thorax quam pallium, quam stola clypeus. Ages enim proprie castrensem, non Agriensem episcopum. Speranda tamen sunt cuncta 20 meliora, si Zolnocchum<sup>1</sup> tuebimur et expeditionis huius exitus votis respondebit. Ipse me hic tamdiu continebo, quamdiu tibi aliud de rebus meis videbitur statuendum. Tametsi libentius eo loci esse vellem, quo tu esses, ut potius tibi, quam otio meo inservirem. Igitur tuum erit praecipere, meum iussa capessere. Vale.

XXVIII. Septembris 1550. Agriae.

748

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 2 October 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I., fol. 456v–459r.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 115–117.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

747,2 Postquam] *auth del. ex* Postquam et 747,2 de<sup>2</sup>] *auth add.* 747,8 miles] *auth add.* 747,9 camera] *corr. ex* camea 747,19 castrensem] *corr. ex* castrensum

747<sup>1</sup> Szolnok.

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1. Having finished in Szolnok, Niklas von Salm and András (Bonaventura) Báthori came to Eger with the troops from the east of the river Tisza to discuss where they should fight. The Turks are not quiet any more: last time they attacked Szécsény and took prisoners, then they attacked Ság, but they were not successful there, and Ferenc Jakusich also retaliated for the Szécsény attack. 2. The Saxons and the Szeklers are said to have switched to Queen Isabella's side in Transylvania, but the fact that the Queen and George Martinuzzi have different plans is dividing the assembly. Péter Petrovics is building a camp at Alba Julia, he has 3,000 Serbians with him, as well as little John Sigismund. Martinuzzi is much stronger, he would easily defeat Petrovics, who can only hope for support from the Turks, but he has not yet brought the Turks and the Romanians over from Wallachia. He thinks that if they abandon Martinuzzi now and do not support him, it will be much more difficult to do so later. Like in Szapolyai's case, who did not receive help in spite of the treaty of Oradea, while the Sultan conquered Moldova.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho antistiti suo salutem!

[1.] Erecto iam Zolnoccho,<sup>1</sup> rebusque omnibus necessariis instructo et comes Salmus<sup>2</sup> et Andreas Bathoreus Agriam venerunt traductis huc etiam gentibus, quae trans Tibiscum erant; puto, ut hic consulant, quid agendum erit imposterum, quoque bellum promovendum. Turcae non omnino siluerunt. Proxime insperati Scienium<sup>3</sup> usque excurrerant, quae est arx Stephani Lossoncii,<sup>4</sup> oppidumque vi ingressi, abduxerunt homines L, unum occiderunt, pecora pauca reliquere. Arx etiam ipsa periclitata. Paucis diebus post invaserant et Sagh, sed non tam feliciter. Franciscus Iacossius<sup>5</sup> praesidorum eius loci praeses congressus cum latronibus obtinuit victoriam, ultraque Scienii iniuria occidit et vulneravit multos, cepit plures, nescitur tamen adhuc, an et damnum aequè recuperavit. Nunc iam videntur ferocire et maiora minitari, quantum nocituri, non divino. Sed si nova vis non supervenerit, hos praedones limitaneos nostrae copiae non pavebunt.

[2.] Ex Transsylvania adhuc turbulenta afferuntur. Et si quibusdam credi debeat, aiunt et Saxones et Seculos ad reginae iam auspicia transisse, Seculos etiam mutuo conflixisse in comitiis, quos reginae<sup>6</sup> et Heremita<sup>7</sup> studia diviserunt; Petrovium<sup>8</sup> ad Albani<sup>9</sup> castra metasse, nec habere tria millia Rascianorum penes se, quamquam duo excederent, secumque esse pupillum<sup>10</sup> Ioannis,<sup>11</sup> matrem<sup>12</sup> in urbe commorari. Heremitae vires longe maiores esse, et posse eum cum Petrovio tuto manum conserere ac victoriam sperare, honore tantum et fide arceri, ne in dominam et filium domini insurrexisse diceretur. Nec alia vi pollere Petrovium quam spe et expectatione Turcici patrocini, quo provinciales territi coguntur etiam per fas et nefas ab Heremita studiis dimoveri; cum tamen fama non silet fidem ei omnes de se fecisse, remque propterea cum Moldavis ita transactam, ut ab irruptione illorum non sit impense metuendum. Turcas Petrovius et Valacchos Transalpinos nondum induxit, venturos tamen cum voluerit. Sed fertur non audere adhuc tantum scelus, timens penes putrida etiam sanis partibus, ut sunt mores et perfidia Turcica, qui nobis non indulgent,

748<sup>1</sup> Szolnok. 748<sup>2</sup> Niklas von Salm. 748<sup>3</sup> Szécsény. 748<sup>4</sup> István Losonczy. 748<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Jakusich or Jakosich was Castellan of Sáhly from 1550, Vice-castellan of Eger between 1558 and 1559, and Vice-captain of Győr in 1567, see SUGÁR 1993–1994, 77; and GECSÉNYI 2008c, 450. 748<sup>6</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon. 748<sup>7</sup> George Martinuzzi. 748<sup>8</sup> Péter Petrovics. 748<sup>9</sup> Alba Julia. 748<sup>10</sup> Future King John Sigismund. 748<sup>11</sup> King John I. 748<sup>12</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon.

neque commiserentur nostra causa, sed suae tantum servant nos opportunitati atque  
libidini, simulata pietate et dolosa amicitia. Futurum tamen quidquid est, haud longa  
30 expectatione tenebimur. Utinam autem ea consequantur, quae vellemus; sed vereor,  
ne, si hac vice destituetis Heremitam, durior fiat imposterum, ut Ioannes olim, quando  
ei auxilia, quae ex pacto pacis<sup>13</sup> debebantur, Solymano<sup>14</sup> Moldaviam subiugante non  
fuerunt missa. Nam cum et illud accepimus, quod oratores, quos in Turciam dimiserat, ex  
itinere nuntiarint, ut esset bono animo, quandoquidem omnia illi laeta Transsylvaniae  
35 tuta apportarent, quid quaeso aliud augurandum est, quam quodpiam novum cum  
Turca foedus, novam necessitatem, qua in pristinam eius gratiam restitui possit.  
Quod et Ioannes fecit, cum transactam pacem cum rege nostro recusavit promulgare.  
Ea igitur, quae cum Heremita agenda sunt, si agenda modo, mature agi suaderem,  
quia saepe dilata sublata sunt. Alioqui debetis mihi ignoscere, si quid videor in  
40 Areopago<sup>15</sup> consulere, quod minus intelligam minusque deceat praesentem fortunam  
meam. Saepe tamen alias et in Hungaricis et in Transsylvanicis rebus vaticinia nostra  
exitus probavere, cum privatarum rerum studia, ubi prius est publicis consulendum,  
in multis consuevi arguere, nihili faciens odia, quae mihi amor veritatis peperisset.  
Vale.  
45 II. Octobris 1550. Agriae.

749

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 11 October 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I., fol. 473r–475v.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 132–134.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

1. They are arming themselves, and they will continue to do so for a long time. The castle of Szolnok is ready, they are stocking it up now. George Martinuzzi has been besieging Alba Julia for 37 days, he is said to have 24,000 people, and he wants to get back little John Sigismund. He did not want to start the siege until he received certain news that Martinuzzi and Isabella had invited the Turks in. The Pasha of Buda has namely left Pest and is headed for Transylvania, but not with an army large enough for Martinuzzi to be afraid of it. However, it is unclear if on his way to Transylvania he will head towards Szeged or turn towards Szolnok and attack it. 2. The Szeklers and the Saxon noblemen are also still on Martinuzzi's side. Ferenc Kendy does not trust Martinuzzi (a feeling that is mutual), and he prefers Péter Petrovics, but he is keeping this to himself. In any case, his ambition can cause a lot of trouble in the future. The Count is staying on top of the affairs, the mercenaries will be able to defend the borders, unless the size of the enemy grows significantly. Cenad is holding up, but it is feared that it will fall.

748,34 nuntiarint] *auth del. ex* nuntiarint ille 748,34 omnia illi] *auth add.* 748,34 laeta] *auth del. ex* laeta ei 748,34 Transsylvaniae] *auth del. ex* Transsylvaniae viro 748,35 apportarent] *auth corr. ex* vir afferret

748<sup>13</sup> The treaty of Oradea in 1538. 748<sup>14</sup> Suleiman I. 748<sup>15</sup> The chief court in ancient Greece.

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Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho salutem!

[1.] Nos iam hic egregie armamur, et in armis his longe, puto, diutius erit nobis perseverandum, quam forte fortuna nemo initio existimasset. Quoniam Zolnocchum<sup>1</sup> excitavit huic loco satis cumulate veteres sollicitudines, et attulit novas non pauciores, neque minores. Firmato castello milite et munitionibus nunc commeatu expletur. In 5 Transsylvania XXX iam septimus dies est, quod Heremita<sup>2</sup> Albam<sup>3</sup> obsidet. Habet exercitum (ut publica voce audimus) XXVIII millium hominum; quamvis longe est secus, et in eis equitum sunt XVI millium, peditum VIII, sed qui eius aere merent, IIII sunt, dumtaxat equitum millia, peditum mille. Reliquus numerus ex provincialibus et nobilitate diversorum comitatuum, collatitius est. Diu obsessos non petiit ulla vi 10 machinarum; ad ultroneam deditionem sollicitavit assidue Petrovium,<sup>4</sup> ut Turcam et hostem publicum, pupillum, ut eius gentis dominum reddi sibi postulando. Regina,<sup>5</sup> ut femina, quae non capit hostis nomen, cum ceteris ut imbecilles et indulgentia magis, quam severa pro belli iure animadversione digni, non tanti aestimati sunt, ut in eorum conatibus pondus haberi declararetur. Ad consensum tantum regni 15 publicum et Christianam societatem hortati, venia etiam ultro quotidie oblata, si ante vim sententiam mutavissent. Verum quoniam in obstinatione perdurant, bombardas quoque iam admovit et oppugnatione muros sollicitat. Nec prius ad hanc vim dicitur accedere voluisse, quam comperit certo<sup>6</sup> et reginam et Petrovium Turcas evocasse.

Bassa enim Budensis<sup>7</sup> iam movit Pesto<sup>8</sup> et in Transsylvaniam pergit, sed non 20 cum tantis copiis, quas Heremita deberet pertimescere, nisi inter eundum augebitur. Dubium etiam est, quonam signa vertat. Nam haesit ferme in medio itineris, quod est inter Zegeginum<sup>9</sup> et Zolnocchum, et Zegeginum versus erit ei declinandum, si in Transsylvaniam animus est, quod quidem firmiore fama fertur. Sed interim, et hic suspectus est, is eius motus et haec mora, et hoc anceps iter, ne forte alio via 25 demonstrata, erumpat in Zolnocchum.

[2.] Seculi Heremitam non destituerunt, Saxonum quidam potiores reginae adhaerant, sed cognita plane eius mente de inducendis Turcarum auxiliis una omnes cum nobilitate et Seculis redierunt ad Heremitam. Francisci Kendini<sup>10</sup> dubius animus,<sup>11</sup> ac (uti nuntii Heremita afferebant) cum Petrovio sentit, quamvis cum Heremita simulet, 30 hic vicissim secum; et quod enormius de tanto homine publica etiam fama vulgavit, eius ambitionis scintilla tantum incendium excitavit. Sed verius de hoc postea.

749,6 XXX] *auth corr. ex XXXmus* 749,6 septimus] *auth corr. ex VIIImus* 749,7 ut] *auth del. ex ut et privata et* 749,7–8 quamvis ... et] *auth add.* 749,9 millia] *auth del. ex millia sunt* 749,17 bombardas] *auth corr. ex bombardis* 749,18 admovit] *auth corr. ex ab VIII die* 749,18 et] *auth del. ex et omne genus* 749,18 oppugnatione] *auth corr. ex oppugnationis* 749,18 muros sollicitat] *auth corr. ex adhibuit* 749,19 Turcas] *auth del. ex Turcas in auxilium*

749<sup>1</sup> Szolnok. 749<sup>2</sup> George Martinuzzi. 749<sup>3</sup> Alba Julia. 749<sup>4</sup> Péter Petrovics. 749<sup>5</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon. 749<sup>6</sup> Uncertain reading. 749<sup>7</sup> Gazi Kasim Pasha. 749<sup>8</sup> Pest. 749<sup>9</sup> Szeged. 749<sup>10</sup> Ferenc Kandy was *magister tavernicorum regalium* to King John I in 1539, and he participated in the Balassa–Majláth-revolt in 1540. They probably tried to bring the Transylvanian parts under the rule of King Ferdinand I. Between 1553 and 1556, he was a Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, see OBORNI 2017, 63–66; and FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 129. 749<sup>11</sup> The Balassa–Majláth-revolt in 1540 took place against George Martinuzzi. Kandy obviously hated Martinuzzi.

Comes<sup>12</sup> summa vigilantia et dexteritate rebus praeest. Nihil certe praetermittit (si quid ego iudicii habeam de alienis actionibus), quod audiendum, videndum, 35 cognoscendum experiundumque et agendum est optimo maximo et prudentissimo belli ductori, illud dumtaxat eum quoque perturbat, ut alios omnes, quod comitatus dimittuntur. Qui si omnino missionem tam cito impetrabunt, (ut eis negari nequit) stipendiarii milites, qui remanebunt, vix sat erunt tanto limiti, hoste praesertim non mediocriter, ut affertur, aucto. Non enim multi supererunt. Turcae autem ad tantum 40 motum, qui a nobis factus est, serio videntur esse multiplicati, timendumque, ne tunc ipsi bellum ordiri incipiant, cum nos desierimus. Arx Cianadiensis<sup>13</sup> adhuc resistit, sed periculum est, ne succumbat, si Turcae obsidentibus accesserunt, quod ita esse nuntiatur. Haec a legatis Heremitaie, qui hic fuere nudiustertius, magna ex parte cognita. Vale.

45 XI. Octobris 1550. Agriae.

<sup>745</sup>750<sub>751</sub>

Miklós Oláh to Antal Verancsics  
Augsburg, 23 October 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I., fol. 484r–485r.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 145.

*Notes:* Verancsics' copy with his autograph emendations.

*Oláh has received two of Verancsics's letters, which have informed him better than any letter from other people. He is trying to obtain the office of lector in Esztergom for Verancsics, and he will receive the King's deed from Georg Bona when he returns to Vienna from Eger. He will send Máté Szerdahelyi in three days to look after the affairs of the estate with Verancsics's help.*

Nicolaus Olahus Antonio Wrancio suo salutem!

Binas tuas litteras accepi ante aliquot dies intra Septembrium et Octobrium Kalendarum tempus ad me datas.<sup>1</sup> Habeo tibi magnas gratias, quod non praetermiseris me de his rebus facere certiolem, quas ab aliis minus perspicue et copiose cognoveramus. 5 Negotium lectoratus Strigoniensis,<sup>2</sup> spero, quod brevi pro voto tuo expediam, habes enim principem tibi benignissimum, me paterne affectum, eiusque donationis litteras, cum Agria Viennam redieris, invenies apud Bonnam<sup>3</sup> meum sororium. Proinde mittam hoc triduo istuc Matthaenum Zerdahelinum<sup>4</sup> secretarium meum in quibusdam 10 prorsus agat sine te et consilio tuo, quemadmodum ex eodem Matthaео et ex litteris meis, quas ei ad te dedi, intelliges. Tu itaque interim, dum Matthaеus advenit, tuas res

750,1 Nicolaus ... salutem] *auth corr.* ex Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho salutem.

749<sup>12</sup> Probably Niklas von Salm. 749<sup>13</sup> Cenad. 750<sup>1</sup> We know five letters from Verancsics to Oláh during September and October 1550: Ep. 745., Ep. 746., Ep. 747., Ep. 748., and Ep. 749. 750<sup>2</sup> Verancsics aspired to the *officium lectoratus* of Esztergom, see Ep. 745. 750<sup>3</sup> Georg Bona. 750<sup>4</sup> Máté Szerdahelyi was Provost of Myslina, see PIRHALLA 1899, 220–221; ERŐS 2018, 47–48.



familiares istic componas, quo postea confectis meis negotiis ad me remeare possis.  
Vale.

23. Octobris 1550. Augustae.

<sup>750</sup>751

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 10 November 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I., fol. 485r–486r.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 146–147.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

*1. He is very happy to have received his letter and the office of lector in Esztergom, God bless Oláh for his favour towards him. He was planning to hold his first mass on 1 January, but when he received news from Oláh's letter as well as from Máté Szerdahelyi that Oláh wants him by his side, he turned all his efforts to making sure this happens as soon as possible. 2. He will report about Oláh's estates when they are together in Esztergom. A lot of news has arrived from Transylvania about the Turks, he will say more about them in a longer letter in three days.*

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho salutem!

[1.] Litteras tuas XXIII. Octobris datas,<sup>1</sup> VIII. Novembris accepi, quae quidem me magna laetitia et voluptate affecerunt, idque non tam, ut nuntiae accessionis novi et opulenti beneficii,<sup>2</sup> quam quod meis te obsequiis uti iam velle video; quamquam et dona et beneficia tua, quibus me prius etiam quam pene cognoveris, et ornare et  
5 locupletare coeperis, ita complector et excipio, ut nihil neque gratius, neque desideratius. Deus immortalis hanc tibi erga me benevolentiam simul et beneficentiam omni largitate et ea gratia referat, quae tibi quam gratissima et quam amplissima provenire possit; ego vero enitar omni diligentia, ut gratitudini erga tantum, tamque  
10 munificum benefactorem meum nunquam desim ad mandata autem, quae das, quod attinet. Etsi consumptis iam et plane exantlatis omnibus his, quibus retroactae vitae meae anni per tantam varietatem fatorum cucurrerunt, statueram proximis Kalendis Iani primitias meas celebrare, ut secutus felici a tua in hoc sacrorum genere auspicia,  
15 is demum ipse quoque esse incepissem, qui dudum esse debebam, nec imposterum ordini meo et Spiritui Sancto refragarer, qui me ab initio mystem divinorum esse  
20 voluerint: tamen postquam et ex litteris tuis, et ex Matthaeo<sup>3</sup> tuo cognovi, quae me id temporis velles in tuis rebus non exilibus, distuli meam hanc cogitationem, et ad iniunctam a te provinciam appuli animum et omnem industriam.

[2.] De beneficiis tuis illud dixerim, ut mihi illic studeas benefacere, ubi tecum semper esse possim, esto, quod Strigonii simus. (Quis enim hoc non optet tibi?) Quia  
25 hic certe multum etiam imposterum laborabitur, sive id de Turcis, sive de praesidiis

750,12 familiares] *auth add.* 751,8 referat] *auth del.* ex referat vices 751,21 sive] *auth corr.* ex si

751<sup>1</sup> Ep. 750. 751<sup>2</sup> On the *officium lectoratus* of Esztergom, see Ep. 742. and Ep. 750. 751<sup>3</sup> Máté Szerdahelyi.

nostris rapacissimis velimus intelligere. Nova, quae ex Transsylvania habemus, triduo post scribam copiose,<sup>4</sup> nam multa uno tempore sunt allata. His autem maturandum fuit, ut quam primum de voluntate mea in tuis rebus tibi constaret. Vale.

25 X. Novembris 1550. Agriae.

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Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 15 November 1550

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. I., fol. 486r–490r.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 147–151.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations. Verancsics emended the letter in two phases, here we publish the first version because the later versions differ substantially, and Oláh probably read the first one.

1. Tamás Varkocs reached Lippa the other day, and he wants to proceed to Transylvania from there, but it is not clear what his plan is, since he has large troops, with which he liberated Csanád from the siege of the Serbians and took several of Petrovics's castles, e.g. Nagylak, supposedly so that he can defend more areas. 2. In the meantime, György Fráter was tricked in the hope of an agreement with the Queen and Petrovics. He was in a lot of trouble, but got away with it in the end. The Queen had namely had enough of György Fráter's repeated perfidy, and she terminated the agreement on the third day it was in effect. In the meantime, secret envoys reported that reinforcements were being sent to Kasim Pasha, and that the Romanians want their troops to join those of the Turks. The Queen, not being too steadfast, confused everything and alienated all her peoples from herself and left György Fráter out of all her plans. 3. György Fráter became mad with rage and called his people to war with a bloody sword, primarily wanting to prevent the Moldovans from making a crossing and joining the Turks. 14,000 Moldovans crossed the Oituz river and proceeded to Székelyföld (Székely Land), from where they headed toward Sebeș to join the Turks and the Romanians. 4. György Fráter set up camp in Târgu Mureș, which was a good strategic decision. There are two ways to access Transylvania from Moldavia: through the narrow Oituz, and from the thick forests around Rodna. With a 6,000-strong army, György Fráter pounced on the Moldavians as they were arriving, who then fled and dispersed. The Romanians, who were waiting for them at Turnu Roșu, were startled by the Turks and stopped in their tracks. They were namely expecting the Romanians to appear at Ilieni, and Varkocs cut off their line of retreat. The Romanians did indeed very well to pretend they were fleeing and join György Fráter. 5. The Queen, together with Petrovics, retreated to Stremț, although it rather seemed like they were fleeing. Petrovics is said to have lost his mind, sometimes he keeps staring at people while he is talking, like a maniac.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho salutem.

[1.] Proximis diebus Thomas Varcotius<sup>1</sup> permissos Turcas in Transsylvania pro-movere, quo consilio dubium praesertim, quod longe erant ipsius exercitu pauciores, Cianadinum<sup>2</sup> obsidione liberavit, multa in Rascianos et praeda et caede edita, et inde

751 <sup>4</sup>In fact, he wrote the next letter five days later, see Ep. 752. 752 <sup>1</sup>Tamás Varkocs or Varkoch (†1576). After Mohács, he was loyal to King John I and Queen Isabella Jagiellon but then he changed sides. He became Captain of Eger, Captain of Oradea from 1549, and *ispán* of Bihar county, see CSIFFÁRY 2004. 752 <sup>2</sup>Cenad.

latius propagata victoria, castellis quoque quibusdam Petrovianis<sup>3</sup> potitus. Inter quae 5  
potiora sunt: Nagylak, Ciallia,<sup>4</sup> Mako, Egeresth<sup>5</sup> et Orozlanos;<sup>6</sup> hisque in locis castris  
positis et possessis castellis dicitur servare se rebus adhuc et momentis maioribus. Ita  
certe, si e Transsylvania quoque Turcas redeuntes denuo se videre simulabit.

[2.] Haec dum aguntur foris per Varcotium, Heremita<sup>7</sup> in Transsylvania deceptus  
concordiae fiducia, quam cum regina<sup>8</sup> et Petrovio<sup>9</sup> confecerat, adiit grave periculum, 10  
quod tamen evasit. Cum enim omnibus in his obtemperatum sese reginae fide  
obstrinxisset, propter quae in illum commota esse videbatur, promississet insuper  
omnia impensa de suo Turcis reponere, et pro more donativum mittere, si modo et ipsa  
eos sine ulla dilatione regno amandandos curaret: tantum abest, ut et ipsa promissis  
suis stare voluerit, et Heremita<sup>7</sup> diu poenitudine et deditione contenta fuerit, ut III. 15  
die a concordia ipsum libellum concordiae illi remiserit adiecto: respuere se eius  
obsequia, partamque secum paulo ante concordiam nolle habere ratam. Sedulo inde  
sub indutiis tempore sollicitato Turca clandestinis nuntiis, ut Kaszuno<sup>10</sup> maiores  
copiae summitterentur, cogerenturque etiam Valacchi novis mandatis in Transsyl-  
vaniam properare, et cum Turcis signa coniungere, hisque pro voto impetratis et 20  
mox a facta concordia cognitis: mulier pro sexu constantiae immemor, animum in  
occasionem inclinavit, pollicitaque sibi victoriae fiducia, prosequi inveteratum odium  
etiam cum periculo et infamia maluit levitatis, quam in pace, quae illi, ut affertur,  
honestissima et commodissima offerebatur, permanere. Sic omnibus rebus perturbatis  
subita mutatione muliebri omnes populos eius provinciae ab se alienavit, Heremitam 25  
vero in suis coeptis etiam securiorem fecit.

[3.] Uno enim tempore accepto a regina concordiae libello auditoque hinc Tur-  
carum, illinc Valacchorum inopinato ingressu, commotus et in furorem quandam  
incensus, ut qui iam conquieverat in fiducia pacis, et pergebat ea curare, quae se-  
dandis regni usus exigebat, repente emisso per provinciam sanguineo veru,<sup>11</sup> ut apud 30  
gentem nostram in subitis et gravibus rebus fieri consuevit, denuo omnes populos  
in arma invocaret, quamquam alioqui destituta regina ultro iam ad eum confluere  
inceperat statuitque Moldavis prius occurrere eo consilio, ut prohiberet, ne cum Turcis  
coniungerentur, ea etiam spe, ut si hos mature repulissent, et Transalpini et Turcae  
ab ulteriore progressu arcerentur. Nec cessit ei tanti consilii tantaque spei exitus 35  
infelicitate. Ingressa erant Moldavorum XIII millia per viam Oytoz<sup>12</sup> in Seculiam. Illinc  
per Burciae<sup>13</sup> campos, penes Aluta<sup>14</sup> flumen et oppidum Prasmardinum,<sup>15</sup> deinde per  
Segesvarinorum agrum, relictas arcae Fogarasina a sinistra parte et Cibiniensis urbe, a  
Saxosabesu,<sup>16</sup> a sinistra parte iter habere et ad Saxosabesiam conterminam cum Turcis  
et Transalpinis coniungi animus erat. 40

752<sup>3</sup> The adherents of Péter Petrovics. 752<sup>4</sup> Probably Đala. 752<sup>5</sup> Igrış. 752<sup>6</sup> Banatsko Arandelovo.  
752<sup>7</sup> George Martinuzzi. 752<sup>8</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon. 752<sup>9</sup> Péter Petrovics. 752<sup>10</sup> Suleiman I sent  
Gazi Kasim Pasha to get help. George Martinuzzi was captured, and the Sultan removed him from the  
Treasury and Procuratorship, see OBORNI 2017, 204; and DÁVID 1996. 752<sup>11</sup> *veru* meaning 'sword', see DU  
CANGE 1883. According to the old Hungarian chronicles, the Huns and the Scythians called people to war  
by brandishing a bloody sword. 752<sup>12</sup> Oituz. 752<sup>13</sup> Braşov. 752<sup>14</sup> Olt river. 752<sup>15</sup> Prejmer. 752<sup>16</sup> Sebeş.

[4.] Heremita ad Vasarhelium<sup>17</sup> oppidum, metropolim Seculorum, cum suis copiis consererat, loco sane patenti et ad rem bene gerendam valde opportuno, sive acie foret decertandum, sive obsistendum barbaris, utraque via irrupissent. Nam in ea Transsylvaniae plaga duae potissimum semitae sunt ex Moldavia in Transsylvaniam: altera  
 45 Oytoz, quae Brassoviae<sup>18</sup> imminet, altera Radnabania,<sup>19</sup> quae Bistriciae; illaque sola currulis est et nonnihilo lata, haec angustissima et silvarum densitate impedita, vixque equiti pervia. Prodeuntibus itaque Moldavis igitur ubi primum constitit Heremitaie Moldavos esse in provincia, extemplo in eos VI millia equitum misit et praecepit congre  
 50 di. Verum territi Valacchi incursu Heremitanorum repente terga verserunt, fusique statim sua ignavia, sine et sanguine et negotio reiecti sunt in suos fines. Eorum casu Transalpini quoque, qui iam per Turrim Rubeam<sup>20</sup> Cibinio<sup>21</sup> adiacentem iuxta Alutam flumen irrumpebant, repressi; iniectus et Turcis metus. Ii enim ad pagum Ilye,<sup>22</sup> paulo infra montem Aranyos nuncupatum in dextera Marisi amnis situm, Devensi arce in altera ripa, duobus circiter milliaribus a tergo dimissa substiterunt, opperientes  
 55 Valacchorum adventum, ubi in hodiernum diem haerere perhibentur, satis de reditu solliciti, quod et Varcotius eis receptum cum IX ferme millia hominum intercluserit, et Heremitam firmatis praesidio finibus Seculorum cum ingenti turba provincialium a fronte venire intelligat. O occasionem complectendam, o diu fortasse imposterum talem non eventuram, si hanc emisimus, cum et reditus difficultate laboret hostis  
 60 et magnam virium partem Christianis debeat, quos attraxit, secum domi relinquere non ausus, ne quid molirentur in occasione. Vereor adhuc tamen iam violatarum induciarum religionem. Et utinam earum reverentia non obsimus Transsylvaniae, qua amissa ne nomen ipsum quidem aut ipsa umbra Hungariae remanebit. Recte Valacchi itaque meritoque maxime laudandi, qui tam pie cum Heremita consenserunt (quod  
 65 fama fertur), ut ei ultro primam de se victoriae partem concesserint, fugam simulati; sed nos non aeque commendandi, si et eis et nobis ipsis defuerimus.

[5.] Regina in arcem Dyd<sup>23</sup> concessit cum Petrovio, nimirum iam sola cum solo. Quae profectio fugae mihi videtur esse similis, eaque omnino comprobabitur, si inde ad Gialuanam arcem descenderit. De Petrovio multa insana, vitam eius solitudinem  
 70 et gemitus et suspiria esse aiunt. Visus est non semel in proximum immigrasse e curia redeundo, suum existimans, et in colloquiis saepe subito quodam stupore conticescere, intueri tamen in homines, ut in contemplatione solent a spiritu rapti. Deus et eis mentem restituat, et Transsylvaniae opem afferat. Hic sunt quietia omnia, credo causa absentiae Turcae. A praesidiis tantum nostris expilamur et subigimur.  
 75 Vale.

15. Novembris 1550. Agrariae.

752,55 adventum] *corr. ex adventu*

752<sup>17</sup> Târgu Mureş. 752<sup>18</sup> Braşov. 752<sup>19</sup> Rodna. 752<sup>20</sup> Turnu Roşu. 752<sup>21</sup> Sibiu. 752<sup>22</sup> Ilieni. 752<sup>23</sup> Stremţ.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 18 November 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 17.

*Published:* KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI–LUKCSICS 1912, 439. [excerpt]

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

1. To his knowledge, the plague is ravaging Vienna, so they should look for a safer place for his sisters and nephews. He asks Nádasdy to help his family find a place if the need arises. 2. As for the late Ferenc Frangepán's bishopric, he has already written about it to Nádasdy, he is waiting for an answer as to whether he should make plans for taking that seat. They are expecting Maximilian from Spain, King Ferdinand I and Queen Mary are expected to be arriving after him.

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Amice Observandissime!

[1.] Intelligimus Viennae pestem coepisse grassari, quid si ita est, quaerendus est nobis aliquis locus salubris, ad quem sorores nostrae et nepotes<sup>1</sup> usque ad reditum nostrum commigrare possint. Rogamus itaque Dominationem Vestram, uti dominum 5 et fratrem, ut si pestis Vien<nae> saevire coeperit, et necessitas fore videbitur, velit aliquem loc<um au>t habitationem in bonis suis alicubi praemissae familiae nos<trae a>d tempus aliquot dare, ubi commorari et pestem, si Deo pla<citum> erit, vitare possint, faciet in hoc Dominatio Vestra Magnifica rem nobis gratam, quam eidem reservire volumus. 10

[2.] De rebus illis pontificalibus, quas quondam dominus Colocensis<sup>2</sup> testamento suo legavit et de quibus nuper Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae scripseramus,<sup>3</sup> et nuntiaveramus, cupimus habere responsum, ut sciamus nos praeparare ad officia nostra peragenda.

Hic nihil novi est, de quo scribere possemus, nisi quod terimus tempore inutiliter, 15 magno taedio et expensis nescimus quarum rerum privatarum, non dicimus regiarum, sed aliorum g<ratia>. Serenissimum regem Maximilianum<sup>4</sup> ex Hispaniis huc ventur<um> exspectamus, et fortasse aliquo post tempore etiam principem Ferdinandum<sup>5</sup> atque Mariam reginam, rumor enim de his inter multos vagatur. Quod reliquum est, Dominationem Vestram Magnificam unacum domina coniuge<sup>6</sup> sua carissima, 20 domina nostra observandissima feliciter valere optamus, quibus nos et servitia nostra commendamus.

Ex Augusta decima octavo Novembris anno Domini 1550.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

753,12 legavit ] *O corr. ex canit* 753,13 nuntiaveramus ] *corr. ex nuntiaveramus* 753,17 Hispaniis ] *O corr. ex Hispanias* 753,24 Servitor ... propria ] *O add.*

753<sup>1</sup> Oláh's sisters, nephews, and nieces lived in Oláh's Vienna palace, see Ep. 736. 753<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Frangepán died in 1543, the Archdiocese of Kalocsa had been unfilled since then. 753<sup>3</sup> We do not know this letter. 753<sup>4</sup> Future Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor was *designatus rex* since 1549. He lived in the Spanish court since 1548. 753<sup>5</sup> Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria. 753<sup>6</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

25 [On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras iudici curiae et consiliario regiae maiestatis ac supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino et amico nobis observandissimo.

754<sub>755</sub>

The Seven Mining Towns to Miklós Oláh  
Banská Štiavnica, Before 14 December 1550

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PK MMK, Tom. I. Font. 26. Fasc. 1. No. 59.

*Notes:* Copy. It might be a supplication.

1. They have been forced to write to the King, which he is attaching, because they are terrified, as all their loyal neighbours have come under the Sultan's rule, and it has been reported that the Turks will be here soon. They ask Oláh to present and help their petition. 2. Oláh will also understand from the letter to the King what they write about the proposed new administration of the mining towns; this cannot be delayed further, even if they lose their freedom. They are sending the new exordiatio so he can get a better idea, asking him to read it and tell them his opinion. 3. According to the new ordinatio, a new law enters into force, in opposition to the common law of the King, thus they will in effect break away from the laws of the kingdom, and they are afraid that the rest of the estates will start to hate them. He asks him to help their case at the joint assembly so they can get rid of both the danger and the hatred.

Reverendissime Domine et Patrone nobis Gratosissime, post servitiorum nostrorum indignorum paratissimam commendationem oblatoꝝ!

[1.] Intelliget Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ea, qua urgenti necessitate compulsi ad regiam maiestatem, dominum clementissimum scribimus ex nostris ad suam  
5 regiam maiestatem litteris istis adiunctis et quia valde veremur, uti omnes fidi vicini nostri, qui iam subditi sunt tyranno Turcarum, nobis denuntiant brevi Turcas in has partes excursiones et eo quidem magis, quod populus, qui Nytriae confluxerat, dissolutus sit, facturos esse, nam et in praesentia suos habent praecursores et audent  
10 plagiarii etiam ex ipsis fodinis prope civitates habitis laboratores abducere, aut statim necare, immo etiam sacras aedes ad spoliandum aggredi. Quare nos, Reverendissimae  
15 Dominationi Vestrae humillime supplicamus, dignetur nostram petitionem<sup>1</sup> apud sacram regiam maiestatem promotam et adiutam habere. Quemadmodum Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra idipsum antea summo studio semperque fecit et tandem inposterum cum quia patriam diligit, tum quod pastor sit animarum Christianarum  
tanta magis et ardentius, quanto pericula atrociora et nobis viciniora sunt, pro summa quam in Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram positam habemus spe nostra facturam esse confidimus.

[2.] Intelliget etiam Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ea, quae ad sacram regiam maiestatem de nova nobis proposita montanica ordinatione scribimus. Non moramur

754,2 commendationem] *add.* 754,7 excursiones] *auth corr.* ex excursionis

754<sup>1</sup> We do not know the petition, but the King's answer is attached to this letter.

eam suscipere, etiamsi fiat cum amissione nostrarum libertatum nostroque exitio, sed 20  
quod iuxta tenue et cui non satis temporis in tam magno negotio ad deliberandum  
concessum est iudicium nostrum ea quae proventibus regiis infructuosa et montanis  
perniciosa sunt, probare debuissimus. Id ipsum plane contra fidem et iuramentum  
nostrum regiae maiestati praestitum esse censuimus. Et ut rem totam Reverendissima  
Dominatio Vestra accipiat, mittimus ad Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram et 25  
ipsam novam exordinationem<sup>2</sup> et nostrum iudicium Reverendissimae Dominationi  
Vestrae humilliter supplicantes, velit pro suo in patriam amore multo missa acta  
alicui fideli ex suis ad perlegendum et Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae summam  
totius rei referendum committere, suaeque in hac parte patriae deinde regiae maiestati  
haeredibusque suis ac nobis miseris subditis gratiose prospicere. 30

[3.] Nam cum in dicta nova ordinatione novum ius contra regni consuetudinem  
constituatur nosque ea in parte a regni legibus avellamur, veremur, ne nos propterea  
per omnes status et ordines regni, in quo nobis vivendum et moriendum est, gra-  
vissimo et proventibus regiis ac montanis pernicioso odio prosequamur. Interponat  
itaque Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra ad humiles preces nostras proque regiae 35  
maiestatis et reipublicae suamve operam, ut dicta ordinatio isto periculoso tempore  
non tanta et tam praecipiti festinatione erigatur, sed potius in publicis comitiis hoc,  
quod utile et fructuosum erit et maxime hoc quod ad iustitiae administrationem et  
iuris processum attinet, cum ordinum et statuum consensu rectissime statuatur, ut  
ita ruina montanarum caveatur et nos a tanto odio et periculo liberemur. In qua 40  
re Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra regiae maiestati, domino nostro clementissimo  
suisque haeredibus patriaeque huic non mediocriter commodabit et nos gratiose et  
paterne servabit. Quod beneficium a Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra in nos colla-  
tum perpetuo erga Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram promerebimur et Deum  
optimum maximum pro salute et felicitate Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae sine 45  
cessatione orabimus. Cui nos uti domino et patrono nostro gratiosissimo humiliter  
commendamus.

Datae ut supra anno 1550.

Eiusdem Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae

ad mandata oboedientissimi iudices etc. 50

[Probably on the outer side:] Domino cancellario domino Olaho etc.

<sup>754</sup>755

Miklós Oláh to The Seven Mining Towns  
Augsburg, 14 December 1550

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1551.

*ms. II:* ŠABB PK MMK, Tom. I. Font. 26. Fasc. 1. No. 59. fol. 4–5.

*Notes:* Ms. I is the original letter with signature and seal. Ms. II is a copy.

<sup>754</sup> On the margin: diese shriff <...> suorum tamen findus.

He understands what they wrote about the new administration of the mining towns in their latest letter, and he has presented the matter to the King. The new administration will not be to their detriment, and Oláh supports their case. Their letter to Queen Mary is with him, he will hand it over when she arrives, probably on 10 January. They will learn from the King's letter what he responds about the money, the mine, the coal burner, and the workers.

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem!

Ea, quae nobis diebus superioribus de nova ordinatione in istis montanis per dominos commissarios regiae maiestatis etc. facta scripsistis,<sup>1</sup> intelleximus. Nos exhibitis regiae maiestati aliis litteris vestris apud suam maiestatem pro vobis diligenter egimus. Et quemadmodum ex litteris suae maiestatis cum praesentibus ad vos missis intelligetis, ordinatio illa et reformatio montanarum non cedit in vestrum, vel montanarumstrarum damnum. Neque etiam in processibus aut appellationibus iurium extra regnum Hungariae quicquam statui sua maiestas permittet, deinceps etiam quibuscumque rebus poterimus, negotia vestra libenter promovebimus apud suam maiestatem. Litteras autem vestras, quas ad serenissimam Mariam reginam, dominam nostram clementissimam dedistis, hic apud nos retinuimus usque ad adventum huc suae maiestatis. Expectamus enim ad decimum diem Ianuarii huc suam maiestatem, cui tunc litteras ipsas reddemus. Quid etiam maiestas regia in causa monetariorum, urburariorum, carbonariorumque et laboratorum responderit, litteras suae maiestatis ad vos misimus. Bene valete.

Datum Augustae Vindelicorum die 14. Decembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudicibus et iuratis civibus septem civitatum montanarum etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

756

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 30 December 1550

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 18.

*Published:* PRAY 1806, II, 224–225; KARÁCSONYI–KOLLÁNYI–LUKCSICS 1912, 454. [excerpt]

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

They received news two days ago that Niklas von Salm had died in Eger after a short illness. Before his death, he wrote to Oláh that he wanted Oláh to be with him, and Oláh also wanted to be there, but it was not to be. If he had been in Eger, he would have performed his funeral; but he is still here, waiting for Queen Mary, and

755,6 intelligetis ] *ms. II.* intelliget 755,7 in ] *ms. II.* in quibuscumque rebus 755,10 vestras ] *ms. II. om.* 755,13 ipsas ] *ms. II.* suas 755,15 vos ] *ms. I.* eos *corr. sec. ms. II.* 755,18 Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria ] *ms. I. O. add; ms. II.* Vester Agriensis manu propria.

755<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 754.



once she arrives, they will travel to Vienna together. The members of the royal family are well. He is waiting for a reply to two or three of his letters from Nadasdy, to whom he sends his regards, together with his wife.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime, servitorum meorum commendationem!

Hoc biduo venit huc fama dominum comitem a Salm<sup>1</sup> post aliquanti temporis aegritudinem Agriae<sup>2</sup> mortuum esse, corpore exesum.<sup>3</sup> Doleo ex animo id hoc tempore contigisse, non solum propter me, sed magis propter maiestatem regiam, dominum 5 nostrum clementissimum, sed quis fato resistere potest? Vereor, ne occulto Dei iudicio premamur, et ne pedum Sancti Adalberti eum pupugerit, et calice Sancti Ioannis impeditus fuerit. Nadasdi non fuit ibi. Cupiebat pauper<sup>4</sup> (ut paulo ante mortem ad me scripserat)<sup>5</sup> me ibi cum eo esse, et ego quoque certe id plurimum voluissem, sed fata restitere. Si eos comites habuisset, quos tempore occupationis Agriae, credo, 10 quietori fuisset animo. Sed quid frustra de morte eius lacrimamur omnes nos, quoque idem manet finis, Deus animae illius misereatur. Si Agriae fuisset, extremum illi funus peregissem, et hoc, quod Christianus Christiano, episcopus mortuis debet, non praetermitto.

Nos adhuc hic haeremus. Exspectamus serenissimam Mariam reginam hoc biduo, 15 qua adveniente confectisque rebus credo nos non admodum diu hic moraturos, sed post unum mensem Wiennam versus profecturos.<sup>6</sup> Imperator, regia maiestas, Maximilianus, Ferdinandus, princeps Hispaniarum, principes nostri clementissimi ex clementia Dei optime valent. Ego quoque mediocriter. Exspectabam ad binas aut ternas litteras meas a Dominatione Vestra responsum, sed hactenus nullum habui. 20 Deus optimus maximus Dominationem Vestram cum domina coniuge<sup>7</sup> sua carissima, domina mea observandissima felicem conservare dignetur.

Ex Augusta 30. Decembris 1550.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdi comiti perpetuo 25 terrae Fogaras iudici curiae regiae maiestatis et supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

Ad manus proprias. Cito, cito, cito.

756,6-7 occulto ... ne ] *O add.* 756,15 hoc biduo ] *O add.*

756<sup>1</sup> Niklas von Salm. 756<sup>2</sup> Eger. 756<sup>3</sup> For a long time, Salm's time of death was dated February 1550 in the literature, based on BERGMANN 1844, 228. He was buried on 15 January, see OPPOLITANUS 1551. Based on this letter, news of his death arrived from eger to Augsburg on 28 December, in other words, he must have died at the beginning of December. 756<sup>4</sup> Sc. Niklas von Salm. 756<sup>5</sup> We do not know this letter. 756<sup>6</sup> They only leave for Vienna in March. 756<sup>7</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 6 January 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 19.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He received Tamás Nádasdy's letter yesterday, from which he now understands that Nádasdy will announce the fate of the bishopric in Bratislava. He will be grateful for the services with which he is helping his sisters and nephews during the plague in Vienna. 2. He has done everything he can in connection with the Sopron tithe. There has been no news about the declaration of the three-year war. He has heard about the date from the imperial agent in Constantinople, but it is rumoured that the Sultan is not leaning towards a war, only Rüstem Pasha is goading him. He is doing everything he can to protect Szolnok, Eger, or Szigetvár. The plan is for him to return to Vienna in February, together with Maximilian. 3. Queen Mary has arrived together with the mail. She is well and ordered Nádasdy yesterday to make sure the scions of the fruit trees (pear, apple, cherry, peach, etc.) get to the postmaster or Christoph I von Eytzing because she wants to plant them in her Brabantian garden in February and graft the trees. Antal Verancsics is not leaving his office, although Oláh has given him the office of lector of Esztergom, but he wants to keep him by his side because he is of great use to him.

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

- [1.] Heri ad noctem accepi litteras<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae. Gratum est mihi, quod Dominatio Vestra Magnifica scribit se mihi proscripturam, dum Ponium venerit, quid rerum pontificalium m<ihi> et ecclesiae meae reliquerit quondam Colocensis<sup>2</sup> <...> <Dominationi> Vestrae Magnificae reserviam. Nam hic si <...> <mihi> deesset ex illis, minori pecunia <solver>e possem. Curam Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae d<e s>orore et neptibus meis,<sup>3</sup> si pestis (quod absit) Wiennae saevierit, omnibus obsequiis meis reserviam.
- [2.] De decimis Soproniensibus nihil est profecto, quod non fecerim. Iam propediem advenit terminus, in quo redimi poterunt, ne erit causa, quam obtendant adversarii, cum illas levata sua pecunia remittere non haberent. De promulgatione belli ad triennium nihil nos hic intelligimus. De decima mensis Novembris accepimus litteras<sup>4</sup> ab agente regio<sup>5</sup> ex Constantinopoli, caesarem tamen non esse inclinatum ad bellum intelligimus. Rustamum<sup>6</sup> quidem dicunt satis eum sollicitare, sed nihil hactenus effecisse, verum quidem esset, aliquam ostentationem fieri praeparationis terra et mari, sed eam potius pro pace futura emendicanda. Persa instare magnus Tartarus bellum Turcae denuntiasse dicitur, sed Deus novit, quid ex his sequatur. De

757,13 decima ] *corr. ex data* 757,18 quid ] *O del. ex quid hinc*

757<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 757<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Frangepán was Oláh's predecessor as Bishop of Eger, and he was also Archbishop of Kalocsa. The Archbishopric of Kalocsa had been vacant since Frangepán's death in 1543. 757<sup>3</sup> Oláh's sisters, nephews, and nieces lived in Oláh's Vienna palace, see Ep. 736. 757<sup>4</sup> We do not know this letter. 757<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Maria Malvezzi was the resident agent of King Ferdinand I at the Constantinople Porte between 1547 and 1553, see GAUSZ 2015, 23. 757<sup>6</sup> Rüstem Pasha.

Babaco<sup>7</sup> levando tractatur, nisi mors comitis mutationem adferat, mendacium est de filio iuniore regis. Saepe ego quoque vehementer moveor, sicut Flandros nobis ita nos quoque illis consilium dare nescire. Sed quid facias, veterem canimus cantilenam. Remisi litteras per Dominationem Vestram Magnificam ad me missas. Ego neque de Zolnok, neque de Agria, neque de Zygeht praetermisi, et deinceps quoque non praetermittam tem<maiesta> regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum sollicitare, q<uod> dicit se his omnibus provisuram. <...> fere in fine sumus dietae. Heri < ...> 25 finitis rebus maiestas regia proposuit sta<tibu>s de auxilio Hungariae ferendo, his d<ie>-bus responsum habebimus, ut spero, bonum. Cogitamus iam Wienam versus reverti unacum serenissimo rege Maximiliano, quod in mense Februario omnino futurum esse existimo. Bonum esset nihilominus eis vocamur.

[3.] Serenissima regina Maria, domina nostra clementissima in die Circumcisionis 30 Domini ad noctem per postham huc venit; sana est, simul cum imperatore et omnibus nostris principibus. Heri iussit mihi, ut Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae mandarem, nomine suo, quo statim acceptis praesentibus surculos sive ramos arborum fructiferarum, videlicet pirorum, pomorum, cerasiorum, persicarum et aliorum fructuum non vilium, sed meliorum, quos Dominatio Vestra Magnifica novit et experta est, 35 decerpi, decidi faciat, et ad unum quidemque manipulorum eorundem surculorum nomina et genera fructuum per schedam adfigat, ut dinosci possunt eorum sine recto<sup>8</sup> assignet, ad manus magistri postharum, vel hominis domini Christophorii Eyczynger<sup>9</sup> locumtenentis Austriae, qui pro his ad eadem mittat ita, ut si non ante omnia ad finem huius mensis hic sua maiestas reginalis surculos istos habere possit, qui in f<uturo> 40 mense Februario in Brabantia <in horto> suo quem optimum plantavit <et ar>boribus inseri possint. Hoc <...> Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae mandat, quae <vestram> diligentiam praecipuam hac in re facere, ut maiestatis suae mandato satifia<mus>. Has subito iusso maiestati suae ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam scripsi.

De rebus aliis, postquam plura, cum regia maiestate loqui potero, plura et aper- 45 tiora scribam. Vrantius<sup>10</sup> non <praete>rmisit officium suum, ordinavi ei l<ec>toratum Strigoniensium,<sup>11</sup> qui expeditis meis et suis rebus veniet ad me, quem apud me semper tenebo, fidei<sup>12</sup> enim quoque hic retineo. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam unacum domina mea observandissima, carissima coniuge<sup>13</sup> sua feliciter hoc novo anno et multis aliis sequentibus vivere valereque opto, quibus servitia mea commendo. 50

Ex Augusta sexta Ianuarii anno 1551.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo comiti terrae Fogaras iudici curiae regiae maiestatis ac supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino et fratri observandissimo. 55

757,49 feliciter ] *O del. ex feliciter ad*

757<sup>7</sup> Babacum or Bagacum is the ancient name of Bavay, located north-east of Cambrai. 757<sup>8</sup> Uncertain reading. 757<sup>9</sup> Christoph I von Eytzing (1501–1563) was Governor of the Archduchy of Austria under the Enns between 1547 and 1551. 757<sup>10</sup> Antal Verancsics. 757<sup>11</sup> Verancsics aspired to the *officium lectoratus* of Esztergom, see Ep. 745. and Ep. 750. 757<sup>12</sup> Uncertain reading. 757<sup>13</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

758

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 11 January 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 20.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*The Germans are so nonchalant here that they have not written about any of the news to the King that Nádasdy has written about; so together with two others, he was the one who had to tell his Highness, who then wrote the attached letter. There is no news, and the plan is to return to Hungary once they are done with the imperial affairs, the King has private matters to resolve both with the Emperor and with Queen Mary. They will then return to Vienna, and he hopes they will stay there till the end of February.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime, salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem!

Tam negligentes esse videntur nostri Alemanni, ut de novis et rumoribus illis, quos Dominatio Vestra mihi perscripsit, pro<xim>is litteris suis nihil ad maiestatem regiam scripserunt. Illos ergo authore tertio narravi suae maiestati, quae mox expediri iussit litteras, quas Dominatio Vestra Magnifica cum praesentibus accipiet.

Hic adhuc nihil post priores litteras meas emersit novi, de quo scribere possem. Tractatur nunc aliis negotiis imperialibus iam perfectis de modo ferendi nobis in Hungariam, si opus fuerit subsidii, habet praeterea maiestas sua regia cum imperatore praesente regina aliquid privati tractare. Quo finito, uti spero, revertemur Wiennam, quod per totum Februarium, nisi aliquid intercedat, futurum spero. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam feliciter valere opto, cui me commendo.

Ex Augusta undecima Ianuarii 1551.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

15 [On the outer side:] Spectabilis et magnifico domino comiti Thomae Nadasdi, comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis, et supremo capitaneo regni Hungariae etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

759

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 17 January 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 21.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He is reluctant to write him the news that he learned from the letter Giovanni Maria Malvezzi sent on 16 November, i.e. that István Majláth has suffered a stroke, he is paralyzed on one side, and he also suffers from gout. The King of Persia is threatening the Turks, he is already said to be at Babylon, and he has already occupied a castle, although Van is still standing. He believes they will set out at the beginning of Lent. The King wants to visit his daughters in Innsbruck, from there he will head to Vienna, and even if that is the case, Oláh will head straight to Nádasdy.*

428

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime, salutem et servitorum meorum commendationem!

Non libenter scriberem res eiusmodi, scribo tamen, ut Dominatio Vestra Magnifica intelligat, litterae ex Constantinopoli ab agente regio<sup>1</sup> venerunt, datae circa sedecimum diem Novembris,<sup>2</sup> quae significant dominum Maylatum<sup>3</sup> nostrum apoplexia 5 tactum, eam tamen resolutam et in alterum latus corporis descendisse ac paralyisium fecisse, et laborare praeterea podagra. Quae etsi doleam ex animo, eventus tamen et casus humanos vix quisque vitare potest.

Rex Persarum Turcae instat vehementer, iam dicitur prope Babyloniam versari, et castrum unum fortissimum repugnasse, Wan<sup>4</sup> vero adhuc obsidere. 10

Haec Dominationi Vestrae Magnificae volui significare. Credo nos hinc in initio quadragesimae discessimus, fama est maiestatem regiam ad invisendas filias ad Inspruck ad sex aut octo dies profecturam, et illinc recta Wiennam. Ego si fieri poterit, hinc recto ad vos itinere proficiscar. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam feliciter valere cum domina coniuge<sup>5</sup> sua carissima, domina mea observandissima 15 cupio, quibus me commendo.

Ex Augusta 17. Ianuarii 1551.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras iudici curiae regiae maiestatis et supremo capitaneo domino 20 et fratri observandissimo.

## 760

Miklós Oláh to Pál Gregoriánczy  
Augsburg, 17 January 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – Oláh Miklós – Gregoriánc Pál – 1551. 01. 17. – No. 743.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

1. He has received Pál Gregoriánczy's letter, in which he encourages Oláh to try to persuade the King to defend Hungary from the dangers that threaten it; but that is unnecessary because the King has been working on the defence of the country for a long time, and even if they did not try to convince him, he would still take care of the defence. As for Gergely Majczen, Oláh tried to help him, but Majczen had different plans, and he will now see what he can accomplish in his own case. 2. As for Lukács Székely's letter, after he had sent it to Gregoriánczy, the Keglevich boys (who are faithful subjects of the King) handed a petition to the King and put forward that Székely is still in possession of the estates that had already been awarded to them through a revisio, but it was all in vain. So now the King does not want to give those estates to Székely, and he asked Oláh if they had already been donated to Székely, to which Oláh responded that they had not. So he asks Gregoriánczy not to press for a letter in Székely's case until a decision is made. He hopes that they will already return in February; until then he is sending the royal charter in connection with Gregoriánczy's brother.

759<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Maria Malvezzi. 759<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 759<sup>3</sup> István Majláth. 759<sup>4</sup> Van, city in eastern Turkey. 759<sup>5</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater,<sup>1</sup> Domine et Frater nobis Honorandissime, salutem!

[1.] Accepimus litteras<sup>2</sup> Dominationis Vestrae, quarum statim initio hortatur nos ad sollicitandum maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum, ut laboranti et in summa necessitate constitutae Hungariae subvenire eamque ab impendentibus periculis defendere dignaretur. Sciat Dominatio Vestra nos cum antea, tum etiam nunc diligenter egisse, et deinceps etiam acturos summa diligentia apud suam maiestatem, ut rationem defensionis ipsius regni Hungariae habeat, cuius voluntatem erga ipsam Hungariam ita propensam esse intelleximus, ut etiam si nullius adhortatio accederet, ultro defensionem eius esset curatura.

Ubi vero Dominatio Vestra scribit de magistro Gregorio Majczeny,<sup>3</sup> nos eius commodo providere volebamus, sed postquam ipse aliam habet sententiam, videat, quid in re sua expediat.

[2.] Quod litteras domini Lucae Zekel<sup>4</sup> attinet, postquam eas ad Dominationem Vestram misimus, supplicarunt maiestati regiae pro bonis illis filii<sup>5</sup> domini Petri Keglewit<sup>6</sup>, quorum merita suae maiestati grata sunt, eo potissimum nomine quod unus eorum, natu maior in regno Sclavoniae sacrae regni Hungariae, alter vero serenissimo principi Maximiliano regi etc. fideliter serviant, reliqui item optimam de se praebeant virtutis spem, proposueruntque suae maiestati ipsum dominum Lucam Zekel iam semel bona illa tentasse, a quorum dominio per iuridicam revisionem decidisset, neque quicquam profecisset. Quibus quidem rationibus sua maiestas adducta nunc bona illa non esset collatura ipsi domino Lucae Zekel, iamque quaesivit a nobis, num reddidsemus ei litteras donationales, cui respondimus nos nondum dedisse. Quare rogamus Dominationem Vestram, ne festinet litteras ipsas domino Lucae Zekel neque pretio, neque gratis reddere, donec cum sua maiestate de illis concluderimus, sed easdem servet apud se, nos postea, quid agendum sit, videbimus, et Dominationi Vestrae voluntatem nostram vel coram, ut speramus, brevi, vel per litteras significabimus. Speramus tamen nos quoque in Februario redituros. Litteras iuris regii pro fratre<sup>7</sup> Dominationis Vestrae ad eam cum praesentibus misimus. Credimus nos quoque, ut praemisimus, ineunte quadragesimali tempore unacum regia maiestate Viennam descensuros, tunc tum de his, tum etiam aliis negotiis ad Dominationem Vestram affatim colloquemur, quam bene valere optamus.

760,24 festinet ] *O corr. ex velit* 760,28 Speramus ... redituros ] *O add.* 760,30 ut praemisimus ] *O add.*

760<sup>1</sup> Pál Gregorjáczy (†1565) was a humanist prelate. He was Bishop of Pécs (1548–1550), Canon of Zagreb and Canon of Bratislava, Bishop of Zagreb (1550–1558), Bishop of Győr (1554–1565), and Archbishop of Kalocsa (1565). He negotiated in Rome as an envoy of King Ferdinand I during 1551 and 1552, see VARGA 2010a. 760<sup>2</sup> We do not know this letter. 760<sup>3</sup> Gergely Majczen was Canon of Zagreb. Oláh tried to help and gave him the title of Court Chaplain, but Majczen seems to have rejected it, see FAZEKAS 2021, 82. 760<sup>4</sup> Lukács Székely. We do not know this letter. 760<sup>5</sup> Máté and Ferenc Keglevich. 760<sup>6</sup> Péter Keglevich. 760<sup>7</sup> Probably Ambrus Gregorjáczy. Varga claims that Ambrus was Pál's brother, not his uncle, as it is often claimed in the literature. Pál also had other brothers: István, Mihály, and Márk, but we do not know about their activities. Ambrus was a constable in Križevci, and served the Zrínyi family, see VARGA 2010a, 129–130.

Datum Augustae Rheticae 17. Ianuarii 1551.

Frater Vestrae Dominationis Reverendissimae Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Paulo decretorum doctori, episcopo ecclesiae Zagrabiensis et consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et fratri nobis honorandissimo.

761

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 27 January 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 22.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*The King is heading to Innsbruck from here for the first Sunday of Lent to visit his daughters, then he will head on to Vienna for 1 March. Oláh will head straight to Vienna, but he has not forgotten about Bratislava either, he hopes an opportunity will arise. Márton Kecseti died in poverty, he does not know how, but he does not think he was on the right track. Some do not want to take on their share of the common tasks and worries, but Oláh is not like that. The Queen is waiting for the scions, while Oláh is waiting for an answer in the matter of the late Ferenc Frangepán's bishopric.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime, servitorum meorum commendationem!

Maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus ad Dominicam Invocavit<sup>1</sup> ibi hinc Oenipontem,<sup>2</sup> magis filiarum suarum invisendarum, quam aliarum rerum gratia, deinde recta Wiennam, ad primum diem Martii. Ego nisi vi trahar, recta hinc Wienam Deo volente proficiscar. De Posenio non obliviscar, nondum data est occasio bona. Kechethi<sup>3</sup> pauper mortuus est, nescio, qualiter, ut audio, periculosum est aurum tangere Tolosanum<sup>4</sup> et equum Seianum.<sup>5</sup> Mea sententia in officiis et aliis omnibus regni et nostrorum omnium liberalitas inviolate semper observabitur, sed quid inter tot unus? Alii ne digito quidem rem attingere aut volunt, aut ex corde cogitant, 10 ut commodi ita laboris et curae deberent esse participes. Ego nihil unquam me praetermississe memini, quod ad dignitatem regiam, simul etiam nostram libertatem et permansionem pertinere fui arbitratus, neque deinceps et supplicando et orando praetermittam.

760,34 Frater ... propria ] *O add.*

761,7–8 aurum ... Tolosanum ] Gell. *Noct. Att.* III,9,7. 761,8 equum Seianum ] Gell. *Noct. Att.* III,9.

761<sup>1</sup> 15 February. 761<sup>2</sup> Innsbruck. 761<sup>3</sup> Márton Kecseti was Tamás Szalaházy's nephew, thanks to whom he became Bishop of Veszprém between 1527 and 1548. He then resigned from the bishopric and got married. He died on 13 January, 1551 in Bratislava, in miserable conditions, see FAZEKAS 2007, 33. 761<sup>4</sup> This proverb refers to a person who has bad luck. 761<sup>5</sup> According to the proverb, anyone who possessed this horse died, together with their entire family.

15 Surculos serenissima regia exspectat,<sup>6</sup> ego vero responsum de specificatione rerum quondam fratris Francisci.<sup>7</sup> Caesarea et regia maiestates unacum regibus et principibus, laus Deo, bene valent. Dominationem Vestram feliciter cum domina coniuge<sup>8</sup> sua carissima, domina mea valere opto, quibus me commendo.

Ex Augusta 27. Ianuarii 1551.

20 Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu sua

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo comiti terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis ac regni Hungariae supremo capitaneo etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

762

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 5 February 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 23.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*István Majláth is rumoured to have died. He has talked to the King about the Bratislava matter, he will look at their petition when he returns, but he has not been able to do anything differently because of the widow. Oláh is doing everything he can, he wishes he had more partners to implore the King together with him. The King will travel to Innsbruck on the 11<sup>th</sup> of this month to visit his daughters, while Oláh will head to Vienna. There is no news of the Turks, and they have been waiting for two days to get an answer from the estates regarding their support.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, et Frater Observandissime, servitorum meorum commendationem!

Audio dominum Maylath<sup>1</sup> nostrum ad requiem perpetuam ivisse, non sine lacrimis id certe accepi. Sed cum simus omnes mortales, nos quoque idem manet finis. De  
5 Posonio locutus sum regiae maiestati, respondit se gratiose rem daturam de nostra supplicatione, dum revertetur. Addidit quoque se non potuisse aliter facere propter viduam, quin usque ad reditum relinqueret arcem in manu filii. Ego nihil unquam praetermisi, neque praetermittam, quod ad libertatem et regiae maiestatis bonum, quod ex illa pendet, pertinuit et pertinet. Utinam haberem plures socios, qui mecum  
10 via proficiscerent in supplicando et rogando apud maiestatem suam regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum, quam credo omnia facturam. Obtulit enim se ad id semper et si bonum suum et filiorum repperit, faciet proculdubio.

Die undecima his vult maiestas sua ad Inspruck visendarum filiarum suarum carissimarum gratia proficisci. Ego vero Deo volente Wiennam versa, nisi aliquod  
15 arduissimum negotium me trahat cum sua maiestate regia. Turcam nescio quo animo

761,17 feliciter] *O del. ex feliciter valere opto*

761<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 757. 761<sup>7</sup> Ferenc Frangepán, see Ep. 757. Cap. 1. 761<sup>8</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 762<sup>1</sup> István Majláth. He had a seizure in November, see Ep. 759., and he died in Constantinople, probably at the end of 1550.



sit erga nos, Deus omnia vertat in bonum finem. Hic hic biduo exspectamus a statibus responsum de subsidio nobis ferendo. Dominatio Vestra valeat cum domina coniuge<sup>2</sup> sua carissima feliciter, domina mea observandissima.

Ex Augusta 5. Februarii 1551.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. propria manu 20

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae regia maiestatis et supremo capitaneo amico et fratri observandissimo.

763

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Augsburg, 13 February 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 24.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*The news János Fejérthóy brought has turned out to be untrue. All of Germania is at peace; the people of Magdeburg have lost hope, Maurice, Elector of Saxony is attacking them. The Hungarians will get the support. Oláh will be three days ahead of the King, who will leave 6-8 days later, together with Maximilian. Queen Mary will return to Flanders straight after that, while the Emperor will stay here. Oláh presented Ferenc Batthyány's wife here on the 10<sup>th</sup>.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime, servitiorum meorum commendationem!

Querelae et rumores, de quibus Feyerthoy<sup>1</sup> nomine Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae locutus fuit, vanae sunt. Nihil eorum certum est.

Tota Germaniae pars in quiete silet. Magdeburgenses quoque sunt in desperatione. 5  
Mauritius<sup>2</sup> dux arcta eos urget obsidione non paucis equitum et peditum viribus speratum illorum itaque aut deditio aut expugnatio. Hic omnia ex voto caesaris et regis confecta iam fere sunt, subsidium habebitis, affinitates adhuc secretae sunt. Ego obtenta iam tandem venia praecedam ad triduum maiestatem regiam, quae sexto vel octavo post die sequetur cum Maximiliano rege. Serenissima regina Maria statim post 10  
discessum regium revertetur in Flandriam. Caesar hic aliquandiu manebit. Dominam coniugem<sup>3</sup> domini Bothyany<sup>4</sup> cum honore 10. huius mensis die huc introduci feci. De rebus omnibus aliis, de quibus Dominatio Vestra ad me scripsit, non contemnendum reporto responsum, de quo citavi plura. Dominatio Vestra cum domina coniuge<sup>5</sup> sua carissima, domina mea observandissima feliciter valeat. 15

763,8 subsidium habebitis] *O add.* 763,9 obtenta] *O del. ex obtenta ut* 763,9 ad triduum] *O add.*  
763,12 huc] *O add.* 763,13 aliis] *O add.*

762<sup>2</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 763<sup>1</sup> János Fejérthóy. 763<sup>2</sup> Maurice, Elector of Saxony. 763<sup>3</sup> Katalin Svetkovics.  
763<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Batthyány. 763<sup>5</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

Ex Augusta 13. Februarii anno 1551.

Servitor Agriensis manu sua

Surculos regina exspectat.<sup>6</sup>

[On the outer side:] Domino comiti Thomae Nadasdi etc.

764

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Augsburg, 9 March 1551

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 57. Konv. B., fol. 27r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*Gergely Bornemissza, George Martinuzzi's legate, has handed over Oláh's letter. Bornemissza has come to Augsburg and presented what had been entrusted to him. Since King Ferdinand I wants to be in Vienna within eight days, he has postponed the legate's matter until then to think about the answer. He will let Oláh know so Oláh can be there when he arrives.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime Fidelis nobis Dilecte!

Reddidit nobis litteras<sup>1</sup> Devotionis Tuae Gregorius Bornemissa<sup>2</sup> nuntius reverendissimi episcopi Waradiensis,<sup>3</sup> qui hodie huc Augustam<sup>4</sup> applicuit, nosque primum a meridie inter secundam et tertiam horam convenit et mandata sua nobis exposuit.  
5 Cum utro cras discedere et intra octiduum Viennam dante Deo pervenire statuerimus, eiusdem nuntii expeditionem eo usque differendam esse censuimus, ut illis omnibus ponderitis tanto melius respondere, et deinde ipsum nuntium, quem pro nunc eo remisimus, recta ad ipsum Waradiensem<sup>5</sup> expedire possimus. Quod Devotioni Tuae ideo significamus, ut in adventu istic nostro Devotio Tua quoque ibi adsit.

10 Datum Augustae die 9. Martii 1551.

[Probably on the outer side:] Agriensi.

765

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 14 March 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 25.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

764,3 primum] *scr corr.* ex tamen 764,5 utro] *scr del.* ex utro cras discessivi 764,6 omnibus] *scr del.* ex omnibus maturius deliberare 764,7 tanto] *scr corr.* ex eo 764,7 quem] *scr del.* ex quem eo etiamsi 764,8 expedire] *scr corr.* ex ac remittere 764,8 Devotioni Tuae] *scr corr.* ex tibi 764,9 nostro] *scr del.* ex nostro nobis tu

763<sup>6</sup> See Ep. 757., and Ep. 761. 764<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 764<sup>2</sup> Gergely Bornemissza. 764<sup>3</sup> George Martinuzzi. 764<sup>4</sup> Augsburg. 764<sup>5</sup> Martinuzzi was also Bishop of Oradea.

*He has just received the King's letter, in which he writes that he is leaving on the 10<sup>th</sup> and arriving in Vienna within eight days, and that Oláh should wait for him there. He will let Nádasdy know when exactly the King will be expected to arrive, so he and the rest of the councilors can all be there.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, Frater nobis Observandissime, salutem et servitiorum meorum commendationem!

Hac hora allatae sunt mihi litterae<sup>1</sup> a regia maiestate, domino nostro clementissimo, quibus scribit se X. die huius mensis Augusta moturam, et intra octavum Viennae futuram. Commisit mihi, ne interim usque discedam, sed hic se exspectem. Vestram itaque Magnificam Dominationem facio de adventu eius maiestatis certiorum, ut ipsa quoque una cum aliis reverendissimis et magnificis dominis consiliariis, ad quos similiter hoc perscripsi, ad adventum ipsius maiestatis Viennae constituatur. Quod meo quidem iudicio non debet praetermittere. Aequum enim est, ut omnes, qui adesse poterimus, simul eius serenissimae regiae maiestati occurrere enitamur. 10 Vestram Magnificam Dominationem recte valere optamus.

Viennae 14. Martii 1551.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae Nadasdino comiti perpetuo Fogaras, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis, et supremo regni capitaneo etc. domino 15 et fratri nobis observandissimo.

766

Miklós Oláh to Trnava Town Council  
Vienna, 17 March 1551

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Altaristica

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*1. Since the King has entrusted the officium lectoratus of Esztergom to Antal Verancsics, which is not said to be accompanied by a dwelling, Oláh asks them to give Verancsics the most suitable of the houses that are vacant due to the deaths of the Archdeacons of Nógrád or Hont. 2. He thanks him for giving a house to Balázs Zathay, Archdeacon of Zvolen last year according to his request, although he hears that the previous guest has not moved out yet, even though he has another house in Trnava. So he asks him to have that house emptied and hand it over to Zathay in a state that he can already move in.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini, Amici Honorandi, salutem!

[1.] Quoniam maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus lectoratum ecclesiae Strigoniensis<sup>1</sup> venerabili magistro Anthonio Wrantio<sup>2</sup> praeposito contulit, et domo idem beneficium istic carere dicitur, itaque vos tamquam amicos rogamus, ut ex duabus domibus per mortem olim archidiaconorum Neugradiensis et Honthensis 5

765,13 Servitor ... propria] *O add.*

765<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 764. 766<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 745., Ep. 750., and Ep. 751. 766<sup>2</sup> Antal Verancsics.

vacantibus alteram, quae commodior est, ipsi Wrantio lectori intuitu nostrae amicitiae dare et conferre velitis, ne domo istic inter vos in capitulo primaria persona existens careat. Hoc si feceritis, in maioribus vobis rependemus, et ipse Wrantius lector idipsum apud nos in vestris negotiis promovendis cumulate referre studebit.

- 10 [2.] Ceterum gratiam habemus, quod anno superiori ad petitionem nostram et magistro Blasio Zanthai<sup>3</sup> archidiacono Zoliensi domum dederitis, sed quoniam eadem domus, ut intelligimus, adhuc nondum a priori hospite, qui alteram quoque domum ibidem habere dicitur, omnino libera est. Rogamus, ut etiam eandem domum, cum semel magistro Blasio dederitis, retis<vacuam face> et sibi liberam et modis omnibus  
15 expeditam inhabitandam concedatis. Nec superiorem idem amplius vel nobis, vel etiam ipsi regiae maiestati supplicare cogatur. Valet felicit.

Viennae 17. Martii 1551.

Nicolaus Agriensis cancellarius regiae maiestatis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus ac circumspicis dominis iudici ac iuratis civibus  
20 civitatis Tyrnaviensis etc. amicis honorandis.

767

Miklós Oláh to Pál Istvánffy  
Vienna, 26 March 1551

*Manuscript used:* HDA, B. 711, Drašković, Archivum maius, Kut. 91.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations and signature. The seal has broken off.

*He is hereby inviting Pál Istvánffy to his first mass as bishop, which will be held on 3 May in Bratislava, at the diet.*

Egregie Domine et Amice Honorande, salutem et nostri commendationem!

- Cum Deus optimus maximus ex ineffabili sua clementia nos, indignum suum servulum ad munus episcopale vocare, et sacra regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus, in eo munere sua clementia ornare dignata fuerit, decrevimus, primitias  
5 sacrificii nostri ad diem tertium mensis Maii proxime venturi Posonii, intra diaetam favente Deo celebrare. Quare Dominationem Vestram Egregiam rogamus, velit his sacrificii nostri primitiis in die et loco praedicto interesse, illudque persona sua decorare ac precibus suis ad Deum optimum maximum fundendis pro gratia nobis impetranda iuvare. In quo et rem piam faciet, et nobis gratissimam vicissimque  
10 omni amicitiae studio referendam. Dominationem Vestram Egregiam valere feliciter optamus.

Viennae 26. Martii anno salutis 1551.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

766,18 Nicolaus ... propria] *O add.* 767,13 Agriensis ... propria] *O add.*

766<sup>3</sup> Balázs Zathay was Archdeacon of Zvolen between 1547 and 1562, see KOLLÁNYI 1900, 146.

[On the outer side:] Egregio domino Paulo Isthwanfy de Kysazzonfalwa, consiliario regiae maiestatis etc., domino et amico honorando. 15

768

The Seven Mining Towns to Miklós Oláh  
Kremnica, 21 April 1551

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Kniha odpisov 1543–1556 Inv. 22.

*Notes:* Copy.

*They have no doubt that Oláh indeed knows well what danger their cities are in: they can easily be occupied by the Turks, and even bigger trouble will befall all of Christian Europe. The bearers of the letter have been sent to implore the King for help, and they ask Oláh to recommend them to the King's attention, so that their mission can succeed.*

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Patrone Gratosissime, servitorum nostrorum humillimam debitam commendationem!

Non dubitamus, Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, abunde perspectum esse, in quantis periculis istae miserae civitates omni praesidio destitutae atque ab omnibus derelictae versentur. Perpendentes igitur quam parvo negotio a Turcis occupari possint et quanta calamitas toti regno Hungariae, Austriae, Moraviae, Silesiae, Bohemiae atque adeo universae Christianitati ex amissione illarum, quod Deus propitius avertat, redundare possit, facere non potuimus, quin ex debito fidelitatis nostrae, qua sacrae regiae maiestati, domino nostro clementissimo devincti sumus, hos fratres nostros praesentium exhibitores ad maiestatem suam regiam pro celeri auxilio atque continuo praesidio implorando ablegaremus. Cum autem secundum Deum et maiestatem regiam salus nostra in potestate Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae sita sit et non ignoremus Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam nobis ex animo bene velle, supplicamus eidem humilliter, dignetur nos sibi commendatos habere, et propter misericordiam Dei patriaeque salutem id operam dare, ut nuntii nostri cum bona et gratiosa expeditione cito absolvantur, id quod extrema requirit necessitas. Et nos perpetuis servitiis nostris ab eadem demereri nunquam cessabimus. Cui nos et servitia nostra iterum atque iterum humilliter commendamus.

Datum Cremnicii ex congregatione nostra sub sigillo civitatis Cremniciensis die 21. Aprilis anno 51<sup>o</sup>. 20

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae humiles servitores  
nobiles iudices et iurati cives universaeque communitatis  
septem civitatum montanarum

[Probably on the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino, domino Nicolao Olaho eipscopo ecclesiae Agriensis, regni Hungariae supremo cancellario, domino et patrono gratiosissimo.

767,14 Isthwanfy] *O add.* 768,20 51<sup>o</sup>] *corr. ex* 51<sup>o</sup>

[Miklós Oláh] to András (Bonaventura) Báthori  
Vienna, 5 June 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 148a – Fasc. 1754. – No. 13.

*Notes:* Original letter, probably with signature but it is not readable. A 18<sup>th</sup>-century register attributed it to Oláh and the author of this register could have read the sign. The seal belongs to Oláh (as Dávid Faragó evidenced) and there is a few of his autograph emendations.

*He understands what András (Bonaventura) Báthori has written about Ferenc Balog, and Balog himself has witnessed how diligently Oláh has interceded in this case with the King. He has looked for the rest of his letters at the Imperial Court Chancellery, including the one to the King, but they have not turned up yet. About the matter between Leonhard Harrach and Báthory concerning the castle of Devín, the King says that he will send a German lord and Mihály Mérey there, so that they can come to an agreement, if possible. If it is not possible, a legal proceeding will take place in Hungary also in the case in which Báthory is involved in a lawsuit with another German about the hayfields around the castle of Devín. Oláh is doing what he can, he has written about the rest to Nádasdy.*

Magnifice Domine et Amice Observandissime, salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Ea, quae Magnificentia Vestra nobis et scripsit<sup>1</sup> et a domino Francisco Balog<sup>2</sup> provisoro suo Syntaniensi<sup>3</sup> nuntiavit, intelleximus, nos in omnibus Magnificentiae  
5 Vestrae negotiis, quemadmodum idem dominus Franciscus nobis testis est, diligenter apud maiestatem regiam laboravimus, de cetero quoque in quibuscumque rebus Magnificentiae Vestrae inservire poterimus, libenter et ex animo inservire volumus.

Litteras autem eiusdem maiestati regiae unacum nonnullis aliis litteris datas ac  
10 deperditas iussit sua maiestas in cancellaria Germanica diligenter requiri, quae hactenus repertae quidem non sunt, adhibebitur tamen a nobis diligens sollicitatio, ut eas Magnificentia Vestra repertas rehabeat.

In negotio vero arcis Dewen,<sup>4</sup> quod ratione nonnullarum terrarum cum Harrag<sup>5</sup> magistro curiae serenissimi principis domini Caroli archiducis Austriae etc. Magnificentia Vestra habet, respondit sua maiestas brevi ad faciem terrae contentiosae  
15 unum ex dominis Germanis et alterum dominum Michaellem de Mere<sup>6</sup> missurum, ut si fieri poterit, illud per concordiam transigatur, id, quod si non successerit, iuris processu in Hungaria revidebitur de negotio vero, quod Magnificentia Vestra cum altero quodam domino Germano habet super fenili<sup>7</sup> circa Dewen. Eam sua maiestas quam prius fecerat, reddidit relatorum, prout haec omnia idem Franciscus Balog,  
20 cui <...> <prius> negotium intimavimus, Magnificentiae Vestrae fusius referet, nos omnibus <viribus>, quibus Magnificentiae Vestrae poterimus inservire, non erimus

769,18 circa Dewen] *O add.*

769<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 769<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Balog was Provisor of Šintava, see BAKONYI 2017, 198–199. 769<sup>3</sup> Šintava. 769<sup>4</sup> Devín. 769<sup>5</sup> Leonhard Harrach von Rohrau und Pirckenstein (1514–1590) was a Privy Councillor and legate of Emperor Charles V during the negotiation in Diószeg (today: Tuta), see OBORNI 2017, 210. 769<sup>6</sup> Mihály Mérey. 769<sup>7</sup> *fenile*, i.e. ‘locus, ubi fenum ponunt’, see DU CANGE 1883; and SZOVÁK 1983–2017.

defuturus < ...> <nova p>auca habentur, quae tamen sunt, ea spectabili et magnifico domino comiti <Thomae de> Nadasd etc. perscripsimus, qui ea cum Magnificentia Vestra com<mendata habeant. Quam> optamus valere feliciter.

Viennae quinta die Iunii 1551.

25

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Andreae de Batho<ry comitatum> Zathmar et Zabolch comiti, magistro t<avernicorum> regalium ac supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo domino et amico observandissimo.

770

Miklós Oláh to Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 23 June 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 1551 No. 26.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He reports some things about their affairs through Máté Szerdahelyi, whose words they should trust.*

Reverendissime, Reverende ac Egregii Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Nuntiavimus in negotiis nostris quaedam Dominationibus Vestris medio huius magistri Mathei Zerdaheli,<sup>1</sup> cui ut fidem adhibere velint, rogamus, optamus in reliquo feliciter valere.

Viennae 23. Iunii 1551.

5

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo, reverendo ac egregiis dominis praefecto ceterisque camerae Hungaricae regiae maiestatis consiliariis etc. dominis et amicis honorandis.

10

771

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Révay  
Vienna, 1 July 1551

*Manuscript used:* SNA, SAR Korešpond. č. 72., fol. 36–37.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature. Seal has broken down.

*1. He received Ferenc Révay's letter yesterday after breakfast, then he took out the small chest in which he guards confidential materials, but he could not find Lajos Pekry's reversalis, about which Révay had written to him. He asked the King to have someone look around in case he has it, and he told him he would do so, but then he departed for a hunt. According to Oláh's recollections, Pekry's letters are either with the Chamberlain or the*

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770,7 Agriensis ... propria ] *O add.*

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770 <sup>1</sup> Máté Szerdahelyi.

causarum director; Révay should search for the letter in Bratislava with the above-mentioned. He had the copy of the letter looked up in the royal book, he is sending it now. 2. After Pekry's death, his widow immediately presented herself to the King to ask for his protection, which she did receive after one year. The King has not yet made a decision in connection with returning Pekry's castle, but Oláh thinks that the widow is not due anything from the castle, maybe only her dowry.

Salutem et obsequiorum meorum commendationem, Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

[1.] Heri post prandium accepi litteras Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae. Mox capsam, quae secretiora continet, revolvi meam, non potui reperire reversales litteras  
5 Pekry, nec primas, nec secundas, de quibus Dominatio Vestra Magnifica scribit. Accessi maiestatem suam regiam admonuique, ut in domo sua illas perquiri iuberet, solet enim sua maiestas tales litteras aliquando apud se retinere. Dixit se id facturam. Nondum tamen ad ea intelligere potui, an id fuerit, hodie enim summo mane profecta est venatum. Si ego bene recordor, litterae hae Pekry vel apud dominos  
10 camerarios Hungaros, vel apud directorem causarum,<sup>1</sup> si quae sunt, esse habentur, nam si tractatione scoriarum<sup>2</sup> memini tales litteras; nescio, an per dominum Nadasdi, vel per camerarios Austriacos, qui Pekry negotium, si memini, tractarunt, eo fuisse missas. Quare Dominatio Vestra istic Pisonii<sup>3</sup> apud dominos camerarios vel directorem causarum de eis sciscitetur. Ego quoque cum primum maiestas sua redierit, suam  
15 maiestatem regiam hac in re interpellabo. Litterarum regiarum copiam, quae datae erant ipsi Pekry, requiri feci in libro regio, quam ad Dominationem Vestram mitto.

[2.] Statim post mortem Pekry vidua<sup>4</sup> eius miserat ad maiestatem regiam duos suos, si bene memini, servitores, quorum medio supplicabat, ut eam maiestas regia acciperet, veluti viduam et orbam marito in protectionem et tutelam suam regiam.  
20 Deinde, ut dare dignatum ei illam communem prorogationem infra annum, quae solet dari viduis, iure et suo et consuetudine regni, ex consilii deliberatione maiestas sua illi haec more solito concessit. Nondum tunc quicquam maiestas sua vel cogitaverat, vel deliberaverat de repetitione, si bene recordor, arcis Pekry, postea ea per maiestatem suam de illa repetenda fuerint deliberata et conclusa, quae Dominatio Vestra  
25 Magnifica scit. Misi itaque et copiam prolixationis illius, quae etsi ante deliberationem maiestatis regiae fuit emanata. Non videtur tamen mihi illa obesse posse arcis ipsius repetitioni et recuperationi, quia vidua haec et matrona nihil iuris habet in arce (quae devoluta est omnium iudicio ad suam maiestatem, si captivas ille aliquid intrasse non habet) praeter dotem suam, de qua extra arcem quoque contentari potest.

771,5 primas ] *O corr. ex primam* 771,5 secundas ] *O corr. ex secundam* 771,15 copiam ] *O add.* 771,22 tunc ] *O del. ex tunc fuit* 771,26 illa ] *corr. ex illam*

771<sup>1</sup> János Zomor. 771<sup>2</sup> scoria meaning 'stabulum equorum', see DU CANGE 1883. 771<sup>3</sup> Bratislava. 771<sup>4</sup> Lajos Pekry's second wife was Erzsébet Báthori (†1562), see NAGY 1862, 200.



Haec ad Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae litteras rescribere volui, quae negotium 30  
conveniret cum domino directore causarum et si videtur, etiam regiarum litterarum  
copiam ei dare velit. Quod restat, Dominatio Vestra feliciter valeat et me commenda-  
tum habeat.

Ex Vienna prima Iulii 1551.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. citissima manu 35

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Francisco de Rewa comiti comitatus de Thw-  
rocz ac vacante officio regni Hungariae palatini locumtenenti, consiliario regiae ma-  
iestatis etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

772

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 2 July 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás No. 26.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. Orsolya Kanizsai is well. She sent two melons with Antal Sárkány the day before yesterday, which Oláh sent  
on to the King. He tasted some of it yesterday and liked it a lot, he ate the rest today. 2. The Emperor is spending  
happy days in Augsburg, and he hopes for a peaceful ending to the Italian war. Prince Philip has gone to Genoa,  
Archduchess Mary is preparing for the Italian trip and is waiting for her husband, Maximilian. Two million in  
gold has been collected in India for the Emperor. The besiegers of Magdeburg are nearly out of food and water,  
and they will hopefully capitulate soon. The Turks are weakening, the Persians are close. Orsolya Kanizsai will  
have the opportunity to talk to George Martinuzzi and András (Bonaventura) Báthori.

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater  
Observandissime!

[1.] Carissima domina coniunx<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae bene valet. Nudiustertius  
per Sarcanum<sup>2</sup> nostrum misit ad me duos pepones optimi coloris, quos mox ad  
maiestatem regiam misi, quae hoc anno alios non viderat. Hodie laudabat eos optimos 5  
esse. Unius partem heri degustaverat, hodie aliam partem absumpsit, sed enim adhuc  
servatur.<sup>3</sup>

[2.] Nova haec sunt. Maiestas caesarea optime valet, Augustaeque laetos agit dies  
Italicum bellum illinc prospectans, quod speratur pace interposita brevi confectum  
iri. Princeps Hispaniarum<sup>4</sup> hodie Genuam applicare debebat. Serenissima regina<sup>5</sup> 10  
Boemiae filia imperatoris in procinctu est iam itineris in Italiam traiciendi, exspectat  
Maximilianum regem maritum, qui his diebus erit Genuae. Duo milliones auri nunc

772<sup>1</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 772<sup>2</sup> Antal Sárkány of Ákosháza (†1562) was Tamás Nádasdy's retainer (*familiaris*)  
and his *agens* in Vienna, as well as Seneschal of Sárvár, see KOPPÁNY 2013; and Sárkány's letter to Nádasdy:  
KOMÁROMY 1910. 772<sup>3</sup> On 10 July, 1551, Sárkány wrote to Nádasdy from Vienna in a similar manner:  
Orsolya is in good health, and she sent another 300 melons, which he distributed among the lords, see  
KOMÁROMY 1910, 400–402. 772<sup>4</sup> Prince Philip, later Philip II, King of Spain. 772<sup>5</sup> Archduchess Maria of  
Austria, later Holy Roman Empress.

nunc allati sunt imperatori ex India in Hispaniam illinc per cambium<sup>6</sup> forte Augustam. Magdeburgenses extremam obsessi acrius quam antea patiuntur inedia adeo, ut  
15 per minuta frusta laridi et alia victualium genera vinumque modicum distribuuntur  
quotidie lancigeris,<sup>7</sup> qui in praesidio sunt urbis. Qui quam sint patientes huiusmodi  
frugalitatis, Dominatio Vestra novit, speratur indies deditio. In eo enim tractatu et  
vehementer supplicatur apud imperatorem. Turca animo et corpore laborat. Persae  
instant et alii eius vicini, sed haec Dominatio Vestra me melius ibi cognoscit. Praedic-  
20 ta<sup>8</sup> tamen communicare poterit dominis Varadiensi<sup>9</sup> et capitaneo generali,<sup>10</sup> quibus  
mea servitia commendet. Cupimus omnia illinc a vobis felicia audire. Deliberatio  
et informatio spectabilis maiestatis regiae iam pridem, ut arbitrator, ad Dominationem  
Vestram pervenit. Quae feliciter valeat., quibus mea servitia commendet. Cupimus  
omnia illinc a vobis felicia audire. Deliberatio et informatio spectabilis maiestatis  
25 regiae iam pridem, ut arbitrator, ad Dominationem Vestram pervenit. Quae feliciter  
valeat.

Ex Vienna secunda Iulii anno 1551.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo  
30 comiti terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis ac supremo capitaneo regni  
Hungariae etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

Cito, cito, cito. In Transylvaniam.

773

Miklós Oláh to Orsolya Kanizsai  
Vienna, 5 July 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 a – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamásné – No. 1.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Tamás Nádasdy's letter arrived this hour, with the letter to her attached to it, which he is forwarding. He thanks her for the melon, the King enjoyed it very much, he has not seen anything this tasty in years.*

Generosa et Magnifica Domina, Domina nobis Observandissima, post servitiorum  
nostrorum commendationem!

Hac ipsa hora allatae sunt ad nos ex Transsylvania<sup>1</sup> litterae domini fratris nostri,  
domini comitis Thomae,<sup>2</sup> ex quibus intelleximus eum optime valere, pro quo etiam  
5 nos, ut feliciter valeat, Deum altissimum precabimur. Inclusae autem erant in litteras  
nostras alioquoque litterae eiusdem domini fratris nostri ad Magnificentiam Vestram

772,15 victualium] *O del. ex victualium generat* 772,17 eo] *corr. ex ea*

772<sup>6</sup> Money changer, cambist. 772<sup>7</sup> lancigeri, Landsknechts, meaning 'infantrymen of peasant origin'.  
772<sup>8</sup> Nádasdy's wife, Orsolya Kanizsai. 772<sup>9</sup> George Martinuzzi. 772<sup>10</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori.  
773<sup>1</sup> Tamás Nádasdy was in Sebeş on 10 July, according to Ep. 772. 773<sup>2</sup> Tamás Nádasdy. We do not know  
this letter.

datae, quas statim ad ipsam misimus. De melonibus<sup>3</sup> nobis missis habemus Magnificentiae Vestrae gratias, quas statim novitatis nomine maiestati regiae misimus, quas clementer accepit, et laudavit melonis et saporem et quod hoc anno plures non vidisset. Magnificentiam Vestram optamus valere feliciter. 10

Viennae quinta die mensis Iulii 1551.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Generosae ac magnificae dominae Ursulae de Kanysa, spectabilis et magnifici domini comitis Thomae de Nadasd, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis etc. coniugi, dominae nobis observandissimae. 15

774

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 20 July 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 27.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He understood from Nádasdy's letter of the third of this month that Nádasdy's matters are dragging on; the King has done everything he can and will do so in the future to make sure there is no delay. If Miklós Báthori saves them, Oláh will send someone else to support Báthori. He will understand the rest from the King's letter to András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 2. He has forwarded Nádasdy's letter to Orsolya Kanizsai. Nádasdy should find out if he likes white wine. András (Bonaventura) Báthori will tell him the news.

Salutem plurimam et servitorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

[1.] Ex litteris Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae tertia huius datis<sup>1</sup> intellexi negotia istic adhuc protrahi; spero omnia feliciter successura. Hinc a maiestate regia, domino nostro clementissimo nihil praetermissum est hactenus, neque praetermittetur, quod 5 negotia illa remorari posset, si istinc bona fide agantur. Si Nicolaus Bathori<sup>2</sup> eruet vos a malis, mitemus et alium, qui ei sit adiumento. Verum omnia intelligent Dominationes Vestrae ex litteris regiis nunc ad dominum capitaneum generalem<sup>3</sup> datis. Exspecto itaque iam in dies singulos a Dominationibus Vestris finem bonum omnium negotiorum. 10

[2.] Litteras Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae misi ad dominam meam observandissimam, dominam coniugem<sup>4</sup> suam carissimam, quae feliciter valet. Post discessum Dominationis Vestrae Magnificae parum abfuit, quin per illum amicum nostrum cum

773,12 Agriensis ... propria] *O add.*

773<sup>3</sup> See Ep. 772. 774<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 774<sup>2</sup> Miklós Báthori of Ecsed (ca.1520–1584) was the son of András Báthori (†1534) and brother of András (Bonaventura) Báthori, who was always loyal to the Habsburgs. Miklós was loyal to King John Sigismund I at first, then in 1561 he changed sides. From 1568 until his death, he was Judge Royal (*iudex curiae*), and *ispán* of Szabolcs and Szatmár counties. See BARÁTH 2008, especially 35. 774<sup>3</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 774<sup>4</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

suis cohaerentibus indicaret in interitum, quod Deus a me inmerito capiti illius, si  
15 meretur, inmittat. Dominatio Vestra expiscetur, an album cupiat et ambiat vinum de  
Farnad.<sup>5</sup> Ego illi auxilio esse possem, qua de re, si quid intellexerat, faciat me, rogo,  
Dominatio Vestra certiozem. Nova, quae habui, intelliget Dominatio Vestra Magnifica  
a domino generali. Eandem feliciter valere opto, cui servitia mea commendo.

Ex Vienna 20. Iulii anno 1551.

20 Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Thomae de Nadasd per-  
petuo terrae Fogaras et comitatus Castriferrei comiti, iudici curiae et consiliario  
regiae maiestatis ac supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino et fratri nobis  
observandissimo.

775

The Seven Mining Towns to Miklós Oláh  
Banská Štiavnica, 27 July 1551

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Kniha odpisov 1543-1556 Inv. 22.

*Notes:* Copy.

*Oláh knows well that the Turks are already sitting here outside the Seven Mining Towns, which their envoys  
have already reported to the King on countless occasions. Unless the King sends them help, the Turks will  
undoubtedly conquer this treasure-house of the kingdom, so they place all their hope in Oláh and ask him to  
represent their interests.*

Reverendissime Domine, post servitorum nostrorum humilem commendationem!

Scimus Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam non ignorare, Turcam omni  
conatu planitiam sub hisce montanis devastare et hisce montanis civitatibus non  
solum inhiare, sed illarum faucibus iam insidere. Id quod non pridem per nuntios  
15 nostros sacrae regiae maiestati, domino nostro clementissimo et Dominationi Vestrae  
Reverendissimae abunde declarare curavimus. Quare nunc novissime in extremis  
periculis nostris scripto regiae maiestati, domino nostro clementissimo pro celerrimo  
praesidio supplicamus,<sup>1</sup> quod nisi maiestas sua sine aliqua procrastinatione nobis  
praestare dignabitur, sine dubio crudelissimus Christiani nominis hostis hunc regni  
10 thesaurum pro neglecto et derelicto sine aliquo obstaculo occupabit, de quo coram  
sua maiestate regia et Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima protestatum esse volumus.  
Omnis autem spes nostra secundum Deum in Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima no-  
bis sita est. Quae ut nos intercessione sua paterna apud regiam maiestatem, dominum  
nostrum clementissimum iuvare dignetur humilliter eidem supplicamus, quam Deus  
15 altissimus quam diutissime incolumem conservare dignetur.

774,15 album ] *corr. ex albus*

774<sup>5</sup> Farná was known for its wine, see VÁLYI 1796, 638. 775<sup>1</sup> See the letter of the Seven Mining Towns,  
Ep. 768.

Datum Sebnicii ex congregatione nostra 27. Iulii anno 1551°.  
Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae fideles servitores  
nobiles iudices et iurati cives universaeque communitatis  
septem civitatum montanarum

[Probably on the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino, domino Nicolao Olaho epi-  
scopo ecclesiae Agriensis regni Hungariae supremo cancellario domino et patrono  
gratiosissimo.

776

Miklós Oláh to Banská Štiavnica Town Council  
Vienna, 8 August 1551

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Missiles 1551.

*ms. II:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Kniha odpisov 1543–1556 Inv. 22.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 586.

*In Romanian:* ALBU–CAPOIANU 1974, 156–157.

*Notes:* Ms. I. is the original letter with signature and seal. Ms. II. is a copy.

*He has presented their letter to the King and what a pressing situation they are in, although he had already written letters to the captains of the neighbouring areas to watch over the defence of the mining towns and not to tolerate any harm. They should thus not give up hope, the King will not abandon them, and they will soon receive great help from Germany and Bohemia to protect them from the Turkish attacks.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri commen-  
dationem!

Litteras Dominationum Vestrarum, quas maiestati regiae scripserant, reddidimus,  
et etiam in qua trepidatione essent, et quomodo negotia eorum agerentur, suam  
maiestatem edocuimus. Tametsi autem sua maiestas proximis litteris suis mandarat  
omnibus capitaneis suis ubique in confiniis existentibus, ut Dominationum Vestrarum  
defensionem invigilarent, neque paterentur eisdem aliqua damna aut incommoda per  
hostes inferri, nihilominus tamen rursus sua maiestas iussit omnibus suis militibus  
et capitaneis ubique existentibus, ut Vestram defensionem curare debeant. Igitur  
Dominationes Vestrae velint bono esse animo, neque animum despondeant. Nam  
a maiestate sua non deserentur brevique tam a Germania quoque Bohemia et aliis  
provinciis suae maiestatis haereditariis auxilium habebunt adeo, ut bene ab insultibus  
et excursionibus Turcicis tuti ac securi esse poterunt. Dominationes Vestras optamus  
valere feliciter.

Wiennae VIII. die Augusti 1551.

15

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudici et iuratis civibus  
civitatis Semniciensis dominis et amicis honorandis.

775,16 1551°] *corr. ex 1551<sup>o</sup> 776,16 Vester ... propria.] ms. I. O add.*

777

Miklós Oláh to Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 21 August 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 1551 No. 56.  
*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Gáspár Zula presents quite a few things on Oláh's behalf, and he asks them to trust his words and make sure the gunners and the military equipment are sent to Eger, lest they lack anything.*

Reverende Venerabilis et Egregii Domini et Fratres Observandissimi!

Is magister Gaspar praepositus Landicensis<sup>1</sup> nonnulla meo nomine Dominationibus Vestris est relaturus. Rogo igitur easdem, velint verbis ipsius fidem praestare et considerare, praesentis temporis periculo magistros bombardarum fossionesque cum  
5 aliis instrumentibus Agriam<sup>2</sup> sine more expedire, ne quis defectus contra opinionem maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi et nostrum omnium istic contingat. Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere opto, cui me commendo.

Ex Vienna 21. Augusti anno 1551.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

10 [On the outer side:] Reverendo venerabili ac egregiis dominis consiliariis camerae Hungaricae sacratissimae maiestatis regiae etc. dominis et fratribus observandissimis.

778

Banská Štiavnica Town Council to Miklós Oláh  
Banská Štiavnica, 8 August 1551

*Manuscript used:* ŠABB PBŠ MMBŠ, Kniha odpisov 1543–1556 Inv. 22.  
*Notes:* Copy.

*1. They have received the King's letter in which he assures them of his help, but they are afraid that the Turks will get here sooner than the royal support, and that they will burn what they cannot conquer, just to cause damage. The King has also sent Johann Wolfgang Hammerspach and ordered them to hand over their infantrymen, Hammerspach will take care of their defence. However, they do not have more than 300 infantrymen, 260 of whom they support, and since Hammerspach does not speak Slavic languages, they thought it not only useless but also dangerous to entrust their men to him. Since they cannot feed them for more than 14 days either, they have asked Hammerspach to convince the King to send additional cavalry and infantry and relieve them of the military burden. 2. Also, the Lipcsey lords claim that the smelter was set up on their own territory, following Augustinus Schneider's plans, but this is not true because it was set up on the territory of the Banská Štiavnica royal estate. This is not the time to revise borders, they only want to warn Oláh to pay attention to the Lipcseys.*

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777,5 quis ] *O del. ex quis istic*

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777<sup>1</sup> Gáspár Zula was a scribe at the Hungarian Chancellery between 1548 and 1552, see FAZEKAS 2021, 503. He received the Provostry of Lendak in 1548, thanks to Oláh. 777<sup>2</sup> Eger.

Reverendissime Domine etc., servitiorum etc.!

[1.] Litteras sacrae regiae maiestatis, quibus nos sua maiestas gratiose consolari et confirmari digna est,<sup>1</sup> magna cum gratulatione accepimus, et non dubitamus maiestatem suam serio pro defensione nostra sollicitam esse, hoc unicum saltem veremur, ne truculentissimus hostis praesidia suae maiestatis sacratissimae ante- 5 vertat. Certi nos sumus et pro exploratissimo habemus Turcas hoc tempore aliud nihil meditari et agere, quam ut has civitates salvas et integras in potestatem suam redigant, aut si secus fieri nequeat, igne et ferro perdat, ut modo regiae maiestati incommodare queat. Ceterum maiestas sua regia misit ad nos cum mandatis egregium dominum Wolfgangum Hamersbach<sup>2</sup> aulicum suae maiestatis, cui hos pedites, quos 10 apud nos habemus, tradere deberemus, quos ipse pro defensione nostra disponere et regere deberet. Cum autem pedites isti ultra trecenti non sunt, quorum ducentos sexagintaquinque nos reliquos ceterae civitates intertenuerunt, civitates autem suos iam pedites propter egestatem ipsarum dimiserunt, nos eadem de causa nostros quoque partim ablegare cogebimur, partim tamen propterea, quod oppidum nostrum 15 apertum et nullis moeniis aut fortaliciis munitum sit, et Turci ob id nobis magis quam ceteris civitatibus inhiant, adhuc, ut cumque intertenere cogamur, quorum linguam Sclavonicam praedictus dominus Hamersbach ignorat, visum nobis fuit non solum inutile, sed etiam periculosum fore, si tales pedites ipsi committeremus, quorum opera tantummodo ad excubias utimur. Quare cum omnino supra facultatem nostram sit, 20 eosdem milites ultra dies quattuordecim adhuc fovere, rogavimus eundem, vellet regiae maiestati, domino nostro clementissimo persuadere, ut maiestas sua eidem aliquem numerum equitum et peditum extra ista montana traderet, quibus regiae maiestati pro conservatione nostri decuplo maiorem utilitatem praestare posset, quam si apud nos hic resideret, quod et ipsi domino Hamersbach consultum visum est. 25 Quare Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae supplicamus, velit in hoc ipsum apud regiam maiestatem incumbere, quo nos a militum onere liberemur. Nam isti trecenti pedites omnem annonam in duplo hic tam brevi temporis spatio auxerunt.

[2.] Insuper, Reverendissime Domine, egregii domini Lypchey<sup>3</sup> commissionem quandam regiae maiestatis nobis praesentari curaverunt ratione conflatorii Augustini 30 Schneider<sup>4</sup> concivis nostri, quod in territoriis suis exstructum esse asseverant, cum autem certi simus, non in ipsorum, sed huius civitatis regiae Sebniciensis territoriis exaedificatum et situm esse. Nunc autem tempus revidendarum metarum non sit, volumus id Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae indicasse, ne nos quispiam apud eandem insimulare queat, tanquam commissioni maiestatis regiae minus oboedientes 35 esse velimus. Supplicamus autem Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae, velit nobis adiutorio suo adesse et cavere, ne medio tempore domini Lypschei ex insidiis huius controversiae causa aliquid mali attentent, quemadmodum cum istis de S. Cruce non pridem et nunc denuo cum nece aliquorum innocentium hominum perpetraverunt.

778,39 innocentium ] corr. ex innocentium

778 <sup>1</sup> See Ep. 776. 778 <sup>2</sup> Johann Wolfgang Hammerspach was a Commander of the German Battalion in Szolnok, see KÖRPÁS-KERTÉSZ 2013, 437–438. 778 <sup>3</sup> Probably János Lipcsey. 778 <sup>4</sup> We do not know him more closely.

40 Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam felicissime valere et nobis aliqui derelictis  
suis clientibus propitium patronum superesse omnibus votis precamur.

Sebnicii vigesima secunda Augusti anno Domini 1551<sup>o</sup>.

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae fideles servitores

N. iudex et iurati cives civitatis Sebniciensis

45 [Probably on the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino, domino Nicolao Olaho episco-  
po ecclesiae Agriensis supremo cancellario regni Hungariae etc. domino et patrono  
gratiosissimo.

779

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 22 August 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 28.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He briefly responds to two of Nádasdy's letters. The evil demon with whom Péter Bakics is doing business should be hoisted with his own petard. Queen Isabella has left Transylvania, and the news came three days ago that Şoimuş, Lipova, and Timișoara are all theirs (ours) again. He has responded to András (Bonaventura) Báthori's letter. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha has gone over to Zemplén, he will wait for the Tatar there. Attention should be paid to Oláh's voivode brothers, lest they convert to the Islamic faith. He did not write about Bakics's pride because he knew he had sent a copy of the report to him. He will do what he can in the case of the orphans. 2. Orsolya Kanizsai is well, he has sent Pál back to her so she has someone to talk to. András Choron is dead, István Zichy is on his way with Pál Rátkay. The King wants to conscript 40,000 new horsemen, 3,000 lancers are coming from Padua tomorrow, then 800 armoured cavalry are arriving from Moravia. He does not feel up to writing about the rest now because he is ready to collapse, he should let Báthori and Giovanni Battista Castaldo know about these and give them his regards. Maximilian is expected in Genoa, Andrea Doria has gone to meet him in Barcelona.

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime, servitiorum meorum  
commendationem!

[1.] Binas hoc die accepi litteras<sup>1</sup> Dominationis Vestrae de data 10. huius, sed quas  
breviter respondeo. Cacodaemon ille, qui meo immerenti capiti discrimen moliebatur,  
5 cadet aliquando in foveam, quam aliis parat. Is ille est, qui cum Bakyth<sup>2</sup> commercium  
habet, de quo alias plura. Deum glorifico, qui res vestras immo meas prosperavit et  
sine sanguine totas ex animi mei sententia perfecit. Iam enitendum est, ut Babatum<sup>3</sup>  
levatum teneamus, in quo nos hic dies et noctes meditamur.

778,42 1551<sup>o</sup>] *corr. ex 1551<sup>o</sup>*

779,5 cadet ... parat] Erasm. *Adag.* 52. I,I,52. Incidit in foveam quam fecit. MYNORS 1982, 101.

779<sup>1</sup> We do not know these letters. 779<sup>2</sup> Péter Bakics. 779<sup>3</sup> Bavay, see Ep. 757. Cap. 2.



Reginam<sup>4</sup> exivisse ex Transsylvania;<sup>5</sup> Solymos, Lyppam<sup>6</sup> et postremo 14. huius  
Themeswar<sup>7</sup> in manibus nostris iam esse audivimus ante triduum,<sup>8</sup> et ad litteras 10  
Dominationum Vestrarum capitanei Bathori<sup>9</sup> et aliorum hodie respondimus. Begler  
begum<sup>10</sup> quoque in Zemplinium 3. huius ex Nandoralba<sup>11</sup> traiecisse intelleximus, et  
Tartares quosdam illuc exspectari. Cum vaivodis fratribus meis<sup>12</sup> agendum vobis esse,  
ne partim essent aliarum quam Christianarum, frenderent dentes suos in Alcoranum.  
Non nihil ea res rebus nostris accessionis adderet. 15

De insolentia et petulantia Bakyth ideo non scripsi, quod scivi litterarum relato-  
riarum copiam ad te missam fecisse, et volui scribendo exturbare animum. Mecum  
quoque rem habet et non minus tum propter te, cum propter me turbat. Hic apud  
regiam maiestatem nihil neglexi, quod ad me et te pertinuit. Est animi constantis,  
quod vult dimidietatem bonorum apud orphanos<sup>13</sup> esse. In hocque nunc laboramus, 20  
convivens aliquid cum ille sit in expeditione, sed res non negligetur. Erit tempus, quo  
advolare poteris, non festinis,<sup>14</sup> sed lente, ut dicitur in proverbio.

[2.] Domina coniunx<sup>15</sup> Dominationis Vestrae carissima, domina mea observan-  
dissima recte valere dicitur. Paulum<sup>16</sup> remisi, quem ad me miserat, ut haberet, cum  
quo confabularetur. Choron est mortuus.<sup>17</sup> Zychy<sup>18</sup> cum collega suo Paulo Rathkay<sup>19</sup> 25  
est in posta. Maiestas regia novos equites praeter priores conscribi iussit ad 40.000.  
Cras advenient hastati pedites ex Patavia boni 3000, ex Moravia post quintum dies ad  
800 cathaphracti, hic ex Austria totidem fere. Circa Zygeth<sup>20</sup> aliquid praeclari agetur  
ad Galli cautum rubei, in aliis etiam litteris non dormient. Maxime opus esset, si vel  
dominus Bathori vel Dominatio Vestra proprius esset. De aliis externorum regnorum 30  
novis scribere etiam non possum, quia lapsus sum propter negotia et scripturam assi-  
duam. Ad dominum Bathori nulla raptim scripsi, credo, quod Dominationem Vestram  
litteris suis de his certiore reddet. Commendet me dominis capitaneo generali,<sup>21</sup>  
thesaurario<sup>22</sup> et aliis, si egi sicut in hospitia, nolo pauciores, quam viginti equos  
gradarios omnes, mihi coemi facias, ex his eligam duos aut unum. Deus conservet 35  
Dominationem Vestram felicem et incolumem.

779,12 intelleximus ] *O del. ex intelleximus cum* 779,17 exturbare ] *corr. ex extarbare*

779<sup>4</sup> Queen Isabella Jagiellon. 779<sup>5</sup> She left Transylvania after George Martinuzzi convinced her to cede Transylvania to King Ferdinand I, see OBORNI 2017, 248. 779<sup>6</sup> Şoimuş and Lipova were engagement gifts to Queen Isabella, see OBORNI 2017, 211. 779<sup>7</sup> Timişoara. 779<sup>8</sup> George Martinuzzi turned over the castles to King Ferdinand I, but the friar lied to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha saying that the castles were turned over by Péter Petrovics, see HORVÁTH 1896, 49. 779<sup>9</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 779<sup>10</sup> Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (ca.1505–1579), Governor-General of Rumelia (1551–1555) was sent by Suleiman I to drive the Habsburg troops out off Transylvania, see OBORNI 2017, 223; and ĐAKIĆ 2012, 36–61. 779<sup>11</sup> Belgrade. 779<sup>12</sup> Oláh was indeed related to the Voivode of Wallachia, see Ep. 641; and SZILÁGYI 2021. 779<sup>13</sup> See the letter on the Czobor orphans, Ep. 741. 779<sup>14</sup> Rare use instead of festino. 779<sup>15</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai. 779<sup>16</sup> Probably Pál Miklós, Tamás Nádasdy's servant, see KÁROLYI–SZALAY 1882, 53 and 107. 779<sup>17</sup> András Choron wrote his last letter to Tamás Nádasdy on 8 August, 1551, see VARGA 2001, 269; so he died some time between 8 and 22 August. 779<sup>18</sup> István Zichy was Captain of Pápa, see HHStA UA AA Fasc. 61. Konv. C. 1551 s.d. fol. 70–72. He occurs in the correspondence between Tamás Nádasdy and his wife, see KÁROLYI–SZALAY 1882, 49, 135, and 152. 779<sup>19</sup> Pál Rátkay (†1556) was Captain of Pápa in 1543 and participated in many battles, for example the one at Telekes (1549), see BUDAI 1805, 157. 779<sup>20</sup> Szigetvár. 779<sup>21</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo. 779<sup>22</sup> George Martinuzzi.

Ex Vienna 22. Augusti anno 1551.

Servitor et frater Agriensis etc. manu propria  
Maximilianum regem ad finem huius mensis immo ante exspectamus Genuam,  
40 Andreas a Doria<sup>23</sup> iam ante aliquot dies cum Gallenis ivit ei obviam Barcinonam.  
Caesarea maiestas et regia optime valent.

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo terrae Fogaras et comitatus Castriferrei comiti, iudici curiae et consiliario regiae maiestatis etc. domino et amico nobis observandissimo.

780

Miklós Oláh to Sopron Town Council  
Vienna, 12 September 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL GyMSMSL, SVTI, Lad. XXVIII CC fasc. V. Nr. 298.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He hereby invites them to his first mass as a bishop, which will take place in Bratislava, at the next diet, on the day of Apostle Saint Matthew; they should honour him with their presence.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Cum Deus optimus maximus ex ineffabili sua misericordia me indignum suum servulum ad munus episcopale vocare, et sacra regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus eo munere clementia sua ornare dignata fuerit, decrevi primitias meas sacrificii altaris domini sub dieta proxime futura Posonii in festo Beati Mathiae Apostoli<sup>1</sup> proxime venturo favente Deo celebrare. Quare Dominationes Vestras rogo, velint ad has sacrificii mei primatias unum vel duos de medio ipsorum ad diem et locum praedictum mittere, illudque eorum praesentia decorare ac precibus suis  
10 ad Deum optimum maximum fundendum pro gratia mihi impetranda iuvare. In quo et piam rem facient et mihi gratissimam, vicissim meis obsequiis apud ipsas refundendam. Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere opto.

Viennae 12. die mensis Septembris 1551.

Vester Agriensis manu propria

15 [On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudici magistro civium et ceteris iuratis civibus civitatis Soproniensis etc. dominis et amicis honorandis.

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780,14 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

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779<sup>23</sup> Andrea Doria. 780<sup>1</sup> 21 September.

781

Miklós Oláh to Chapter of Oradea  
Vienna, 19 September 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – No. 744a.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He hereby invites them to his first mass as a bishop, which will take place in Bratislava, at the next diet, on 22 November; they should honour him with their presence.*

Venerabiles Domini, Fratres in Christo Dilecti, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Cum Deus optimus maximus ex ineffabili sua misericordia me indignum suum servulum ad munus episcopale vocare et sacra regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus eo munere clementia sua ornare dignata fuerit, decrevi primitias meas sacrificii altaris domini sub dieta proxime futura Posonii vigesima secunda die mensis Novembris proxima venturi favente Deo celebrare. Quare Dominationes Vestras rogo, velint a<d sacrificium meum> <p>rimities unum vel duos ex fratribus eorum ad di<em> et locum praedictum mittere, illudque eorum praesentia decorare ac precibus suis ad Deum optimum maximum fundendum pro gratia mihi impetranda iuvare. In quo et piam rem facient et mihi gratissimam vicissimque obsequiis meis apud easdem refundendam. Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere opto.

Viennae 19. die mensis Septembris 1551.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Venerabilibus dominis capitulo ecclesiae Waradiensis etc. dominis ac fratribus in Christo dilectis.

782

Miklós Oláh to István Losonczy  
Vienna, 19 September 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – No. 747.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature. Seal has broken down.

*He hereby invites Losonczy to his first mass as a bishop, which will take place in Bratislava, at the next diet, on 22 November; he should honour him with his presence.*

Magnifice Domine, Amice Observandissime, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Cum Deus optimus maximus ex ineffabili sua misericordia me indignum suum servulum ad munus episcopale vocare, et sacra maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus eo munere, clementia sua ornare dignata fuerit, decrevi primitias meas sacrificii altaris domini sub dieta proxime futura Posonii vigesima secunda die Novembris pro-

781,14 Agriensis ... propria ] *O add.*

xime venturi, favente Deo celebrare. Quare Dominationem Vestram Magnificam rogo, velit his sacrificii mei primatiis in die eo loco praedicto interesse, illudque persona sua decorare ac precibus suis ad Deum optimum maximum fundendum pro gratia mihi impetranda iuvare. In quo et piam rem faciet et mihi gratissimam, vicissim meis obsequiis apud eandem refundendam. Dominationem Vestram Magnificam feliciter valere opto.

Viennae 19. Septembris 1551.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Stephano Lossonczy, comiti comitatus New-  
15 gradiensis, etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

783

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 20 September 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 a – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 29.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*He had wanted to celebrate his first mass as a bishop in Eger for a long time. He decided to celebrate it in Bratislava, at the next diet, where he has also invited his friends from Transylvania. He is sending the letters he wrote to them to Nádasdy, he should hand them over to them if the diet proceeds according to plan, but if things turn out differently, he should not hand the letters over. The Hungarians defeated quite a few Frenchmen in Italy.*

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

Iamdudum fuit mihi animus, ut primitias meas Agriae<sup>1</sup> vel si ibi propter negotia regia fieri non posset, hic peragerem. Verum cum nec Agriae, neque hic hactenus  
5 id fuerit <...>, decrevi tandem, ut Posonii velum meum proficiam, si dieta ipsa celebrabitur. Quare quosdam amicos meos Transsilvanienses invitavi, litterasque meas ad illos datas ad Dominationem Vestram Magnificam misi eo proposito, ut si Dominationibus Vestris celebratio dietae secundum opinionem sacrae maiestatis regiae indictae videbitur, litteras meas mittere ad eos, ad quos sonant, unacum regiis litteris  
10 velit. Si vero de dieta aliud Dominationibus Vestris videbitur, litteras quoque meas non mittat. In Italia nostri Hungari aliquot Gallos profligarunt. Dominatio Vestra Magnifica feliciter valeat, et mea servitia habeat commendata.

Ex Vienna 20. Septembris 1551.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc.

15 [On the outer side:] Spectabili ac magnifico domino comiti Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo terrae Fogaras ac comitatus Castriferrei comiti iudici curiae regiae maiestatis ac supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

782,13 Agriensis ... propria ] O add.

783<sup>1</sup> Eger.

452

784

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Vienna, 20 September 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34392.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature and seal.

*He has learned from Kristóf Batthyány's letter how grateful he is for the affairs he has taken care of on his behalf. As to what he has asked him to do, i.e. that he negotiate with his brother, Ferenc Batthyány, about the lien of a particular estate, Ferenc Batthyány has said that he will leave the decision to Révay, Oláh, and Pál Bornemissza, so they will discuss the matter at the next assembly in Bratislava. Ferenc Batthyány also says that he will abide by the decision, as will Kristóf Batthyány in Oláh's opinion.*

Magnifice Domine, Amice nobis Honorandissime, salutem et obsequiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Ea, quae Dominatio Vestra ad nos scripserat, intelleximus. Ubi igitur gratias agit nobis de sollicitudine, quam habuimus in rebus suis, proxime opera nostra per illa commendatas, facit hoc Dominatio Vestra ex abundantia amoris et benevolentiae, qua 5 nobis tantopere afficitur. Verum non erat opus tam accuratis gratiis pro parvis officiis, cum alioqui nos et in similibus et in maioribus omnem amicitiam et fraternitatem nostram semper sumus erga eam ostensuri. Quod vero rogaverat nos, ut apud magnificum dominum Franciscum Bathyan<sup>1</sup> fratrem suum ageremus ratione cuiusdam villae oppignoratitiae, egimus diligenter, et ex animo eiusque magnifici domini rem 10 et causam eam omnem reiecit in arbitrium reverendissimi domini locumtenentis,<sup>2</sup> in nostrum et in reverendissimi domini Vesprimiensis,<sup>3</sup> ita ut in proximo conventu, qui propediem Posonii Deo dante celebrabitur, nos eandem causam revideamus, et discutiamus; seque idem dominus Bathyan obtulit omnibus his, quae nos in ipsa re et causa iure et iustitia mediante concluderimus, staturum, eaque rata habiturum, 15 quod similiter Vestram quoque Magnificam Dominationem facturam non dubitamus. Si autem interim aliis quibuspiam in rebus suis opera et amicitia nostra erit necessaria, poterit nos semper requiescere confiderent. Quam et feliciter valere optamus.

Viennae 20. Septembris 1551.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria 20

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophoro de Bathyan pincernarum regiae maiestatis in Hungaria magistro etc. amico nobis honorandissimo.

784,9 ageremus] *scr del. ex ageremus suo nomine* 784,10 oppignoratitiae] *O corr. ex oppnoratitiae*  
784,15 mediante] *corr. ex mendiante* 784,20 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

784<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Batthyány. 784<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Révay. 784<sup>3</sup> Pál Bornemissza.

Hungarian Chamber to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 5 October 1551

Manuscript used: MNL OL, E 15 – 1551 – október – No. 2.

Notes: Original draft.

1. A few days ago they asked the King to appoint a protonotary and some people to investigate the complaints of the inhabitants of the Guta estate, since they are complaining that the Komárom provisor has occupied their land and sturgeon catching sites, and their complaint has reached Antal Nagyváthi through Ferenc Újlaki. However, he had just taken on another mandate, i.e. going to Skalica to examine the Moravian border issues, so he does not know what to do. They are thus asking Oláh to talk to Újlaki and make sure that the case of the poor is not dragged out, they do not have a vineyard or land, only the fish pond is left, and if that is taken away as well, they will have to move; they are awaiting the decision. 2. They are wondering how Mihály Pogrányi convinced the King to deprive the vineyards of enforcing the tithe. He has often blackmailed the vice comes and is withholding a lot of money, and he has paid the King 3,000, but he is withholding a lot more.

Ad dominum cancellarium Hungariae.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Patrone Observandissime, servitorum nostrorum perpetuam commendationem!

[1.] Supplicaveramus proximis diebus maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo, ut protonotarium et certos homines designare dignaretur, qui querelas incolarum possessionis Gwtha in ipsa facie loci cognosceret, lamentatur enim occupari per provisorum Comaronensem<sup>1</sup> terras, prata et imprimis loca erectionis capturae usonum, venerant quidem ad mandata suae maiestatis ad egregium Antonium Naghwaty<sup>2</sup> protonotarium, per reverendissimum dominum locumtenentem<sup>3</sup> hic directa. 5 Ille tamen sub idem tempus aliam accepit commissionem, nimirum ut in eum ipsum terminum ad Zacolcza<sup>4</sup> eat differentiarum Moravicalium gratia, igitur anceps haeret et utro potius se conferat, nescit, nisi quod putat publicas metas Moraviae marchionis esse ponderis. Quare Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram rogamus, velit hac de re conferre cum domino reverendissimo locumtenente et efficere, ne causa pauperum 15 illorum diutius suspendatur, carent Guthenses omni vinea, carent et agris, quos serant, una restat piscatoria, quae si eripiatur, necesse est, ut alio migrent destituito loco sterili, nec autem strenue curat claturas provisor Comaronensis in loco, qui sibi utilior valere et existimare putat sufficere in defensionem sententiae, quod ita sibi dentur, sit, quod locus ille ad Comarom spectet, est maiestas regia quoque de licentia hominis 20 admovenda, apud quam quicquid conclusum finiret, exspectamus a Reverendissima Dinatione Vestra, ut sciamus.

[2.] Ceterum miramur, qua arte persuasit maiestati regiae Michael Pograny,<sup>5</sup> ut vineas eius a decimarum solutione eximeret, qui pro regia maiestate nulla incommoda

785,8 ad mandata] corr. ex adlata 785,9 protonotarium] auth del. ex protonotarium sed 785,18 putat] auth corr. ex valeret 785,19 licentia] auth corr. ex impunitate

785<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely. 785<sup>2</sup> Antal Nagyváthi. 785<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. 785<sup>4</sup> Skalica. 785<sup>5</sup> Mihály Pogrányi was a constable and later *ispán* of Nyitra county, see C. TÓTH–HORVÁTH–NEUMANN–PÁLOSFALVI II, 2017, 176; and BOROVSKÝ 1907, 578.

a terris sumpsit, nisi quod et alii captis quidem facit, sed non invenit, qui enim sexaginta asperis emeret et libere citra pactationem evasit aut potius dimissus est. 25 Is dominum vicecomitem plurimas facit exactiones et magnam pecuniam retinet, vix tribus forte millibus posset regiae maiestati satisfacere, retinet tamen adhuc restantias plurimas et quasi benemeritus petit condonationem, qualem benemeriti non assequuntur. Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra feliciter valeat.

Posonii die 5. mensis Octobris 1551.

30

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae deditissimi servitores

Camerae regiae consilarii

786

Hungarian Chamber to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 21 October 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1551 – október – No. 4.

*Notes:* Copy.

*They have received Oláh's recommendation about János Fejérthóy, who wants to buy tithes of grain and produce at a reasonable price, as he has been encouraged to do so. Then the royal mandate was transferred to Albert Somogyi's petition. As for the wine, it was ordered to be conscribed so that the King can be informed, and Somogyi should wait and not have his hopes up regarding the fruit.*

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Patrone Observandissime, servitorum etc.!

Acceperamus litteras Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae in commendationem egregii domini Ioannis Feiérthoy<sup>1</sup> decimas frugum et bladorum<sup>2</sup> civitatis Zacolcza<sup>3</sup> sibi honesto pretio vendi postulantis, cui iam antea quoque eius harum rerum spem 5 feceramus, postea allata sunt mandata regia ad supplicationem egregii domini Alberti Somogy<sup>4</sup> expedita. Quod ad litteras regias attinet, non videmus nobis esse integrum, ut aliter de decimis frugum dictae civitatis disponamus, quod tamen ad vina spectat, iussimus deferri ad nos rationem collectionis vinorum eam ubi acceperimus, poterimus suam maiestatem informare. Interim dominus Somogy aequo animo poterit 10 exspectare et abstinere a spe frugum. Quod Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae volumus significare, quam optamus valere feliciter.

Posonii die 21. Octobris 1551.

785,24 ali] *auth del. ex alii nempe* 785,28 et] *auth del. ex et tamen*

786<sup>1</sup> János Fejérthóy. 786<sup>2</sup> I.e. bladam, see DU CANGE 1883; and SZOVÁK 1983–2017. 786<sup>3</sup> Skalica.

786<sup>4</sup> Albert Somogyi was *viceprovisor* of the archiepiscopate of Esztergom, see LACZLAVIK 2014, 117–118.

787

Miklós Oláh to Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 27 October 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1551 – No. 103.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*From the King's letter they could learn about the situation the late Lajos Pekry's servants are in, and how the King is doing them justice, as well as how he has taken on Péter Uzsali's debt, among others. So he asks them not to force Uzsali to part with the service he has already started, so he himself can take care of his own affairs as soon as possible.*

Reverende et Egregii Domini Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Ex litteris regiae maiestatis intelligere poterunt Vestrae Dominationes conditionem et statum servitorum quondam piae memoriae domini Ludovici Pekry,<sup>1</sup> qui in arce Lycowa<sup>2</sup> fuerunt, quemdammodum sua maiestas satisfactionem de servitiis ipsorum in se receperit atque huius etiam Petri Wsaly<sup>3</sup> debita inter alios ad se maiestas regia receperit. Quare rogamus et nos Vestras Dominationes, ut ne differant hunc praedictum Petrum Wsaly de suo transacto servitio contentare, ut et ipse maturius rebus suis advigilare possit, quod nos quoque Vestris Dominationibus omni amicitia  
10 referre studebimus. Quas valere optamus.

Datis Wienae 27. Octobris anno Domini 1551.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendo et egregiis dominis consiliariis camerae Hungaricae regiae maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

788

Antal Verancsics to [Miklós Oláh]  
Vienna, 2 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 184 – I. – 1. – No. 50.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*1. If there is anyone who can be grateful for Oláh's good deeds, it is Verancsics himself, on whom Oláh not only lavishes church benefices but whose name he also makes look good. 2. In light of this, he will endeavour to do his best. He swears he will be faithful to him, he will respect, follow, and serve only him, unless Oláh orders otherwise.*

[1.] Si quisque est, Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi Colendissime, qui pro acceptis a Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra beneficiis maximas

787,12 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

787<sup>1</sup>Lajos Pekry. 787<sup>2</sup>Likavka. 787<sup>3</sup>Péter Uzsali was *administrator proventuum Archiepiscopatus Strigoniensis*, see Oláh's testimonia, MERÉNYI 1896, 158.



eidem habere et referre gratias debet, ego certe unus is sum, qui quam maximas debere me confiteor. Cum enim ultro me subinde aliis atque aliis non solum commodis uberrime locupletat et ornat sacerdotiis,<sup>1</sup> sed etiam existimationem meam, a qua iamdudum excideram, reparare ac denuo nomen etiam meum in priorem tum lucem, tum fortunam revocare mirifica pietate et bonitate conatur. Incivilis plane et inhumanus essem, si istam voluntatem et munificentiam eius erga me amplissimam non perspicerem, neque dilectionem ex his argumentis, quam non vulgarem, sed singularem videtur in me convertisse, non agnoscerem, neque omnibus gratitudinis partibus, quae in facultate mea cadere possunt, promereri contenderem, idque eo quidem maiore cura et studio, quod nullis meritis meis provocata, tantum et prior me amaverit, et mereri de meo tam largitur atque praeclare voluerit.

[2.] Igitur ut pro pusillis viribus meis de habenda Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis pro tantis eius in me meritis gratia curam aliquam geram, ne ab officio et humanitate recedam, postque de referenda plura et sperare, et cogitare, quam quicquam digne praestare possim, cum video divinam providentiam in manus Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis sortes meas omnino collocasse, meque iam tandem post tot rerum mearum discrimina ad eam non aliter, quam in portum quendam et ad sacram anchoram deduxisse, negato mihi omni alio statu, eo praesertim, quem ademerat, agnosco equidem et Dei de me voluntatem et Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis erga me dilectionem perspicio. Cui vicissim ipse quoque sic de meo erga eandem animo et fide volo esse testatum, ut ab hodierna die Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem solam omnium mortalium mihi colendum, sequendum, illi soli inserviendum, parendum, vacandum, adhaerendumque apud me firma atque constanti deliberatione proposuerim, nisi ipsamet aliter de me statuerit, in cuius manu omne arbitrium mei situm esse intelligo.

Etenim Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem delegi mihi regem, delegi caesarem, eaque sola ambitione utar, ut Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationi placeam soli, in ea sola conquiescam, et verum patrem atque avunculum meum Statilium<sup>2</sup> intuear. Illud addo, quod contra Vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem nulla me unquam efferat, quantumvis altior contigerit fortuna, nec ab ea removebit aliena largitio, offerens haec eadem de me suis quoque omnibus in omnes occasiones, et in his, quae Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio voluerit, ita me Deus adiuvet.

Viennae 2. Novembris 1551.

Eiusdem Vestrae Illustrissimae et Reverendissimae sincerrima obsequentia

Wrancius manu propria

788,28 Etenim ] *corr. ex Etem*

788<sup>1</sup> On 10 October, 1551, Verancsics received the *officium lectoratus* of Esztergom after already having been Canon of Eger, thanks to Oláh, see Ep. 745. and Ep. 750., and LUDÍKOVÁ 2002, 93. 788<sup>2</sup> János Statileo.

Miklós Oláh, Ferenc Újlaki, and Pál Bornemissza to Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 4 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1551 – No. 111.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seals.

*Mihály Mérey has reported that there are some Bratislava citizens who have vineyards on the foothills that belong to the Rača tithe, which the King has given to Mérey at Oláh's intervention. And when the magistrate was due to collect the Bratislava tithe, these citizens sent a legate to Mérey, who had never paid the Rača tithe before, but they took a barrel of unpressed grape to Bratislava and pressed it there, and then sent it to the Archbishop's house. Mérey said that during Pál Várday's time these grapes were weighed in Bratislava, and the Archbishop could decide what to do with them. But because the King had given Mérey the rights of the Rača vineyards, it would be just if the grapes belonging to the Rača tithe were paid by both the Bratislava citizens and others in full. Oláh and his people think that the wine taken to the Bratislava decimator should also be handed over to Mérey, as the entire tithe is due to him according to the King's decision.*

Reverende ac Egregii Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Retulit nobis dominus Michael de Mere,<sup>1</sup> quod forent certi cives civitatis Posoniensis, qui in promontoriis ad decimas de Reche<sup>2</sup> pertinentes vineas<sup>3</sup> haberent, 5  
 quas quidem decimas maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus ad nostram intercessionem pro solita arenda eidem domino Merey pro anno praesenti concessit; cumque decimator suus a praefatis civibus Posoniensibus decimas talium vinearum persolvi debere postulasset, dicti cives misso ad eundem dominum Merey nuntio eorum asseruissent se etiam antea nunquam ab huiusmodi vineis ipsorum decimas 10  
 in Reche persolvisse, sed unas in torculari nondum expressas Posonium in vasis deduxissent, ibique pressis torcularibus et vinis in vasis collocatis decimae eorum in cellariis decimatae fuissent, et eas ad domum archiepiscopalem<sup>4</sup> persolvissent, id quod etiam nunc Vestrae Dominationes eodem modo ab eisdem exigere vellent. Eundem vero dominum Merey respondisse, ut etiam si tempore quondam domini 15  
 Strigoniensis<sup>5</sup> decimae talium vinearum Posonii essent connumeratae et solutae, id liberum fuisse facere archiepiscopis, si decimas ipsas cum etiam aliis arendassent, vineas civium pro se reservassent, sed cum maiestas regia integras decimas ad Reche pertinentes nulla facta exceptione vinearum civium Posoniensium ipsi domino Merey arendaverit, omni iure et aequitate dignum fore, ut decimae omnium vinearum ad 20  
 decimas Reche pertinentes tam a Posoniensibus, quam aliis omnibus sibi sine omni defecto persolverentur, sicque certi ex civibus decimas ibidem in Reche persolvissent, alii vero se in eorum domibus persolvere paratos obtulissent, modo a Vestris Dominationibus rursum propterea non inquietentur, et tandem etiam Vestrae Dominationes cum domino Merey in hoc convenissent, ut decimator domini Merey decimas talium 25  
 vinearum ad decimas Rechen pertinentes connumerare et ibidem Posonii in vasis

789<sup>1</sup> Mihály Mérey. 789<sup>2</sup> Rača. 789<sup>3</sup> On the vine of Rača, see VÁLYI 1799, 184. 789<sup>4</sup> On the tithing yard of the archiepiscopal palace in Bratislava, see GÁL-MLAKÁR 2007, 290. 789<sup>5</sup> Pál Várday.

in hospitio eiusdem domini Meroy locare deberet, quae vina usque ad nostram de-  
liberationem idem dominus Meroy inde abducere non faceret, quare periiit. Nos idem  
domino Meroy, ut hac de re ad Dominationes Vestras scriberemus admoneremusque,  
ut huiusmodi decimas vinearum civium Poseniensium Rechenses pertinentes ipsi  
domino Meroy abducendas facere permetterent. Cum autem dignum nobis videatur, 30  
ut decimae talium vinearum sub decimis Rechensibus, quae decimae per maiestatem  
regiam ipsi domino Meroy integre concessae sunt, omni iure eidem domino Meroy  
dari debeant, rogamus Dominationes Vestras, velint huiusmodi decimas vinearum,  
quae a civibus Poseniensibus per suum decimatorem istic Poseniicollectae et in vasis  
locatae sunt, ipsi domino Meroy abducendas permittere. Quas bene valere optamus. 35  
Viennae 4. Novembris anno Domini 1551.

Agriensis etc. manu propria  
Iauriensis etc.  
Vesprimiensis

[On the outer side:] Reverendo ac egregiis dominis camerae Hungaricae sacrae regiae 40  
maiestatis consiliariis etc. dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.

790

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Thurzó and Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 10 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1551 – No. 115.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*They will understand from the King's letter and Albert Somogyi's petition what the King orders in the matter. He has charged us with writing a letter on his promotion, asking to begin the royal mandate by at least accepting wine and wheat if there is no money.*

Reverendissime, Venerabilis ac Egregii Domini et Amici Obs<ervandissimi>, sa-  
lutem et nostri commendationem!

Intelligere poterunt Dominationes Vestrae ex litteris sacrae regiae maiestatis,  
domini nostri clementissimi et etiam ex supplicatione egregii Alberti Somogyi,<sup>1</sup> fa-  
miliaris nostri in illis inclusa, quid maiestas sua in negotio suo iusserit. Nobis quoque 5  
supplicavit, ut in promotionem sui litteras nostras ad Dominationes Vestras daremus.  
Rogantes easdem vehementer, velint iuxta mandatum suae maiestatis cum eo ratio-  
nem inire, ac eundem posita ratione, si parata pecunia fieri nequirit, vel saltem vino et  
tritico contentum reddere. Et facient Dominationes Vestrae in eo cum nobis quoque  
gratam. Et easdem valere optamus feliciter. 10

Viennae decima mensis Novembris 1551.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

789,34 collectae ] *corr.* ex collecta 789,35 locatae ] *corr.* ex locata 789,37 Agriensis ... propria ] *O add.*  
789,38 lauriensis etc. ] *auth add.* 789,39 Vesprimiensis ] *auth add.* 790,12 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

790<sup>1</sup> Albert Somogyi.

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo venerabili ac egregiis dominis Francisco Thwrzo  
de Bethlenffalwa praefecto ceterisque consiliariis camerae Hungaricae sacrae regiae  
15 maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis observandissimis.

791

Miklós Oláh to Hungarian Chamber  
[Vienna], 12 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 1551 No. 118.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*The King has left János Szentpéteri in Likavka to look after the castle for a set period of time, until he orders otherwise, so he recommends him to their attention. He is strapped for cash right now due to having to pay the infantrymen who are stationed in the castle. Oláh is asking them to look after them, so they do not lack anything in the castle.*

Reverende et Egregii Domini, Amici nobis Honorandissimi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Iohannem Zempethery<sup>1</sup> maiestas regia ad certum tempus in arcem Lykawa,<sup>2</sup> donec de ea arce aliter provideat,<sup>3</sup> reliquit, quare ipsum Dominationibus Vestris  
5 commendo. Eget autem pecunia pro solutione peditum, quos in arce alit. Oro itaque Dominationes Vestras, ut ei providere velint, ne quis defectus in arce contingat. Easdem bene valere optamus.

Datum 12. Novembris anno Domini MDLI.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

10 [On the outer side:] Reverendo et egregiis dominis consiliariis camerae Hungaricae regiae maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis honorandissimis.

792

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Fronleiten, 15 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 60. Konv. C., fol. 34.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*1. He is sending him Giovanni Battista Castaldo's letter of 7 November, from which he will learn that their army attacked Lipova on 4 November and occupied it, and they slayed down 2,000 of the 3,000 Turks Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had left to defend it, the rest retreated to the castle of Lipova with the rest of the sanjaks; there*

791,9 Vester ... propria] O add.

791 <sup>1</sup>Probably János Szentpéteri, who was Castellan of Likava. We know two of his letters, dated 15 and 18 August, 1551 in Likava, see BESSENYEI 2013, 248. 791 <sup>2</sup>Likavka. 791 <sup>3</sup>It was necessary due to Lajos Pekry's death, see Ep. 787.

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is great hope for destroying all of the Pasha's army. 2. So now things may turn to the glory of not only Hungary but that of all of Christian Europe. He is trying to keep Oláh updated, who should inform Ferenc Újlaki, Pál Bornemissza, and the rest of the Hungarian councilors.

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime Devote Fidelis nobis Dilecte!

[1.] Transmittimus Devotioni Tuae exemplum litterarum, quas consiliarius noster et serenissimi principis domini Maximiliani regis Bohemiae etc. filii nostri carissimi bellicus locumtenens, Iohannes Baptesta Castaldus<sup>1</sup> ex castris ad Lippam positus die septima praesentis mensis Novembris ad nos dedit,<sup>2</sup> ex quibus Devotio Tua intelliget, 5 quod ex singulari quadam gratiaomnipotentis ac aeterni Dei exercitus noster ipsam civitatem Lippam die 4. praesentis mensis tormentis bellicis conquassatam fortiter ingressus coeperit, ibidemque ex tribus millibus Turcarum selectorum ex universo exercitu et Beglerbegi,<sup>3</sup> quos ad praesidium ac custodiam civitatis reliquerat, quos ad 10 praesidium ac custodiam civitatis reliquerat, circiter duo millia trucidaverunt, reliquos vero Turcos cum suo sanziacko in arcem, quae ibi est, sese recepisset, magnamque esse spem non solum hos, qui in arcem illam profugerunt, verum reliquum etiam totum ipsius Baglerbegi exercitum eodem Deo optimo maximo propitio funditus brevi admodum tempore oppressum iri.

[2.] Quae cum ita se habeant, et non modo ad nostram regnique nostri Hungariae 15 totiusque reipublicae Christianiae salutem et incrementum, sed autem ad gloriam ac laudem Dei pertinere videantur. Nos sane Devotionem Tuam pro nostra in eandem clementia celare minime potuimus, ut non solum Devotio Tua de istis rebus certior redducatur, sed eadem per Devotionem Tuam locumtenenti quoque nostro regni 20 nostri Hungariaelauriensi<sup>4</sup> ac Vesprimiensi<sup>5</sup> episcopis ceterisque consiliariis nostris Hungaricis facta et illis litterarum illarum copia communicarentur. Quare Devotio Tua una cum illis eidem etiam omnipotenti Domino, cuius auspiciis res haec est feliciter conscripta<sup>6</sup> dignas gratias agere priumquam laudis sacrificium celebrare debbit, quo is huiusmodi gratiarum actione et laudibus clementer attentisposthac etiam nobis 25 regnisque ac dominiciis nostris et universae reipublicae Christianae propitius adesse

792,6 quadam] *scr add.* 792,6 gratia] *scr del. ex gratia qua nos* 792,6 omnipotentis] *scr corr. ex omnipotens* 792,6 aeterni] *scr corr. ex aeternus* 792,6 Dei] *scr corr. ex Deus prosequetur* 792,7 Lippam] *scr del. ex Lippam fortiter* 792,7 mensis] *scr corr. ex firmiter for* 792,9–10 et ... reliquerat] *scr corr. ex Turcico Beglerbegi* 792,10 reliquos] *scr corr. ex reliquis* 792,11 Turcos] *scr add.* 792,11 recepisset] *scr del. ex recepisset sesecumque* 792,11 magnamque] *scr del. ex magnamque tamen* 792,13 totum] *scr add.* 792,13 exercitum] *scr del. ex exercitum Deo* 792,13–14 brevi ... tempore] *scr add.* 792,15–17 et... videantur] *scr add.* 792,18 certior] *scr del. ex certior reddatur* 792,19 per... Tuam] *scr add.* 792,20 Hungariae] *scr del. ex Hungariae episcopo* 792,21 facta ... copia] *scr add.* 792,22 etiam] *scr add.* 792,23 agere] *scr del. ex agere debebant* 792,24 nobis] *scr del. ex nobis eandem gratiam suam* 792,25 regnisque] *scr del. ex regnisque nostris Hungariae* 792,25 Christianae] *scr del. ex Christianae adesse*

792<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo. 792<sup>2</sup> We only know a letter from 9 November, 1551, see ÖStA HHStA UA AA Fasc. 60. Konv. C. 1551. XI. fol. 22–23. 792<sup>3</sup> Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. 792<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. 792<sup>5</sup> Pál Bornemissza. 792<sup>6</sup> Uncertain reading.

coeptumque opus ad felicem finem sui que nominis sempiternam gloriam deducere non dedigneretur, prout Devotionem Tuam facturam esse minime dubitamus.

Datum in Fronleik die 15. Novembris 1551.

[Probably on the outer side:] Episcopo Agriensi.

793<sub>798</sub>

Queen Mary to Miklós Oláh  
Brussels, 18 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* AÉB, Ref. Rel. I. Suppl. K. 8, 1., p. 70.

*Published:* HATVANI 1858, 305–306.

*In Hungarian:* HATVANI 1858, 305. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy. We do not know the manuscript.

*Queen Mary thanks Oláh's willingness to help Court Secretary Urban Scharberger, who was sent to Hungary. She also asks him to pay her claim of 500 florins from the inheritance of the late Archbishop of Esztergom in cash, if possible.*

Maria etc.

Ehrwürdiger in Got andechtiger lieber Gethrewer!

Demnach wir durch unnsern secretari unnd gethreu en lieben Urban Scharberger<sup>1</sup> verstanden, das ir ihme in unnsern handlungen unnd geschefften, die er in Hungern unnd der orten herumb zu sollicitirn unnd zu verrichten gehabt, mererlei hulff unnd furderung guetwillig ercaizt unnd sonderlich verholffen gewest seit, damit unnsere anforderung des nagst abgestorbnen erczbischoffen zu Gran,<sup>2</sup> schuldt der hungerischen fl. <sup>3</sup> 500 von weilendt Hannsen Dobrawiezkhi<sup>4</sup> heerruerendt anfenglich die bezallung durch die römische, zu Hungern unnd Behaim kunigliche wirde etc., unnsern herrn unnd brueder freundlich verwilliget unnd volgendt auch bei den hungerischen chamern rathen unnd des von Gran<sup>5</sup> seligen verordneten testamentarien genuegsam justificiert unnd rectificiert worden. Darumben wir euch gancz gnadigen dannckh sagen, unnd hetten unns gleichwol hierauf zuvor gepflegte hanndlung gebuerlicher bezallung versehen. Dieweil aber solches bissheer nit beschehen, unnd die sachen also unerörttert austeen belieben, unnd doch annder glaubiger von gemelter erczbiszthumbs einkhomen bezalt werden, ist an euch unnsere gnadiges begeben, dieweil die schuldt verbrieft gancz beweiszlich, unnd wir vernomen verrer justification nit notturfftig, ir wellet unns zu angenemben gefallen, nachmals daran unnd verholffen sein, damit wir angerurter fl. 500, soverr es immer mueglich, also bar vergenuet, oder aber zum wenigsten derselben bezallung auff sichere unnd gewisse termin verwiesen, versicherndt, unnd derhalben gebuerliche verschreibung verfertigt werden. Wie ir

792,26 coeptumque ... deducere ] *scr add.* 792,27 minime ] *scr corr. ex minimi* 792,27 dubitamus ] *scr del. ex dubitamus* Et ista sancta 792,28 ] *scr corr. ex* 16 793,16 begeben ] *corr. ex bebegern* 793,19 soverr ] *corr. ex uoverr*

793 <sup>1</sup> Urban Scharberger was Secretary and Counselor to Queen Mary, see HEISS 1976, 70, 79–80. 793 <sup>2</sup> Pál Várday died on 12 October, 1549, his successor was George Martinuzzi. 793 <sup>3</sup> I.e. Florenorum. 793 <sup>4</sup> János Dubraviczky. 793 <sup>5</sup> Esztergom.

dan in dem unnserm gnadigen verthrauen, unnd nach gelegenhait der sachen ewerm selbs guetbedunckhen nach verrer handlung furczunemen werdt wissen, zweifeln auch nit, hochermelte römische kunigliche w.<sup>6</sup> etc. werden fur sich selbst zu dem aller billicheit nach genaigt sein, solches hinwider gegen euch mit allen gnaden zu 25 bedenken.

Geben zu Brüssel in Brabant den 18<sup>ten</sup> November anno etc. 1551.

Maria

794

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Graz, 23 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 60. Konv. C., fol. 72r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*He is forwarding two of István Losonczy's letters, so that when he (the King) returns to Vienna, he can present it during the first consultation, and they can make a decision as soon as possible.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime Devote Fidelis nobis Dilecte!

Transmittimus Devotioni Tuae praesentibus adiunctas binas litteras magnifici fidelis nobis dilecti Stephani Lossuntzy,<sup>1</sup> eidem clementer committentes, ut eas, cum Deo concedente Viennam reversi fuerimus, nobis in consilio primo quoque tempore proponat, quo mature desuper deliberare, et quod conveniens fuerit statuere queamus. 5 Exsequitura in eo benignam voluntatem nostram.

Datum Gratz 23. Novembris 1551.

[Probably on the outer side:] Episcopo Agriensi.

795

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Thurzó and Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 23 November 1551

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 1551 No. 128.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

*1. The censura that the Chamber sent in connection with István Dobó's administration did not take into consideration what Oláh had already tried to make them understand before. Oláh has therefore stayed here in Vienna and did not follow the King, and he spent three days working on revising the censura and wrote a*

794,2 Transmittimus ] *scr del. ex* Transmittimus te 794,3 eidem ] *scr del. ex* eidem grati 794,3 ut ] *scr corr. ex quod* 794,5 conveniens ] *scr corr. ex* aequum fuerit statute consentaneumque

793 <sup>6</sup> I.e. Wirde. 794 <sup>1</sup> István Losonczy.

mitigation that follows the articuli to accompany it. He has sent it to them so they can see why he may have been lenient with Dobó. 2. He asks them to read his mitigation as soon as possible and decide in the case while the King returns to Vienna; royal *contrascriba* Péter Gutai will help them with it. He has also written to Dobó to prepare and send the annual accounting for the year 1551. György Kachich will tell them the rest. 3. They should inform Oláh about their intentions as soon as possible, so he can find a suitable inspector. Although he is sending this letter to Ferenc Thurzó as well, he has heard that he has not returned to Bratislava yet, so they should decide without him.

Reverendi ac Egregii Domini, Fratres et Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri condationem!

[1.] Censuram, quam superioribus temporibus Dominationes Vestrae super administratione Stephani Dobo<sup>1</sup> ad nos miserant, quamvis prius cognoscere atque nostram superinde opinionem Dominationibus Vestris describere voluerimus, praesentia tamen maiestatis regiae ac alia publica regni negotia, quae privata nostra negotia intermittere nos compulserunt, non sunt passa nos rebus nostris privatis invigilare, sed eas ad aliud tempus reicere et relinquere coegerunt, atque ideo ea saltem ratione hic Viennae mansimus et ne suam maiestatem hac vice in itinere sequeremur. A sua maiestate obtinuimus, ut iam tandem rebus quoque nostris privatis prospicere possemus, post discessum itaque suae maiestatis censuram ipsam per tres fere dies laborando diligenter revidimus ac nostram quoque moderationem secundum articulos descripsissemus. Quam pro faciliori inventione secundum capita articulorum cifris notatam unacum nostra opinione ac moderatione similiter cifris notata, nec non duobus registis super inquisitione et rectificatione conscriptis per egregium Georgium litteratum Katthyth,<sup>2</sup> cuius opera in hac revisione usi sumus, Dominationibus Vestris remisimus, si qua in re nos servitori nostro indulgisse perspexerint, id non in aliam partem interpretari velint, nisi quod in ea moderatione limites aequitatis transcendere nolimus, et quod rationem etiam temporis ac loci, ubi Dobo officium exercuit, habuimus.

[2.] Quare Dominationes Vestras rogamus diligenter, velint, quantocius fieri poterit, nostram moderationem cognoscere atque haec negotia primo quoque tempore expedire, ut interim, quoad maiestas regiae ex Grecio<sup>3</sup> rediens hic Viennae pausabit et se ad alias regiones movebit, totius negotii finis per nos atque Dominationes Vestras imponi possit. Videtur autem ad inquisitionem eiusmodi negotiorum pro parte camerae regiae maiestatis sufficiens esse Petrus litteratus Gwtthensis,<sup>4</sup> modernus in arce Agriensi *contrascriba* regius, cui et nos ex nostris aliquem pro commodiori inquisitione adiungemus. Scripsimus<sup>5</sup> etiam Stephano Dobo, ut rationes quoque anni praesentis 1551 quamprimum conficere ac nobis vel Dominationibus Vestris mittere curet, ut eo citius totum rationis dandae negotium perfici possit. Cetera Dominationes

795,13 secundum] *scr add.* 795,17 nostro] *O corr.* ex nostros 795,23 Grecio] *O corr.* ex Gracio 795,24 regiones] *O del.* ex regiones non 795,29 nobis vel] *O add.*

795<sup>1</sup> István Dobó. 795<sup>2</sup> The Croatian Kachich family was famous around this time, see PETRICHEVICH HORVÁTH 1941, 226. 795<sup>3</sup> Graz. 795<sup>4</sup> Péter Gutai was Counter-signer (*contrascriba*) of Eger between 1549–1558, after which he became Royal Controller (1557–1563), see KENYERES 2006, 60–61. 795<sup>5</sup> We do not know this letter.



Vestrae fusius a praedicto Georgio litterato cognoscent per quem Dominationibus Vestris seorsum et privatim, et communiter quoque nuntiavimus. Quas optamus valere feliciter.

Viennae 23. die mensis Novembris 1551.

[3.] Censuram Dominationum Vestrarum cum nostra moderatione conferant faci- 35  
antque unum corpus responsionis ad rationes Dobonis dandae. Quae postea illic  
tempore eo, quo videbitur fore commodius, mitti poterit, faciant itaque Dominatio-  
nes Vestrae me de voluntate earum quamprimum certiolem, ut possim designare  
hominem aliquem meum idoneum ad inquisitionem similcum contrascriba fidelem  
faciendam. Has licet litteras adscribi iusserim etiam domino Nitriensi,<sup>6</sup> arbitratus eum 40  
Posonii esse, sed quia audio nondum eum rediisse Posonium, Dominationes Vestrae  
velint sine eo negotio huic finem imponere rogo. Quae feliciter valeant.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendis ac egregiis dominis Francisco Thwrzo de Bethlenffalwa, episcopo Nitriensi praefecto ac ceteris consiliariis Hungaricae camerae regiae 45  
maiestatis etc. dominis fratribus et amicis honorandis.

796

Miklós Oláh to the Upper Hungarian Cities' Town Councils  
Vienna, 12 December 1551

*Published:* ZSINKA 1927, 68.

*Notes:* We do not know the manuscript.

*Oláh invites the cities of Upper Hungary to his first mass, which he wants to celebrate during the opening of the Bratislava diet.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini, Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Cum Deus optimus maximus ex ineffabili sua misericordia me indignum suum servulum ad munus episcopale vocare et sacra maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus eo munere clementia sua ornare dignata fuerit, decrevi primitias meas 5  
sacrificii altaris Domini sub dieta proxima futura Posonii in festo beati Mathiae Apostoli proxime venturo favente Deo celebrare.<sup>1</sup> Quare Dominationes Vestras rogo, velint ad has sacrificii mei primitias unum vel duos aut quot voluerint de medio ipsorum ad diem et locum praedictum mittere, illudque praesentia sua decorare et precibus suis ad Deum fundere, pro gratia mihi impetranda iuvare, in quo et piam rem 10  
facient et mihi grates vicissim meis obsequiis apud ipsas refundenda. Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere opto.

795,35–42 Censuram ... valeant ] *O add.* 795,40 litteras ] *del. ex* litteras licet 795,40 etiam ] *O del. ex* etiam ad 795,43 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

795<sup>6</sup> Ferenc Thurzó. 796<sup>1</sup> According to his diary, the mass was held on 29 February, see KOVACHICH 1798, 92.

Datum Vienna 12. die mensis Decembris anno 1551.

Vester Agriensis manu propria

15 [On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis iudicibus et iuratis civitatis superioris partium regni Hungariae superioris.

797

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Prague, 27 December 1551

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6495.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He has written to Simon, citizen of Bratislava, in what cases he needs to make an exception for his friends. He also asks them that if he needs their support, they should not doubt his word and help him.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Dilecti, salutem et nostram commendationem!

5 Scripsimus ad egregium Simonem<sup>1</sup> inhabitatorem ipsius civitatis, quibus rebus excipiendum dominis et nostris amicis nobis opus esset. Rogamus itaque Dominationes Vestras, quod si qua in re vestra opera indigebit, ei omni auxilio sitis, et quicquid vobis nostro nomine dixerit, non secus atque nobis fidem adhibere velitis nobisque in hac re studiose complacere, vicissim nos eisdem omni amicitia ac benevolentia refundere studebimus. Valet.

Pragae 27. die mensis Decembris 1551.

10 Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis, iudici et magistro civium civitatis Posoniensis etc. amicis nobis honorandis.

<sup>793</sup>798

Miklós Oláh to Queen Mary  
Prague, 6 January 1552

*Manuscript used:* AÉB, Vol. Suppl. Orient., p. 375.

*Published:* HATVANI 1858, 314–316.

*In Hungarian:* HATVANI 1858, 314. [regesta]

*Notes:* We do not know the manuscript.

*1. He received the Queen's letter when he was already planning to travel to Vienna, in which she thanks him for his services; while he is alive, the Queen can expect him to do everything that can be of service to her. He*

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797,10 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

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797<sup>1</sup> We do not know him more closely.

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has not been able to make arrangements in connection with János Dubraviczky's 500-florins debt because he also has to discuss it with the councilors of the Chamber, who are in Bratislava. But once Oláh and his people return to Vienna after the diet, he will take care of it. 2. She will learn from the King's letter what an end George Martinuzzi met. The King had benevolence towards Martinuzzi and even made him a cardinal to appease him, but he was adamant and in the end brought it all upon himself. 3. The King will hold an assembly on the Emperor's birthday in Bratislava, and Oláh will celebrate the mass, to which he hereby invites the Queen and asks her to either attend herself or send someone to represent her. He also asks her to write a handwritten letter to the King about the Esztergom matter that they discussed, in connection with which he has his hopes.

Serenissima Princeps Domina et Domina clementissima, post mei servitutisque meae perpetuae in gratiam Serenitatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem!

[1.] Cum Viennae in procinctu huc veniendi cum sacra regia maiestate, domino meo clementissimo, fratre Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae clarissimo essemus, red-  
ditae sint mihi litterae<sup>1</sup> Maiestatis Vestrae, in quibus Serenitas Vestra scribit meam in 5  
suis negotiis sollicitudinem et diligentiam sibi gratam fuisse. Novit optime Maiestas  
Vestra me omnia Maiestati Vestrae debere, debiturumque semper pro sua in me  
clementia, dum vivam, et hac de causa nihil a me unquam praetermittitur, in quo  
Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae me posse servire putavero, sed semper ea faciam, quae  
bonus et fidelis Maiestatis Vestrae servitor facere debeo. 10

Quod vero Maiestas Vestra scribit de debito quingentorum Florenorum Ioannis  
Dobrowych,<sup>2</sup> cum eo tempore in via essemus, agi per me ea de re nihil potuit, nam ea  
res a me tractari post maiestatem regiam debuit cum consiliariis Camerae Hungaricae,  
qui sunt Posonii; verum cum Deo volente Viennam revertemur, credo autem ante  
festum Purificationis beatae Virginis<sup>3</sup> hic comitia finem habitura, et nos mox Viennam 15  
redituros atque statim in hoc negotio Maiestatis Vestrae omnem solitam ac debitam  
meam operam sollicitudinemque impendam perficiamque, quantum in me erit, ut  
Maiestas Vestra intelligere possit, mihi quasque res Maiestatis Vestrae etiam minimas  
maxime curae fuisse.

[2.] Quem autem finem Frater Georgius<sup>4</sup> quondam episcopus Waradiensis trac-  
tationum suarum vitaeque habuerit, Maiestas Vestra ex litteris sacrae maiestatis  
regiae, domini mei clementissimi per postham proximum ad eam missis simul cum  
causis et rationibus omnibus cur id fieri debuit, clare intellexit. Sua maiestas regia  
magnis profecto gratiis et clementia illum prosecuta fuit, adeo ut in numerum etiam  
cardinalium adiungendum curaret, quo cum beneficiis tam amplis sibi devinciret. 25  
Sed ille his omnibus a suo facinore avocari non potuit, et hac de causa, quem finem  
actionum suarum quaerebat et merebatur, repperit.

[3.] Ceterum in natali die sacrae caesareae maiestatis<sup>5</sup> Posonii regia maiestas  
cum ordinibus et statibus regni Hungariae conventum habebit et cum me Deus  
optimus maximus ex ineffabili sua misericordia ad munus episcopale vocare et Vestrae 30  
Serenissimae Maiestates eo munere ornare dignatae fuerint, decrevi praedicto die et

798<sup>1</sup> Ep. 793. 798<sup>2</sup> János Dubraviczky. 798<sup>3</sup> 2 February. 798<sup>4</sup> George Martinuzzi was killed on 17 December, 1551. He had been Archbishop of Esztergom since August 1551. After his death, the Archbishop's seat stayed vacant. 798<sup>5</sup> The birthday of Emperor Charles V was on 24 February, i.e. the feast of St. Matthias.

loco in festo videlicet divi Mathiae apostoli proxime venturo primitias meas sacrificii  
altaris domini celebrare,<sup>6</sup> quae supplico Maiestati Vestrae, velit illas sua praesentia aut  
per hominem suum ornare. Supplico praeterea Maiestati Vestrae humillime, ut dum  
35 arbitrer maiestatem regiam, fratrem Maiestatis Vestrae carissimum omnia negotia  
Hungariae et etiam ecclesiarum Dei in aliquem ordinem tunc redacturum, dignetur  
Maiestas Vestra illud gratiae et clementiae suae apponere, ut quod in me coepit,  
gratiose perficere, suaque manu aliquot verba ad maiestatem regiam scribere de ea re  
Strigoniensi,<sup>7</sup> de qua antea quoque et scribere et novissime Augustae<sup>8</sup> loqui dignata  
40 fuerat et bonam spem mihi fecerat, quod ego a Serenissima Vestra Maiestate et domino  
meo clementissimo semper dum vivam, perpetuis servitiis et orationibus promereri  
volo. Deus optimus maximus Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram et in hoc novo anno  
et quam plurimis sequentibus felicissimam et incolumem conservare dignetur. In  
cuius clementiam humillima servitia mea iterum atque iterum unice commendo.  
45 Praegae 6. Ianuarii anno 1552.  
Eiusdem Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor  
Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis manu propria

799

Hungarian Chamber to Milkós Oláh  
Bratislava, 8 January 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1552 – január – No. 7.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*The postmaster handed over a stack of letters that also included Oláh's letter to them, indicating that royal letters should be written to András (Bonaventura) Báthori and Georg Werner, which they will gladly do. They inform Oláh that three knights of the Chamber were sent to Košice, Prešov, and other places further away, while the fourth has returned empty-handed; the King sent all four of them in the matter of the revenues. It is impossible for them to take care of both the Chamber's and the King's affairs, so they ask him to choose a more appropriate route when sending letters, and because the Palatine has several knights who should be looking after the royal affairs, they should entrust such letters to them instead of the Chamber, which only has ten knights, who cannot tackle so many cases.*

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Patrone Observandissime, servitiorum nostrae commendationem!

Reddidit magister postarum<sup>1</sup> regiae maiestatis hodie fasciculum litterarum, cui  
5 et Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae litterae ad nos erant insertae significantes

799,4 cui] *auth corr. ex quibus* 799,5 ad nos] *auth add.*

798<sup>6</sup> Oláh invited the Chapter of Oradea and István Losonczy to this mass, see Ep. 781. and Ep. 782. According to his *Ephemerides*, his mess was celebrated on 29 February, 1552. See KOVACHICH 1798, 92. 798<sup>7</sup> Oláh tried to be Martinuzzi's successor as Archbishop of Esztergom, in which he succeeded in 1553. 798<sup>8</sup> Augsburg. 799<sup>1</sup> Matthias Taxis was Postmaster general (*supremus postarum magister*) between 1548 and 1558, see EMBER 1946, 375–376.

468

oportere, ut litterae regiae ad dominum Bathory<sup>2</sup> et Georgium Vernerum,<sup>3</sup> citissime<sup>4</sup> dirigentur. Nos quidem perlibenter id facimus, quod a sua maiestate iubemur. Certa tamen sit Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra abesse ad Cassoviam,<sup>5</sup> ad Epperies<sup>6</sup> et remota alia loca missos tres equites Camerae, quartus post longissima itinera hodie est reversus ita, ut per quem mittamur litterae, nullus sit ad manum. Hos autem 10 quattuor equites ad negotia tamen proventuum maiestas regia hinc Camerae attribuit, ad quem etiam vix sufficiunt, ut necesse videantur ea, quae negotium regiae maiestatis concernent vel reverendissimo domino locumtenenti<sup>7</sup> imponi et iniugi, vel alium modum excogitari. Impossibile est enim, ut et Camerae et regiae maiestatis negotia omnia nos curemus opera quattuor equitum, non tutum est litteras maioris momenti 15 occurrentibus et incertis hominibus committi.

Quare Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram rogamus plurimum, velit servare in directione litterarum eum modum, qui possibilis sit et cum plures habeant equites domini locumtenentis, cui negotia regiae maiestatis succumbunt, iustius illi commendabuntur tales litterae, quam Camerae, quae tot difficultatibus perpetuo 20 urgetur, ut ad sola Camerae negotia vix decem equites sufficerent. Quod imprimis Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae volumus significare, quam optamus valere feliciter.

Posonii die 8. Ianuarii anno 1552.

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae deditissimi servitores 25  
Camerae Hungaricae regiae maiestatis consiliarii

800

Miklós Oláh to Bratislava Town Council  
Prague, 8 January 1552

*Manuscript used:* AMB MMB, Listy a listiny inv. č. 6497.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh has written about some of the cases brought by Simon, citizen of Bratislava, which could be to their advantage, so he asks them not to deny Simon help if he needs it.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Scripsimus<sup>1</sup> de rebus nonnullis egregio Simoni litterato concivi vestro pro nostro usu expediendis. Quare Dominationes Vestras rogamus, si qua in re ad nostras necessitates dictus Simon opera vestra indiguerit, eam illi ne denegetis. Quod Dominatio- 5

799,6 Georgium] *auth add.* 799,12 necesse] *auth del.* ex necesse sit 799,14 enim] *auth del.* ex enim ut 799,15 omnia] *auth add.* 799,18 litterarum] *auth del.* ex litterarum talem 799,21 sufficerent] *auth del.* ex sufficerent Non est locus extraordinariis expensis cursorem in ratione ibi nollemus.

799<sup>2</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 799<sup>3</sup> Georg Werner. 799<sup>4</sup> Uncertain reading. 799<sup>5</sup> Košice. 799<sup>6</sup> Prešov. 799<sup>7</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. 800<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 797.

nibus Vestris in simili ac etiam multo maiori omni amicitia et benevolentia cumulate recompensare studebimus.

Dominationes Vestras feliciter valere optamus.

Datum Pragae 8. Ianuarii 1552.

10

Vester Ag<r>iensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici et magistro civium civitatis Poseniensis etc. dominis et amicis dilectis.

801

Queen Mary to Miklós Oláh  
Ghent, 18 January 1552

*Manuscript used:* AÉB, Ref. Rel. I. Suppl. Vol. 8., p. 88.

*Published:* HATVANI 1858, 316–318.

*In Hungarian:* HATVANI 1858, 316. [regesta]

*Notes:* Copy. We do not know the manuscript.

*Peter Landor, who was taking Hungarian wine to the Netherlands at Queen Mary's order, turned to King Ferdinand I, asking him to confirm the tax exemption regarding Landor's manor, which is located within the Queen Mary's Óvár estate, which was already in the possession of Landor's ancestors. Queen Mary had given this exemption to Landor's ancestors, along with an extension of their coat of arms, shown by the copy made of the original that is attached to this mandate. They can learn the same from Landor's petition, which is attached to this mandate. But since the King is busy with many other matters, Queen Mary asks Oláh to do what Landor asks for in his petition.*

Maria etc.

Erwirdiger in Gott andachtiger, lieber gethreuer, wellicher massen Petter Lann-  
dor,<sup>1</sup> so unns jeczundt unnsere verordnung nach die hungerischen wein herab in  
diese Niederlanndt gebracht, umb fuerschrift an die römische, zu Hungern unnd  
5 Behaim etc. kunigliche wurde, unnsere freundlichen geliebten herrn unnd brueder von  
wegen genediger bestettigung unnd confirmation ainer befreiung seiner voreltern  
hauß unnd hove zugelassen unnder unnsere herrschaft Hungrisch Altenburg<sup>2</sup> gelegen,  
die wir verweilter jarn ermelten des Landor vorelltern inhalts hierin verschlossener  
abschrift dem original freibrief gleich lauthundt genedigst vergundt unnd gegeben<sup>3</sup>  
10 unnd dan auch besserung halber ires vorigen wappen unnderthenigist gebeten, hab ir  
aus beiligender seiner supplication verrer inhalts zu vernemen,<sup>4</sup> dieweil wir in nach  
gestalt unnd gelegenhait jecziger leuf bei unns selbs ermessen khondten, das sein röm.  
kun. wurde dieser zeit mit vil anndern wichtigen geschefften unnd obligen beladen,  
unnd aber bedacht, das diese sache inhalt des supplicanten unnderthenigist anlangen,

800,10 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

801<sup>1</sup> Peter Landor delivered Hungarian wines to the Queen, see BOZZAY 2018, 39. 801<sup>2</sup> Óvár, today: Mosonmagyaróvár. 801<sup>3</sup> We do not know either the original or the copy of this charter. 801<sup>4</sup> We do not know this petition.

dieweil es ain hungerisch handlung unnd euer ambt betreffendt ist, durch euch mit 15  
meren bequemen unnd gelegenheit angebracht unnd erledigt werden khan, haben  
wir seiner römischen kuniglichen wirde etc. selbst person mit unnsern furschreiben  
mit bemuehen, sonnder soliches furnemblich von wegen des supplicanten vorelltern  
erczaigten gehorsam unnd dienstbarkheit, auch das er unns jeczundt mit herabfue-  
rung unnsrer hungerischen wein, wie obgedacht vleißig gedient, an euch verschreiben 20  
wellen, unnd begern demnach an euch, ganncz genediglichen ir wellet von unnsern-  
twegen diese sachen neben andern euern ambtshandlungen mit besten fueg, wie es  
sich schickhen, unnd was euch hierinnen furgelegen unnd thunlich ansehen wirdet,  
an hochermelten unnsren kunig unnd brueder die römische kunigliche wirde gelimp-  
flich gelangen lassen, unnd darauf bei seiner lieb interiediern,<sup>5</sup> darinnen bemuet und 25  
guetlich verholffen sein unnd fuerdern, damit der supplicant seiner gehorsamen bit  
inhalt unnd vermog angeruerter seiner supplication aller gebuer unnd billichkhait  
nach genedigist geweret, dermassen das euer intercession unnd fuerderung ime durch  
dicz unnsrer schreiben bei euch ersprieslich unnd furtraglich gewest zu sein, wurglich  
empfinden möge. Daran erczaigt ir, unns besonnder angeneemes genediges gefallen 30  
hinwider mit allen gnaden zu erkennen unnd zu bedenken.

Geben zu Genndt in Flandern den 18<sup>ten</sup> tag January anno etc. im funfczehenhun-  
dert zwaiundfunfczigisten.

[Probably on the outer side:] An herrn bischoffen zu Erla, canczler etc.

802

Hungarian Chamber to Milkós Oláh  
Bratislava, 18 January 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1552 – január – No. 15.

*Notes:* Original draft with appendix on the fol. 2.

*The farmers belonging to the King's castle in Čabrad' are complaining again about János Krusics's cruelty and ask him not to abandon them in this predicament and support them. They have written to the King, although reluctantly, lest he thinks they are guided by anger, so they ask Oláh to support these unfortunate people and not only remove this godless person but also punish him because these unfortunate people do not even dare open their mouth any more, Krusics punishes their envoys ruthlessly.*

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Patrone nobis Observandissime, servitorum  
nostrorum commendationem!

En iterum venerunt huc coloni maiestatis regiae sacrae ex pertinentiis arcis Cha-  
brag<sup>1</sup> novas adferentes querelas de immanitate ac crudelitate ipsius Ioannis Krwsith  
rogantque propter Deum, ne eos in tantis calamitatibus deseramus, sed ipsos omni 5  
nostro auxilio iuvenimus, si quo modo a tantis cruciatibus aliquod suspirium eis impe-

801,18 bemuehen] *corr.* ex bemuchen

801 <sup>5</sup> Uncertain reading. 802 <sup>1</sup> Čabrad'.

trare possimus. Scripsimus per annexas ad maiestatem suam, quamquam inviti, ne id nos aliquo modo affectu potius maiestas sua, quam re ipsa inductos facere existimet. Quamobrem et Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram hac in parte vehementer  
10 oramus, dignetur bonum patronum agere miserorum istorum idque Dei et pietatis respectu et per occasionem apud maiestatem regiam efficere, ut re ipsa, si ita placeat denuo explorata non solum removeat nefarium hominem, sed puniri de iure faciat, eo iam miseros redegit, ut ne hiscere quidem audeant, sed nefandissima quaeque tolerare rogantur. Nam nuntios querelas deferentium odiosissime persequitur, nec tutum est  
15 vel litteras scibere vel mittere nuntios, nos non sine causa veremur, ne quid deterius accidat a desperatis colonis, qui ad caelum clamant vindicem orantes. Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra maximum pietatis opus fecerit, si se horum miserorum apud suam maiestatem benignum praestiterit patronum. Id quod ipsam benigne facturam esse confidimus, quam et feliciter valere optamus.

20 Posonii die 18. Ianuarii 1552.

Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae deditissimi servitores

Camerae Hungaricae consiliarii

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino Nicolao Olaho episcopo ecclesiae Agriensis, sacrae regiae maiestatis consiliario ac regni Hungariae summo cancellario etc.  
25 domino et patrono nobis observandissimo.

803

Miklós Oláh to Ferenc Újlaki  
Prague, 22 January 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 205 – No. 746.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*They will travel to Vienna tomorrow; the Czechs, Moravians, and Silesians have offered everything that the King desired, and they are ready for the campaign. Things are going well in Transylvania and around Oradea. If Rafael Podmaniczky does not want to return to Várpalota, he cannot be of service to the King in another way. He believes they will be in Vienna in eight days.*

Reverendissime Domine, servitiorum meorum commendationem!

Cras Deo favente hinc versus Wiennam proficiscemur. Omnia, quae sacratissima maiestas regia voluit et optavit, uno omnium consensu a Boemis, Moravis et Slesitis

802,10–16 dignetur ... orantes] *auth corr.* ex istorum miserorum causam suscipere ac per occasionem apud maiestatem suam instare velit, ut tandem sua maiestas aliquando de istorum ex istius crudelis hominis tyrannide gratiosa eliberatione cogitare dignetur atque illum tyrannum aut alio transferre aut eius libidinem opprimendi coercere ac retundere velit. Qui ex inquisitione de sua crudelitate ex voluntate et mandato maiestatis regiae nuper facta, non modo nulla poenitudine ducitur, sed multo crudelior et miseris colonis intolerabilior est redditus et factus, ut plane cum quadam admiratione nobis est, quod maiestas sua regia tot de istius hominis immanitate, querelas silentio praeterire potest. 802,11 placeat] *auth del.* ex placeat certe 802,16 qui] *auth del.* ex qui hucusque 802,18 benigne] *auth add.*



suae maiestati benevole oblata sunt. Nihil iam instare videtur, quam ut paremus nos ad  
futuram expeditionem. In Transsilvania quoque et alibi circa Waradinum<sup>1</sup> res omnes 5  
prosperè succedunt in Dei gloriam. Si Podmaniczki<sup>2</sup> ob eas rationes, quas Dominatio  
Vestra Reverendissima ex illius informatione perscripsi, ad Palotham<sup>3</sup> cum gentibus  
reverti nunc non cogitat, potest nihilominus suae maiestati aliter servire in locis  
aliis. Non erit id, qua suam maiestatem, si verae sunt rationes, quas ille recensuit.  
Haec Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae significare volui. Arbitror nos ad octavum 10  
huius diei diem Viennae Deo propitio constituturos. Dominatio Vestra feliciter valeat,  
et velit litteras praesentibus annexas mittere ad eos rogo, quibus adscriptae sunt.

Ex Praga 22. Ianuarii anno 1552.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. sua manu

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino Iauriensi etc. locumtenenti regiae maie- 15  
statis etc. domino observandissimo.

804

Miklós Oláh to Péter Gutai  
Vienna, 22 April 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – Oláh Miklós – N. N. – 1552. 04. 22.

*Notes:* Copy.

1. If he understands it correctly, Gutai has strayed too much from the office he was entrusted with: it would have been Gutai's task to indicate meticulously if dues are collected without authorization, and Oláh's task to check with the Councilors of the Chamber. He handed in a petition to the King so he can understand the revenues, and if an amount needed for the defence of the castle is missing, he can take care of it; the King has responded to this supplicatio in a letter. 2. Oláh thus warns Gutai to behave as a counter-signer and stop accusing those with whom he has nothing to do. It is not good if they are going in different directions, and if Čabrad' cannot put up with Gutai's habits, Eger will do even less so, so he should mind his own business. He should trust him that if there is any injustice, and the provisor or someone else reports it, neither he nor the Councilors of the Chamber will ignore it. So he should do his job, he cannot even complain about his payment because there are Councilors of the Chamber who would happily swap places with him.

Egregie Amice nobis Dilecte!<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Prout nobis datur intelligi, nimis discessisti a tuo officio ingerendo te in nostrum et post nos in provisoris nostri negotium. Tui esset officii, si collectio, aut erogatio proventuum fieret indebite, annotare accurate, ut non istic imperiose pro tuo

803,4 suae ] *O corr. ex satis* 803,4 maiestati ] *O add.* 803,7 illius ] *O corr. ex ipsius* 803,8 nunc ] *O add.* 803,10 Reverendissimae ] *corr. ex Reverendissimi*

803<sup>1</sup> Oradea. 803<sup>2</sup> Rafael Podmaniczky (†1558) was *ispán* of Trencsén county from 1544. For more on his family and on him, see LUKINICH 1943. 803<sup>3</sup> The castle of Palota (today: Várpalota) had been in the possession of this family since 1533, LUKINICH 1943, 170–171. 804<sup>1</sup> Péter Gutai. This letter was probably delivered by Dobó and Oláh's vicar, see his diary KOVACHICH 1798, 92.

5 nunc cerebro, vituperiis, et captivitatem praesbiterorum agere, nobisque et dominis  
camerariis, tempore reddendarum rationum annotata diligenter praesentare, neque  
istinc rationes exigere. Nostrum est id cum dominis consiliis Camerae officium, nec ad  
ea negotia, quae ad nos tantum pertinent, te ingeras. Puta bona per defectum seminis  
aut alioqui ad nos devoluta, summa totius officii tui est, quod diligenter introitus et  
10 exitus proventuum ordinariorum episcopatus nostri adnotes. Nam in hoc nos ipsi  
supplicavimus sacrae maiestati regiae, domino nostro clementissimo, voluimus enim,  
quod sua maiestas proventus ipsos intelligeret, etsi defectum conservationis arcis,  
extenuitate proventuum perspiceret. Sua maiestas me et arcem istam, ex qua defensio  
partium omnium istarum immo totius regni pendet, gratiose provideret ex suo, sicuti  
15 sua maiestas regia ad supplicationem nostram humillimam litteras suas de ordine tali  
mihi dedit.

[2.] Quare ad id te moneo, ut fideliter in his agas, contrascribam,<sup>2</sup> et non tibi  
cauponeris neque vituperiis et captivitatem praesbiterorum, cum quibus tu nihil agere  
habes, sed meum tamquam episcopi, ut vicarii mei, hoc est officium, istic insolens sis.  
20 Mala est pluralitas principum et iudicum indirectorum, mores istos tuos si Chabragh<sup>3</sup>  
ferre non potuit, nimis Agria<sup>4</sup> feret, quare omnino volumus, ut te hortamur, ne  
in messem alienam, tuam immittito falcem, sed in tuo tantum officio te fideliter  
contineas, adnotes diligenter omnia. Acceptio rationis te solum non concernis, sed  
a decimatoribus et aliis officialibus provisorite praeferente exigat rationem. Crede  
25 mihi, si quid istic praeter debitum, ut veterem foundationem ac commissionem, sive  
a provisoro, sive ab alio exponetur, neque ego, neque domini camerarii id silentio  
praeteribimus, sed bene omnia trutinabimus tempore rationis per provisorum deinde.  
Nam satis in hoc oculati sumus.

Quare fac, ut omnia istic, quae ad maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum cle-  
30 mentissimum et me quoque post suam maiestatem veluti capellanum, ut servitorem  
suum pertinent, fideliter sine tumultu annotes, contentus tuo officio et proventibus,  
ut relique postea nobis, et dominis camerariis rationem accipere, sicuti idem quoque  
domini camerarii, de eis ad te scripserunt. Neque de tenuitate salarii tui conqueri  
potes, nam crede mihi, quod plus habes; si singula computare vis, quam unus ex  
35 dominis consiliariis Camerae, ex quibus aliqui dixerunt mihi, quod mallent loco tui  
istic Agriae esse, quam in Camera. Ad haec te fraterne monere volui. Nam duo episcopi  
esse in una ecclesia non possunt. Vale.

Viennae 22. die mensis Aprilis anno Domini 1552.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

804,29–30 dominum nostrum clementissimum] *corr. ex domini nostri clementissimi*

804,21–22 ne ... falcem] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 1182. II,II,82. *Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat: "neque in messem alienam mittamus falcem".* MYNORS 1991, 119.

804<sup>2</sup> Gutai was Counter-signer (*constrascrība*) between 1549 and 1551. 804<sup>3</sup> Čabrad. 804<sup>4</sup> Eger.

## 805

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Linz, 23 April 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 63. Konv. B., fol. 98.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*He has understood from his letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of this month that Oláh sees it best if he decides due to András (Bonaventura) Báthori's illness and answers what he has been entrusted with. He has signed the letters that he wrote to Giovanni Battista Castaldo, Pál Bornemissza, and Georg Werner about holding the joint assembly with Transylvania in Báthori's absence, and he sends it together with the letters of accreditation so he can furnish it with the Hungarian seal. He responded to Báthori's idea that it will be possible to implement it as soon as he returns. Oláh should prepare the letters and send them to Transylvania via mail.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater Fidelis Sincere Dilecte!

Ex litteris tuis die 19. praesentis mensis ad nos datis<sup>1</sup> clementer intelleximus ea, quae tibi visa sunt, ut nos propter spectabilis et magnifici Andreae de Bathor<sup>2</sup> aegritudinem, in quam denuo incidit, ordinaremus, quaeque ad tuas litteras, quas una nobis transmisisti, responderemus. Probat itaque gratiose istiusmodi consilio 5 et opinione tua, litteras per te ad spectabilem et magnificum Ioannem Baptistam Castaldum,<sup>3</sup> bellicum locumtenentem, necnon consiliarios nostros reverendissimum Paulum episcopum Vesprimiensem<sup>4</sup> et egregium Georgium Vernerum<sup>5</sup> de conventu cum Transsylvania ab eis absente Bathory celebrando confectas, simulque litteras credentiales manu nostra subsignavimus, tibi que illas sigillo nostro Hungarico ulterius 10 expediendas remittimus. Ipsi vera Bathory iuxta conceptum, quod nobis transmisit, respondemus hoc solum modo addito, quod, quo ad reditum suum audiveram, daturi sumus, ut quamprimum possibile fuerit ei satisfactio facit. Restat igitur, ut litteras praedictas quamprimum expeditas et per postam celeriter in Transsylvania transmittas. Vestram in eo ex< ...> exsecuturus voluntatem. 15

Datum in oppido nostro Lynczio die 23. Aprilis 1552.

[Probably on the outer side:] Agriensi.

## 806

Miklós Oláh to Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 28 April 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1552 – No. 26.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

805,3 magnifici] *scr del. ex magnifici Andreae iudici* 805,4 tuas] *corr. ex tuis* 805,5 transmisisti] *scr del. ex transmisisti ordinaremus* 805,5 Probat] *scr corr. ex Probato* 805,5 itaque] *scr del. ex itaque isti suo* 805,9 cum] *scr corr. ex in* 805,11 Ipsi] *scr corr. ex Ipsique* 805,11 iuxta] *scr del. ex iuxta formulam pro te quaque tuam*

805<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 805<sup>2</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 805<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo. 805<sup>4</sup> Pál Bornemissza. 805<sup>5</sup> Georg Werner.

*Honourable nuns have arrived from Trnava to complain that their handful of farmers have been directed to pay tax, although when their monastery was founded, the Kings gifted them the generosity that their farmers would never have to pay tax, and this right of theirs was approved by the King. He could not act in the King's absence when he heard the complaints, but he asks the Chamber to take care of them and not force the nuns' farmers to pay tax.*

Reverendissime, Reverende et Egregii Domini Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Venerabiles et religiosas sanctimoniales de Tyrnavia<sup>1</sup> venerunt huc conquestum colonos ipsarum, quos paucos habent in praesenti contributione esse dicatos, cum  
5 tamen a multo tempore, dum sane fundatum esset earum monasterium, ea libertate  
a divis regibus donatum ipsum sit monasterium, ne earum coloni ad ulla cogantur  
contributiones; quam quidem libertatem sacra quoque regia maiestas, dominus noster  
clementissimus confirmarit, atque hactenus clementer voluerit observari. Cum igitur  
earum expostulationem audiverimus, precibus ipsarum reque ipsa adductis facere non  
10 potuimus, quin absente regia maiestate Dominationes Vestras rogaremus, miseris  
has religiosas in causa iusta habere velint commendatas, privilegiaque earum et  
confirmata hactenus et observata, hac in re quoque exigua observare et ipsae velint,  
neque earum colonos ad dicae solutionem cogant. Qua in re Deo optimo maximo  
gratum obsequium praestiterint. Valeant eadem feliciter.

15 Viennae die 28. Aprilis 1552.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo, reverendo et egregiis dominis, praefecto et consiliariis camerae Hungaricae dominis et amicis honorandis.

807

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Innsbruck, 16 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. A., fol. 44–45.

*Notes:* Original draft.

1. He has understood from Oláh's letter that the counties have to be written to individually in his (i.e. the King's) name, he will sign these to approve them and send them back to be furnished with the Hungarian seal. 2. As for the shared mandates, in which he orders the estates to obey Maximilian in his absence, indeed they will have to proceed with more care lest they provoke fear, so it can wait for a month, until he returns. In the meantime, Maximilian should go ahead and sign in everyday cases, and Oláh should sign as Chancellor. 3. As to the rumours about some kinds of practices, Oláh should try to look into it, and if he finds something out, he should tell Maximilian. In addition, he should know that he has told Maximilian to meet the Polish King's envoy and Mathias Loboczki on his (King Ferdinand I's) behalf.

806,5 earum ] *corr. ex eorum* 806,16 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

806<sup>1</sup> Trnava.

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Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Fidelis Sincere nobis Dilecte!

[1.] Intelleximus ex litteris tuis decima huius mensis die ad nos datis,<sup>1</sup> quibus  
causis et rationibus permoti fueritis eam sequi et amplecti opinionem, ut litterae,  
quas in negotio subsidii in proximo conventu oblatis in singulos comitatus scribi  
oportere visum est, nomine nostro conficerentur, et cum huius consilii in opinionis  
ratio nobis quoque clementer probaretur, litteras ipsas ad nos transmissas manu  
nostra subscripsimus ibique illas sigillo nostro Hungarico sigillandas et ad comitatus  
transmittendas cum praesentibus remittimus.

[2.] Quantum autem ad mandata illa publica attinet, quibus regni statibus atque  
ordinibus praeciperetur, ut nobis absentibus serenissimum principem dominum Maxi-  
milianum regem Bohemiae etc. filium nostrum carissimum, tamquam nos ipsos audire  
et illi obtemperare deberent, visum est nobis, re diligenter perpensa et considerata,  
si huiusmodi mandata a nobis emitterentur, quod facile ea apud omnes suspicio  
oriretur, nos a regno nostro Hungariae et provinciis istis Austriacis longo tempore  
abesse statuisset, et sic multi fidelium nostrorum ex huiusmodi opinata diuturna  
absentia nostra in timorem coniecerentur. Adversariis vero et eis, qui fortasse occulta  
consilia et practicas aliquas cogitant, eo maior ausa praerberetur non solum eo magis  
sinistra quaeque cogitandi, sed etiam suscipiendi, sicuti in ipse pro tua prudentia facile  
perpendere et cogitare potes. Cum igitur omnino speremus nos dante Deo brevi in  
spatio videlicet unius mensis istuc redituros, consultius esse existimavimus ditorum  
mandatorum publicationem et emissionem hoc quidem tempore differendam. Interim  
autem volumus, ut litterae in negotiis communibus et quotidianis nihilominus sub  
praefati serenissimi filii nostri regis Maximiliani nomine et titulo conficiantur, ac  
per te tamquam cancellarium pro more solito primum et deinde per dilectionem eius  
subscribantur, et denique solito dilectionis sub sigillo obsignentur.

[3.] Quod ad rumores, qui ad te de practicis quibusdam afferantur, attinet, te  
clementer hortamur et requirimus, ut diligentem operam adhibeas, ut quantum per  
te fieri potest, rerum explorationem habeas, et quicquid ad te perlatum fuerit, nobis  
et serenissimo filio nostro significare non praetermittas. Postremo nolumus te latere  
nos praefato serenissimo filio nostro regi Maximiliano commisisse, ut et oratorem  
serenissimi regis Poloniae et magnificum Mathiam Loboczky<sup>2</sup> in ipsorum relatibus

807,3 fueritis] *scr del. ex fueritis tot dampnum consultaretur de dandis in singulos comitatus litteris* 807,4  
quas] *scr corr. ex quae* 807,6 clementer] *scr corr. ex probatae* 807,9 Quantum] *scr del. ex Quantum*  
ad 807,13 emitterentur] *scr del. ex emitterentur omnes in hanc opinionem et cogitatinem facile venturam*  
807,14 oriretur] *scr del. ex oriretur quasi* 807,14 Austriacis] *scr del. ex Austriacis alio valde* 807,15  
multi] *scr del. ex multi ex fidelibus nostris* 807,17 praerberetur] *scr del. ex praerberetur sinistris huiusmodi*  
807,17–18 eo ... quaeque] *scr add.* 807,18 suscipiendi] *scr del. ex suscipiendi cum sperarent se* 807,18  
sicuti] *scr del. ex sicuti cum* 807,18 ipse] *scr del. ex ipse facile* 807,19 speremus] *scr del. ex speremus*  
brevis] *scr del. ex speremus* 807,19–20 dante ... mensis] *scr add.* 807,22 nihilominus sub] *scr add.* 807,24 tamquam  
cancellarium] *scr add.* 807,26 Quod] *scr del. ex Ea quae de rumoribus quod* 807,26 ad] *scr del. ex*  
ad veros] *scr del. ex rumores*] *scr del. ex rumores attinet* 807,27 ut<sup>1</sup>] *scr del. ex ut tamquam atque in*  
807,28 explorationem] *scr del. ex explorationem hanc* 807,29 praetermittas] *scr del. ex praetermittas*  
Quod] *scr del. ex devotionem tuam* 807,30 nos] *scr del. ex nos in* 807,31 in] *scr del. ex*  
a in

807<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 807<sup>2</sup> Matthias Loboczki was a Counselor of King Ferdinand I, and Lord of Tarkó, see WAGNER 1774, passim.

audire et nostro nomine velit. Haec itaque sunt, quae tibi ad praedictas litteras tuas clementer respondenda duximus.

Datum Oeniponti die 16. Maii 1552.

35 [Probably on the other side:] Agriensi.

808

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Pornóapáti, 16 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* OSZK, Fol. Lat. 1681. Vol. II., fol. 418r–420v.

*Published:* SZALAY 1865, 177–179.

*Notes:* Author's copy with autograph emendations.

1. He will savour the joys of country life until Oláh returns, which look now, in his 48<sup>th</sup> year, particularly spectacular. He has namely so little money left that he cannot afford court life. To put it bluntly, if he did not have his estate in Pornóapáti, and the court does not support him, he is afraid he will be destitute. After so much injustice he wants to grow old at home, not at the court, where beggars and parasites are the ones who thrive. 2. He has spent the last three months in Vienna and Bratislava, which cost him 260 groats; he also tried to borrow money, but nobody wants to lend to him on account of the war. 3. However, he has a lot of expenses: he had to fortify Pornóapáti with a bulwark and take care of the guards; he has to provide cavalry according to the number of farmers, he has to support himself and his family, and no income has arrived from Pornóapáti so far, although he already took it over six months ago. He does not even want to mention that he also owes his predecessor 128 groats; he is constantly fighting with the creditors. He does not want to lose Oláh's benevolence, he will go wherever Oláh tells him to go.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi salutem.

[1.] Quod nondum redeo rure in aulam teque tot redeundi teneo comperendi nationibus, in causa est non tam studium rusticandi, quod quidem alioqui iucundissimum est, meque ab ineunte aetate mirifice semper delectavit, videturque etiam huic aetati  
5 luculenter arridere, quae iam XLVIII. anno ad divinarum rerum vitaeque immortalis  
contemplationem, quam certe aeris exiguitas. Hoc enim tempore ita sum destitutus  
pecuniis, ut ea facultas minime adest, quae nitore ac sumptui aulico pro conditione  
mea sufficere deberet. Quod fatendum aut erit mihi pudori, aut tu secus accipies,  
iuxta putabo, quia sic se res ista haec habet. Ac dico clarius, quod nisi in Pornoniano<sup>1</sup>  
10 rusticationem diligenter frequentaro, nec aula commode mihi excoletur, et timendum  
etiam erit, ne in Codri fabulam adigar cultu et luxu aulico. Sors enim prius paranda  
est, aula post consecranda. Quamquam satis iam iniuriarum pertuli et gratiarum egi,

807,32 nostro nomine ] *scr corr.* ex nobis ea quae exposuerint

808,11 Codri fabulam ] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 4079. V,I,79. Salacones: "Irus et Codrus ob inopiam in vulgi fabulam abierunt." And *Ibid.* 576. I,VI,76. Iro, Codro pauperior: "Tota domus Codri rheda componitur una." MYNORS 1989, 51.

808<sup>1</sup> Verancsics received the Abbey of Pornóapáti on 10 October, 1551, see LUDIKOVÁ 2002, 93.

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domique demum vellem consenescere, non in aula, in qua quidem mecum non sic agitur, ut cum eis, de quibus est paroemia:<sup>2</sup> qui eget, in turba versetur – mendicorum haec est et parasitarum conditio. Nos in aula erogamus, non corrogamus, ceterum 15 et nostro foco et nostro domicenio gaudemus, vehimurque ea rheda, quae domestica cura ac censu fovetur.

[2.] Unde proximis quoque tribus mensibus, quos exegi Viennae et Posonii comitiorum tempore, insumpsi CCLX ducales nummos, ex quibus ne oboli quidem fructus in arcam mihi rediit. Vide, quaeso, iacturam ac tibi persuadeas, velim, quod eiusmodi 20 summam, si singuli tres menses hac ratione mihi haurire debebunt, brevi equidem exhauriar ad quadrantem, et frustra tandem etiam Pornonianum colam. Neque enim aequatur felicitate caeli Alcinoi pomariis.<sup>3</sup> Unico vere atque unica aestate contentum est. At dicet forsan aulicus alieno aeri assuetus, mutuuum contrahe – a contractis? Ego 25 vero tentavi multos, sed his in locis nihil est, mihi crede, minus cogitandum, quam de mutuo contrahendo, adeo hoc tempore omnium hominum manus restrictae sunt metu futurorum ob suspicionem belli Turcici. Marmoreas sane vel ileceas dixeris. Habes de meo aere et de difficultate pecuniae comparandae.

[3.] Accipe iam, quot me manent impendia. Vallo imprimis et propugnaculis muniendum est mihi rebusque defensivis et praesidio militari, vigillumque custodiis 30 instruendum Pornonium. Equitatus deinde pro numero colonorum ad primam expeditionem, ut in comitiis decretum est, meo ipsius aere apparandus. Quotidiani item sumptus provida quadam et nimis ingeniosa industria acquirendi, quibus haec cuncta perficere, apparare, meque etiam ipsum ac familiam sustentare possim, quandoquidem, ut scis, nullos adhuc proventus ex Pornoniano meo, quod paulo ante sextum 35 mensem mihi est collatum, perceperim; cum varia etiam huc accedunt etiam alia debita, Viennae ad necessarios usus contracta, ad quae persolvenda assidua vexatione agor a creditoribus.

Taceo de CXXVIII nummis ducalibus, quos Petro Cucelio<sup>4</sup> antecessori meo, tuo vero ab orandis canonicis horis ministro ad primum Kalendae Quintilis<sup>5</sup> debeo nu- 40 merare. Cui quidem nisi ad diem satisfecero, ad Garamantes erit mihi recedendum, adeo infantiles furias levissimi hominis reformido. Verum quantum velint, urgeant me creditores, eiulet, queratur, diem Petrus dicat, Pornonium plura exigat, et Turcarum minae cervicibus immineant, ego quidem certe nullo alio pacto credo me tantis debitisatque impensis suffectibus, quam si fortuna quapiam in Euclionis Plautini<sup>6</sup> 45 ollam incidero, aut domi rusticando, parsimonia enitar pecuniarum aliquid cumulare,

808,13 consenescere] *auth corr. ex* conquiescere 808,21 mihi] *auth add.* 808,24 aeri] *auth corr. ex* aere astrictus 808,35 nullos] *corr. ex* unos 808,40 horis] *auth del. ex* horis orandi 808,45 debitis] *auth corr. ex* rebus 808,45 atque impensis] *auth add.*

808,14 qui ... versetur] Erasm. *Adag.* 2945. III,X,45: Qui eget, in turba versetur. GRANT 2005, 373.

808<sup>2</sup> From the Greek word *πάρομιος* meaning 'proverb'. 808<sup>3</sup> Based on Homer's description in the *Odyssey*, garden of Alcinoos was portrayed as an ideal of rustic aesthetics and abundance in the antique literature. 808<sup>4</sup> Péter Kucselith or Kucsilics (†1580) was Canon of Eger and Provost of Oradea, see MERÉNYI-METZGER 2002, 172 and 175. 808<sup>5</sup> The old Latin name of the month of July. 808<sup>6</sup> I.e. *Aulularia*.

cum alioqui haec mea profecto a te absentia insuavissime sane et molesta mihi est, dum omnibus horis tecum trepidero, ne incurram in tuam malevolentiam, tanquam quorundam aliorum tuorum ingenio uti vellem, quo me per has occasiones subducere  
50 vellem tuis obsequiis. Quod in me quidem nunquam est casurum, donec alter nostrum decesserit, utar licet et fortuna et libertate regia. At ne quid nimis agam cum tua erga me indulgentia, quae mihi deesse nunquam est solita, beneficentia vero et patrocini-  
nium semper adest, tuae me summitto voluntati et committo iudicio, maneboque in Pornoniano meo et tuo, quamdiu indulseris; redibo quando iusseris; et ubi me esse  
55 volueris, praesto, ibi adero. Vale.

XVI. Maii 1552. Ex Pornoniano.

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Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 16 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. A., fol. 55–56.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*After his letter written to King Ferdinand I the day before yesterday in the matter of the Boldogkő castle, another letter arrived from István Dobó, which he has also sent to him. He will understand from this that the Castellan of Boldogkő is willing to return the castle, but the King should still go ahead and sign the letters and send them back. Maximilian is doing everything he can regarding György Bebek, so that he returns the castle of Gyula to the King. Péter Bakics died in his Holič castle yesterday: old age and several different illnesses killed him.*

Sacratissime Rex Domine, Domine Clementissime, fidelitatis et servitiorum meorum in gratiam Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem!

Post eas litteras,<sup>1</sup> quas nudiustertius ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram in negotio arcis Boldokew<sup>2</sup> misi, supervenerunt aliae litterae Stephani Dobo,<sup>3</sup> quas Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae misi. Ex quibus intelligere dignabitur castellanum<sup>4</sup> arcis Boldokew a contumacia sua reversum esse et paratum arcem ipsam reddere, nihilominus dignabitur Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra litteras priores, quas istuc misi, subscribere et remittere. Hinc quoque serenissimus rex Maximilianus, dominus meus clementissimus nihil praetermittit, quod ad Georgium Bebeek,<sup>5</sup> qui nunc in castro  
10 Gywla<sup>6</sup> est, sollicitandum et admonendum, ut eam arcem cum socru sua Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae omnino reddat, pertinere videtur. Petrus Bakyth<sup>7</sup> reversus nuper a servitiis Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae ad arcem suam Holycz<sup>8</sup> diem suum extremum obiit. In eo concurrerant omnes infirmitates: senectus, hydrops, ptysys et

808,47 a] *auth corr. ex abs*

809<sup>1</sup> We do not know this letter. 809<sup>2</sup> Castle of Boldogkő. 809<sup>3</sup> István Dobó. 809<sup>4</sup> We do not know the name of the Castellan of this time. In 1559, the Castellan was Espán András Berényi, see K. VÉGH 1966, 113. 809<sup>5</sup> György Bebek (†1567). Until 1552, he was loyal to the Habsburgs, then he changed sides. Four years later, the castle came into his possession thanks to his marriage to Zsófia Patóchy, see K. VÉGH 1966, 113. 809<sup>6</sup> Gyula. 809<sup>7</sup> Péter Bakics. 809<sup>8</sup> Holič.



ruptura, cuius animae Deus sit misericors. Quod reliquum est, Deus optimus maximus Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram ad multa secula sanam ac felicem conservare dignetur. In cuius gratiam me et fidelia servitia mea iterum atque iterum humillime commendo.

Ex Vienna 16. Maii anno 1552.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor

Agriensis etc. manu propria 20

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae maiestati regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. domino, domino meo clementissimo.

### 810

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Innsbruck, 19 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. A., fol. 61r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*He has received Oláh's and István Dobó's letter, from which he understands how Dobó went about the matter of the Boldogkő castle. He is sending back the letters Maximilian wrote in his absence: he has signed them, Oláh should put the Hungarian seal on them, and they should be sent out for enforcement so that he can recover the castle of Gyula. He will take on the expenses Dobó incurred in this matter.*

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Fidelis sincere nobis Dilecte!

Redditae sunt nobis et tuae et egregii Stephani Dobonis<sup>1</sup> arcis Agriensis castellani litterae,<sup>2</sup> ex quibus abunde intelleximus tum ea, quae ipse Dobo iuxta mandatum et instructionem nostram in negotio arcis Baldokew<sup>3</sup> egit, tum etiam praesertim autem ex litteris pro signatura ad nos missas ea, quae serenissimo principi domino 5 Maximiliano regi Bohemiae, filio nostro carissimo atque tibi in eo ipso negotio a nobis scribi debere visa sunt, probantes itaque clementer hanc dilectionis suae et tuam consultationem et deliberationem, atque adeo litterarum desuper conscriptarum tenorem et continentiam illas manu nostra significavimus, et tibi cum praesentibus remittimus, ut sigillo nostro Hungarico per te primum obsignentur, et deinde ad 10 executionem mittantur, ut restitutio arcis Giwlae<sup>4</sup> iam tandem fiat et ulterius id, quod plurimum optamus, non differatur. Expensas, quas ipse Dobo iam faciet et adhuc facit in praesenti negotio per Cameram nostram exsolvi ordinavimus.

Datum Oeniponti die 19. Maii 1552.

[Probably on the other side:] Reverendissimo in Christo patri Nicolao Olaho episcopo 15 Agriensi compatri consiliario et in regno nostro Hungariae cancellario nostro, fideli et sincero nobis dilecto.

810,2 Dobonis ] *scr del. ex* Dobonis de P 810,4 etiam ] *scr del. ex* etiam 810,8 conscriptarum ] *scr del. ex* conscriptarum cum 810,10 te ] *scr del. ex* te obsignatae 810,12–13 Expensas ... ordinavimus ] *scr add.*

810<sup>1</sup> István Dobó. 810<sup>2</sup> Oláh sent him Dobó's letter, see Ep. 809. 810<sup>3</sup> Castle of Boldogkő. 810<sup>4</sup> Gyula.

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 26 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 30.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*The Councilors of the Chamber are making a mistake when they are not sending Tamás Nádasdy his money when they should. Maurice, Elector of Saxony has occupied Udine through deceit, forgetting about his faith and office; the Emperor still holds Ulm and Augsburg. Albert Alcibiades has accepted the capitulation of Nuremberg, he is said to have burned down the surrounding area almost completely. The French King advanced to Speyer, but when he heard there that a city in Lorraine was under attack, he retreated to liberate that city. When the Emperor heard about the occupation of Udine, he traveled to Bruneck. The King is accompanying the Bishop of Trento to Padua, and they are expecting Maurice to come there to negotiate.*

Servitorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

Domini camerarii male habeant, quod <pecu>niam Dominationi Vestrae non miserint, <deb>ent tamen, si vera sunt, quae dicunt. <N>ova haec sunt. Dux Mauritius<sup>1</sup> f<ide>i et officii sui immemor, Clusam<sup>2</sup> arcem regiae maiestatis ad ostium Tyrolis versus Augustam<sup>3</sup> existentem astu nuper accepit, Ulma et Argentina<sup>4</sup> strenue et constanter in fide caesaris permansit. Marchio Albertus<sup>5</sup> nebulo ille et omnium bonorum suorum decoctor civit<at>em quandam Newrembergensium per <de>ditionem accepit. Dicunt eum alio<qui> suburbii civitatis quoque Newrembergensis p<aene> combussisse. Rex Galliae<sup>6</sup> <in>gressus fuit Spyram<sup>7</sup> usque. Illin<c> audita obsidione cuiusdam civi<tati>s in Lotharingia, quam in manibus suis habet per exercitum Flandricum serenissimae reginae facta et etiam unius vel alterius civitatis occupatione penes Rhenum<sup>8</sup> retrocessisse dicitur, ad liberandam ab obsidione civitatem illam. Maiestas caesarea audita Clusae captione, profecta est ad civitatem quandam cuius nomen nunc non succurrit, opinor Prawnek.<sup>9</sup> Tridentini <car>dinalis<sup>10</sup> ad Brixinam,<sup>11</sup> quattuor millionibus distantium maiestas regia comitata est eum aliquamdiu, et hodie, uti credimus, constituetur Patavii.<sup>12</sup> Exspectamus Mauritium et alios eo, si venerint ad tractatus faciendos. Illic sua maiestas mox revertetur. Dux Ioannes captivus Saxoniae est <...> donatus est tamen in curam caesaris. Haec sunt, quae habeo. Dominatio  
20 Vestra feliciter valeat.

Ex Vienna 26. Maii 1552.

Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu propria

811,15 opinor Prawnek ] *O add.* 811,16 distantium ] *O del. ex* distantium profecta est 811,18 faciendos ] *O del. ex* faciendos Dux Ioannes

811<sup>1</sup> Maurice, Elector of Saxony. 811<sup>2</sup> Probably Udine. 811<sup>3</sup> Augsburg. 811<sup>4</sup> Strasbourg. 811<sup>5</sup> Albert Alcibiades, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1522–1557). 811<sup>6</sup> King Francis I. 811<sup>7</sup> Speyer. 811<sup>8</sup> Rhine river. 811<sup>9</sup> Bruneck. 811<sup>10</sup> Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–1578) studied at the University of Padua and Bologna. He first received the canonry at Trento in 1529. In 1536, he was Canon of Salzburg, in 1537 Canon of Brixen, and following Bernhard von Cles's death, he earned the archbishopric of Trento, see BECKER, 2006. 811<sup>11</sup> Brixen. 811<sup>12</sup> Padua.

Serenissimus Maximilianus rex de rebus nonnullis nuntiavit per dominum Bathyany<sup>13</sup> Dominationi Vestrae. Ad has exspectamus responsum.

[On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino Thomae de Nadasd, comiti perpetuo terrae Fogaras, iudici curiae regiae maiestatis et supremo regni capitaneo etc. domino et fratri observandissimo.

Ad manus proprias.

812

Antal Verancsics to Miklós Oláh  
Pornóapáti, 26 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* GyEL GyKHhLt, Th 39. Nr. 28556., fol. 2r–4v.

*Notes:* Autograph draft.

1. He has heard that the abbey of Szentgotthárd was taken away from the profanes by a royal edict; he would gladly exchange it for his abbey in Pornóapáti, since the one in Szentgotthárd is so picturesque and rich, and it has very appealing incomes, especially for him. Unfortunately, he still has not received his dues, and he has tried to influence the treasurer in vain. 2. He asks Oláh to help him get Szentgotthárd. 3. News of how much he wants to get Szentgotthárd has spread, and there are some who have already congratulated him on it. At the same time, József Salády has warned him that they want to transfer the Szentgotthárd abbey to someone else, so Verancsics should hurry if he wants to get it.

Antonius Wrancius Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi salutem.

[1.] Audio tandem abbatiam divi Gothardi<sup>1</sup> exituram e manibus prophanorum mandato regis, cum qua libens Pornonianam meam, si possem, te consulente et patrocinate commutarem. Habet enim ditionem amplam, uno tractu collectam, caelo salubrem, tritici ac vini feracem, gratam situ, aspectu pulchram et amoenam usu, 5 quippe quae mire pro loco et ad utilitatem et ad voluptatem distincta, hic assurgit collibus, campis illis excurrit, silvisque velut pictura umbris animata, qua densis et obscuris, qua patulis et raris non indecenter vestitur. Amne quoque aluitur Arabonae<sup>2</sup> celebri quidem, et in hac regione ceterorum praecipuo, qui cum melas frumentarias plures habeat, tum etiam asseritias<sup>3</sup> agit, numero praeterea colonorum quadruplo 10 maiore possidetur, quam Pornonium et Norico tutarum quam propinquissimo quodque hoc tempore in primis commodis haberi debet, nec Turcis adhuc est in vestigio, nec fovendi praesidii militaris subiacet necessitati. Proventibus vero his praedita

812,9–10 melas ... tum ] *auth corr. ex* melis frumentariis 812,10 numero praeterea ] *auth corr. ex* numeroque 812,11 et Norico ] *auth corr. ex* Ad haec 812,11 quam propinquissimo ] *auth corr. ex* Noricorum 812,11 propinquissimo ] *del. ex* propinquissimo propinquissimo

811 <sup>13</sup> Kristóf Batthyány. 812 <sup>1</sup> Szentgotthárd Abbey was a Cistercian monastery. In the 1550s Margit Széchy (wife of Niklas von Salm until 1550, then wife of Pyrrhus Arco) allowed the monastery to be rebuilt into a fortress. In 1556, she expelled the last abbot from the abbey, see ZLINSZKYNÉ STERNEGG 1981, 368 and 379. 812 <sup>2</sup> Rába or Raab river. 812 <sup>3</sup> Probably from *asseritium* meaning 'boarded', see DU CANGE 1883.

est eo iure, ea libertate, regum vestrum liberalitate collata pollet, ut aliquot huius  
 15 temporis episcopatibus facile praeferrī possit, ab illo praesertim homine, cui nondum  
 episcopatus cura somnos perturbat, quemadmodum mihi, qui ad arbitrium meum  
 magnopere cupiam senectutem exigere, caveoque sedulo ab excelsis, quibus abrupta  
 proxima sunt, quique sane nec merita tanta habeam adhuc apud hunc principem, nec  
 sum ea eruditione ac vita, ut audeam tam sublime culmen affectare, tam praeclaram  
 20 functionem ambire, ad quam quidem non de trivio sumpti, aut ei, qui se suo iudi-  
 cioconfisus, secure apud te ambire possim, necessitate, quae est frequens in aula,  
 et quae et pater, in cuius sinu filio eiulare et humano more modo ineptire, modo  
 delinquere indulgentius concedi solet, nequit tamen animus moderatur non vereri.  
 Quia id petitionis mihi vitio sis versurus, tamquam insatiabili et subinde alia atque  
 25 alia expetenti sacerdotia, quique tua erga me cum facilitate et gratia, tum te ipso velut  
 sodali quodam nimis et praeter decorem videar uti velle familiariter, qui mihi quidem  
 certe magna et singulari veneratione parceque et non levi, quaque vis de ea sis in  
 vota. Arcessendus timor serenissimi domini, iuxta divinum psaltem, ipse thesaurus  
 est. Pergerem pluribus culpa huius ambitus excusare et tegere, sed non evado. Pudore  
 30 itaque seposito, quem ferunt damnosum esse in aula, sequar temporum licentiam,  
 aulaeque suo more utar, et te iam etiam si impudent minusque probe videbo facere.

[2.] (Nam et probitar egregie algere dicitur, quamvis mirifice laudetur ac tollatur in  
 aethera) obnixē precor, oroque, mi Praesul, mi Pater, velis operam et intercessionem  
 tuam apud regem intendere efficereque, ut inter ceteros Gothardi<sup>4</sup> petitores, ipse  
 35 eum ante omnes obtineam. Hoc enim commode me in aula sustentabo, donec ea te  
 fortuna exseret, quam mihi tanto amore ac studio parturis, paras, polliceris. Haec  
 te rogabo, nec monebo diligentius, ut me et hoc et aliis cum honoribus decorare  
 tum beneficiis, quod diligentissime facis, locupletare velis, (id enim est superfluum  
 et alienum a mea in te dudum constanti deliberatione fundata et firmata fiducia),  
 40 quamquidem si hactenus nec petentem, nec opinantem eo me honorum provexisti et  
 extulisti commodorum, ne nemo sit in hoc regno, qui amplissima sua studia, favorem,  
 promptissima, et sine exemplo benevolentiam erga me non prospiciat et admiretur,  
 mique tibi maxime carum, maximeque esse curae non existimet ac firmissime credat,  
 quid, quaeso, est, quod a te petere, exspectare apud te, et tecum nudere non confidam?  
 45 Quae mea quidem in te fiducia, et tua in me tanta amoris propensitas, tanta animi  
 ac voluntatis indicatio cum sit, audacter equidem peto iam, non exspecto beneficia,  
 primusque in meo ambitu Gothardus erit, quem si mihi esse re et honestate futurum  
 censes. (Haec enim potest non posse esse et honestus et utilis, cum apud Pornonium  
 longe Gothardo inferiorem non erubescimus, neque esurimus), etiam atque oro eni-

812,26 nimis] *auth del. ex nimis libere* 812,26 uti velle] *auth corr. ex velle uti* 812,27 et] *auth corr. ex verecundia* 812,29 huius] *auth add.* 812,29 ambitus] *auth del. ex ambitus huius* 812,29 tegere] *auth corr. ex deprecari* 812,31 aulaeque] *corr. ex aulaeque* 812,31 aulaeque] *auth del. ex aulaeque utar* 812,31 minusque ... facere] *auth corr. ex faciam atque improbit* 812,32 Nam] *auth del. ex Nam eodem loci* 812,32 mirifice] *auth add.* 812,33 precor] *auth corr. ex peto* 812,34 intendere] *auth del. ex intendere per et* 812,35 omnes] *auth del. ex omnes alios* 812,48 apud] *auth add.*

812<sup>4</sup> Szentgotthárd.

tere, Praesul, ut eum mi vel cum pensione modo moderata, sine quo onere nemini, 50  
quod dicunt, conferetur, cures conferendum.

[3.] Quare autem ultra superiores causas adductus sim, ut Gothardum tanto studio  
exspectam, tamque etiam accurate apud te de illo ipse per me fecerim mentionem,  
a populari sermone provenit, publica enim his in locis omnium voce circumfertur,  
tamquam de re iam comperta, Gothardum mihi esse collatum, adeoque id constanter 55  
creditur, ut multi mihi et coram et per litteras gratularentur. Quod in vulgus unde  
irreperit, ex occupatu homines tam repentina persuasio, me praesertim prorsus  
ignorante, et in satis non absente, sane non intelligo, et per lucem furo, id me nec  
cogitasse, nec somniasse unquam, quamvis desiderari ante aliquando, sed id satis  
frigide et praeter omnem spem consequendi, considerata existimatione et autoritate 60  
apud regem familiae, in cuius potestate tanto tempore permansisset.

Iosephus tantum medicus cognomine Salády<sup>5</sup> magna mi familiaritate copulatus,  
nuper cum discederem Vienna, primus me commonefecit Gothardum esse ad con-  
ferendum praepositum, summaque vi ac peramanter incitavit, ut ad eum patenter  
mentem intendere et voluntatem arriperem. Plures esse etiam alios dicens esse eam 65  
fortunam urgerent. Maturaret itaque ipse, nec haererem diem. In celeritate rem ver-  
sari, si Gothardum vellem et sperare se meum futurum poti, utque cuiuspiam alterius,  
quod se quoque conciliatorem eius obtulisset, cum apud comites Salmos familiaritate  
non postrema valeret. Ego veri officium amici magni duxerim, gratamque etiam popu-  
larem opinionem habuerim, diu tamen quod velim credas, persuadere mihi non potui, 70  
quod tam opulentum sacerdotium tam dives et potens et apud regem gratiosa familia  
emittere Gothardum decrevisset, neglexique id curae hactenus, tamquam et vulgo  
parum tribuerem et suasu unius hominis nollerem tantam prius aggredere, quoque  
consilium et voluntatem tuam explorassem. Verum postque constat et propalam est,  
quod et comites memorati emissuri suum Gothardum, et vox populi putet habere 75  
quodpiam numinis iuxta tritam late sententiam, vox populi, vox Dei, urgeamus omen,  
et <...> aulico, tuque, quae et formator es et educator fortunae meae, elabora, quaeso,  
diligenter, et ex amore solito, ut et populi opinio fidem obtineat, et ego Gothardum,  
quod quidem me et abbatem domi et aulicum foris facile alet, eroque pro tuo voto cum  
Gothardo non mendicus aulicus. Vale. 80

XXVI. Maii 1552 ex Pornoniano.

813

András (Bonaventura) Báthori to Miklós Oláh  
Nyírbátor, 28 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. A., fol. 107.

*Notes:* Latin copy of Báthori's Hungarian letter.

812,50 eum mi] *auth add.* 812,51 conferetur] *auth del. ex conferetur eam mi* 812,52 Quare] *auth*  
*corr. ex Cur* 812,66 Maturaret] *auth corr. ex Maturarem* 812,74 est] *auth add.* 812,76 late] *auth*  
*corr. ex toti mundo* 812,76–77 urgeamus ... aulico] *auth corr. ex pater ipse, ut hoc omen*

812<sup>5</sup> József Salády, we do not know him more closely.

He has arrived to Nyírbátor, but his legs are very weak, and he cannot use the fingers on his right hand. He sent one of his men to Giovanni Battista Castaldo as soon as he arrived, although he had already sent another two of his men earlier in the matter of Gherla, but none of them have returned. Oláh should not keep Márton Udvarbíró back either because he does not have any other servants. 2. The King has entrusted the issue of religion to him, but he cannot satisfy so many parties. The people of Debrecen already had a false prophet before, and now they have welcomed master Márton Kálmáncsehi, who had been banished from Sátoraljaújhely; the vicar will report as to how these servants are behaving in Berehove. The priests have taken the things Péter Petrovics's servants wanted to steal to Ecsed, everything is out of control. The King has told him to pay the official of Tășnad: he gave him more than he had received so far, but he is still dissatisfied and wants the whole income.

Reverendissime Domine et Amice nobis Observandissime, salutem et servitorum commendationem!

[1.] Iam divino auxilio huc ad Bathor venimus, licet in tam difficili via valde sum attritus et vereor, ne propriis meis viribus etiam incedere nequeam, nam sum  
5 valde debilis pedibus et dexteræ meae manus digitis non possum omnino uti, haec ut Domino Deo visa sunt, ita fiant. Quamprimum eo veni, statim hominem meum misi ad dominum Castaldo,<sup>1</sup> tametsi antehac quoque duos e potioribus servitoribus meis in negotio arcis Wywar<sup>2</sup> et aliarum quoque rerum causa ad eundem miserim, eorum tamen nullus adhuc inde rediit. Martinum Wdwarbyro<sup>3</sup> quoque desideratissime  
10 cum bono responso exspectarem, nam certe mihi nullus servitorum meorum supermanebit, tempus etiam esset ingrediendi Transsilvaniam. Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam rogo, nolit ipsum retardare.

[2.] Commiserat mihi praeterea regia maiestas curam quoque religionis, sed impossibile est me tot partibus intentum esse. Debreczenienses quamvis antehac satis  
15 perversum habuerunt doctorem, nunc magistrum Martinum<sup>4</sup> sacramentarium, qui ex Nova Civitate<sup>5</sup> pulsus erat, in medium ipsorum accersiverunt. Servitores quoque ipsius Petrovyth<sup>6</sup> quomodo sese gerant in oppido Bereghzaz,<sup>7</sup> poterit referre plebanus eiusdem loci. Monachi res suas, quas idem servitores Petrovyt diripere volebant, ad arcem Echet<sup>8</sup> transtulerunt, denique hic ubique locorum regnat error iste, usque  
20 adeo, quod nec ego, nec alius quispiam secularium officialium huic malo succurrere possit, nisi episcopatus praeficiantur episcopi, qui servitorum suorum medio his de rebus secundum officii ipsorum debitum curam habeant. Poterit haec Dominatio Vestra regiae quoque maiestati referre, ego huiusmodi malum, quod ubique hic regnat, praevenire non possum. Commiserat etiam regia maiestas, ut officiali Thasnadiensi  
25 competens salarium darem, ego illi plus offerebam, quam olim ab episcopis solvebatur, sed non est contentus, ut animadverto, potius totos proventus sibi optaret, et nomen solum, seu regia maiestas, seu alter quispiam obtineat. Misi Dinationi Vestrae cum aliis litteris meis regestum. Quare Dominatio Vestra et promissis meis et votis ipsius,

813<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo. 813<sup>2</sup> Szamosújvár, Gherla today. In 1552, King Ferdinand I appointed Báthori Voivode of Transylvania and gave him the castle of Gherla, see SZONGOTT 1898, 4. 813<sup>3</sup> Márton Udvarbíró, we do not know him more closely. 813<sup>4</sup> Márton Kálmáncsehi Sánta, see BÖLCSKEI 1988, 13 and Note. 38. See also Ep. 826. and György Draskovich's letter of 10 July, 1552, BUNYITAY 1887, 398–399. 813<sup>5</sup> Sátoraljaújhely. 813<sup>6</sup> Péter Petrovics. 813<sup>7</sup> On 1 December, 1552 Kálmáncsehi attended on the synod in Berehove. 813<sup>8</sup> The castle of Ecsed belonged to the Báthori family.

hac quoque in re, a sua maiestate informationem accipiat. Dominationem Vestram bene valere optamus. 30

Ex Bathor 28. Maii anno Domini 1552.

Andreas de Bathor manu propria

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi, sacratissimae regiae maiestatis cancellario etc. domino et amico nobis observandissimo.

814

István Dobó to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 29 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. A., fol. 118.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

*He has already written to Oláh that the horsemen of Oláh and the King, as well as Benedek Serédy's 100 horsemen, turned back at his request, but they have captured one Turk. He says that the Sultan is not coming here personally, but Kara Ahmed Pasha is arriving with such a large army that if the imperial-royal troops are there, he will not leave without a clash. The Pasha will be heading for Szolnok, Eger, and Košice, and he will make a deal with the Polish King and Queen Isabella for them to join him so they can occupy Transylvania together. The Pasha is in Belgrade, he is gathering his men there, and there are also about 100,000 Tatars with them. The Pasha of Buda will occupy Szolnok and Eger within a few days according to the Turks – so Dobó asks Oláh to provide men and weapons.*

Dobo ad me Agriensem.

Scripseram Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae, qua fortuna equites Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae, item regiae maiestatis hic Agriae<sup>1</sup> existentes et equites centum Benedicti Seredy<sup>2</sup> per me propter varios rumores petiti reversi sunt. Turca ille unus est satis praeceptus, qui etiam vera dicere potest, qui ad interrogata inter alia 5 respondit imperatorem Turcarum in persona in regnum hoc venire non posse, verum Ahmath bassam<sup>3</sup> tanta copia venire asserit, ut si etiam caesarea et regia maiestates aderunt, terga non vertit, sed paratus erit congregere et conflagere, cuius tamen intentionem esse dicit ad Zolnok, Agriam et tandem Cassoviam intelligentiamque habere cum rege Poloniae<sup>4</sup> et regina vidua,<sup>5</sup> quiquoque suas vires illius Ahmath bassae 10 adiungerent, ut et regnum Transsilvaniae et has partes occupare valeat, dicitque Ahmath bassam esse Nandoralbae,<sup>6</sup> et eo gentes suas dietim<sup>7</sup> congregare, ac proculdubio centum millia Tartarorum ex aliis regnis secum habiturum. Quoniam imperator

814,1 Dobo ... Agriensem] *O add.* 814,5 praeceptus] *corr. ex praecipuus*

814<sup>1</sup> Eger. 814<sup>2</sup> Benedek Serédy, brother of Gáspár Serédy. He offered one cannon for the siege, see SZÁNTÓ 1972, 202. 814<sup>3</sup> Kara Ahmed Pasha (†1555). In 1552, he led the Ottoman troops against the fortress of Timișoara, and occupied the castles of Veszprém, Szolnok, and Lipova. He and Hadim Ali, the Pasha of Buda, besieged the castle of Eger. 814<sup>4</sup> Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland. 814<sup>5</sup> Isabella Jagiellon, Queen consort of Hungary. 814<sup>6</sup> Belgrade. 814<sup>7</sup> I.e. 'per singulos dies', see DU CANGE 1883; and SZOVÁK 1983–2017.

Turcarum ex suis regnis ultra viginti millia Tartarorum habere non posset, cumque  
15 copia illius in promptu habebitur et in partibus Sirmiae<sup>8</sup> erunt, bassa Budensis<sup>9</sup>  
tamquam praecursus prius ante aliquot diebus Zolnok<sup>10</sup> et Agriam obsidebit. Haec  
ipse vera esse dicit, non esset profecto abs re, si arx ista Agriensis ingeniis globisque  
et pulveribus atque hominum copia provideretur. Quare Reverendissima Dominatio  
Vestra dignetur incumbere, quo maiorem provisionem de omnibus huc impendant.  
20 Datum Agriae 29. Maii 1552.

[On the outer side:] A. Copia litterarum Stephanis Dobo.

815

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 31 May 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. A., fol. 129–130.  
*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*King Ferdinand I no doubt remembers that in the matter of the Szentgotthárd abbey he ordered that the wives of lords Pyrrhus Arco, András (Bonaventura) Báthori, and Jaroslav von Pernstein should hand it over to a religious man of the church on the condition that the new abbot will first pay Niklas von Salm's son 300 florins, then an amount set annually to maintain his education. However, Báthori and Pernstein have transferred the abbey to a presbyter without Margit Széchy's knowledge. At the same time, she did the same with a religious man. Since there have been two donations and both parties have presented their case, Oláh has postponed the decision until King Ferdinand I returns, all the more so because the Salm boys are not present, either. Anyhow, he thinks Margit Széchy has the right to decide, since it is her paternal ancestors who founded the abbey, and the Thurzó girls only earned a say in this through their paternal inheritance.*

Sacratissime Rex Domine, Domine Clementissime, fidelitatis et servitiorum meorum in gratiam Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem!

Credo Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram gratiose meminisse, qualem deliberationem facere dignata erat in negotio abbatiae Sancti Gothardi,<sup>1</sup> ut illam dominae  
5 uxor comitis ab Ark<sup>2</sup> et coniuges<sup>3</sup> Andreae Bathory<sup>4</sup> ac ipsius a Pernstan,<sup>5</sup> quae ius  
patronatus in ipsa abbatia conferenda habent, alicui religioso vel saltem ecclesiastico viro, qui habitum assumeret, conferre deberent,<sup>6</sup> ea conditione, ut ille, qui futurus esset abbas, trecentos Florenos filio quondam domini comitis Nicolai,<sup>7</sup> cui antea ipsa abbatia, per ipsas dominas, pari voto, collata fuerat, ad sustentationem studiorum  
10 ipsius quotannis ad certos annos dare deberet. Nunc Andreas Bathory et ipse a

814,20 Datum ... ] *O add.* 814,21 A ... Dobo ] *O add.*

814<sup>8</sup> Szerém county. 814<sup>9</sup> Hadim Ali was Pasha of Bosnia, and between 1551–1553 and 1556–1557 Pasha of Buda, see GÉVAY 1841, 7. 814<sup>10</sup> Szolnok fell on 27 July, 1552. 815<sup>1</sup> Szentgotthárd Abbey. 815<sup>2</sup> Margit Széchy married Pyrrhus Arco in 1551, see Ep. 811. 815<sup>3</sup> Báthori's first wife was Anna Thurzó, while his the second wife was Katalin Mindszenti. Jaroslav von Pernstein married Erzsébet Thurzó of Bethlenfalva in 1552. 815<sup>4</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 815<sup>5</sup> Jaroslav von Pernstein was the eldest son of Johann von Pernstein. 815<sup>6</sup> For this, see also Ep. 812. Cap. 3. 815<sup>7</sup> Niklas von Salm.



Pernsthan, inscia ipsa domina Zechy, uxore comitis ab Ark,<sup>8</sup> abbatiam ipsam cuidam  
praesbitero dederunt. Et ipsa quoque comitissa ab Ark, inscia illorum donationis, et  
quia etiam est soror maior natu praefatarum dominarum, ac ex bonis suis avitis et  
paternis abbatia ipsa fundata erat, cuidam religioso viro contulit. Et utraque pars  
mihi tamquam Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae minimo servitori et cancellario in 15  
Hungaria illos praesentarunt in absentia Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae, et cum duo  
sint donatarii, negotium hoc in adventum felicem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae  
consului reiiciendum, maxime cum etiam domini tutores filiorum quondam comitis  
Nicolai a Salm, qui aliquid ratione praedictae pensionis cum abbate futuro agere  
habebunt, nunc absint, nihilominus tamen nihil in monasterio interea in divinis 20  
servitiis negligitur.

Meo iudicio uxor ipsius ab Ark, tum quod abbatia ipsa non a matris, sed patris  
sui, Zechy maioribus fundata est, et filiae Thurzonis<sup>9</sup> saltem ex patris earum, a  
Sacratissima Maiestate Vestra impetrata gratia, aliquid interesse in iure patronatu  
habeant tum etiam quod primogenita matris est, merito a sororibus minoribus requiri, 25  
et sibi praeferrere debuisset. Hoc tamen Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra, cum Deo dante  
feliciter revertetur, gratiose inter ipsas concludet. Rogavit nunc me ipsa comitissa  
ab Ark, ut in hoc ipsius negotio Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae supplicarem et  
significarem, quo pacto hoc negotium coram me actum esset, seque fore paratam in  
reditu Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae abbatem eidem praesentare, cuius petitioni iu- 30  
stae non potui refragari. Deus optimus maximus Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram  
felicem et incolumem conservare ac reducere dignetur. In cuius clementiam me et  
servitia mea humillima iterum atque iterum unice commendo.

Ex Vienna ultima Maii anno Domini MDLII.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humilis et fidelis servitor ac capellanus 35  
Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae Romanorum, Hungariae, Boemiae etc. regiae ma-  
iestati domino, domino clementissimo.

816

István Dobó to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 7 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B., fol. 68.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. *The other day the Pasha of Buda set out from Pest towards Veszprém, and when our troops heard about it, they turned back from Hatvan and Gyöngyös. They have captured a Turk, who has talked about Kara Ahmed Pasha's arrival, he has already written to Oláh about it. They have since captured other Turks, one of whom*

815,23 earum] *corr. ex eorum* 815,35 Eiusdem ... capellanus] *O add.* 815,36 Agriensis ... propria] *O add.*

815<sup>8</sup> Margit Széchy. 815<sup>9</sup> Anna Thurzó and Erzsébet Thurzó.

said that he had set out towards Buda from Ahmed Pasha's camp already a month ago. He says the Pasha is gathering troops in Belgrade, he has already recruited 40,000 people, and that the two Pashas have agreed amongst themselves that as soon as Ahmed crosses the Danube, the Pasha of Buda will start to besiege the castle of Eger, waiting for Ahmed to arrive from Szolnok. 2. He does not know if this is true, but he wanted to let Oláh know so he can act in time. He also asks him to let Mecskey come back without delay.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi semper Observandissime et Gratosissime, servitorum meorum debitam semper et perpetuam exhibitionem!

[1.] Nuper cum bassa Budensi<sup>1</sup> Danubium Vesprimium<sup>2</sup> versus a Pestino traicerat, quo fato a castello Hathwan<sup>3</sup> et oppido Gyengyes<sup>4</sup> reversi nostri fuerint, Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam certificaveram,<sup>5</sup> Turcusque ille tunc captus, quae de venturo Ahmath bassa<sup>6</sup> retulerat, Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae perscripseram. Nunc igitur per servitores maiestatis regiae et Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae ex eodem fato, tam maiestati regiae, quam Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae singulos Turcos cum singulis equis Turcalibus misimus, per quos Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima palam de omnibus certior fieri poterit, quae tam Turca iterum post praedictum fatum per stratagemata exercentes capti, quam etiam vulgus necnon peculiares mei homines, qui hodie Buda reversi sunt, de eisdem praedictis bassis referant. Est inter istos noviter captos Turcos, qui dicit iam mensem unum esse completum, ex quo ipse de castris Ahmath bassae esset Budam reversus, dicit eum bassam penes Nandoralbam<sup>7</sup> exercitum colligere, et iam plus quadraginta tunc millibus collectos fuisse, cum ipse de castris illius discessisset. Hic refert eosdem bassas mutuam hunc habere intellectum, ut quamprimum bassa Budensis certior redderetur, quod Ahmath bassa Danubium traiecerat, illico Budensis arcem hanc Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae obsessurus foret praestolandum Ahmathum sub fortalicium Zolnok<sup>8</sup> adventurum. Homo meus peculiaris refert, per quem mihi per fidum amicum idem est nuntiatum, ut ubi bassa Budensis Vesprimio reverteretur, illico castra movendi haberet animum ad obsidendam Agriam.<sup>9</sup>

[2.] Haec pro certo mihi narratur, verum sintne certa vel incerta, penitus ignoro. Nihilominus tamen haec per celerem postam antequam de pluribus Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima certior reddatur transmittendum paucis duxi fore necessarium, ut valeat eadem Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima rebus tam acris istius quam nostris maturius providere, et bene consulere.

Quocirca pro honore nostro et Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae nos quoque et commodis regni istius Hungariae inservire valeamus. In his partibus maiestas regia nullas habet gentes praeter eas, quas perpauca Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima hic Agriae residentes optime novit. Dominum collegam meum,<sup>10</sup> quisquis fuerit, Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima dignetur absque dilatione demittere. Ego interea quoad possum, pro mea humanitate in omnibus deficere nolo, sed modificationibus

816,18 traiecerat ] *corr. ex traieceret*

816<sup>1</sup> Hadim Ali Pasha. 816<sup>2</sup> Veszprém. 816<sup>3</sup> Hatvan. 816<sup>4</sup> Gyöngyös. 816<sup>5</sup> See Ep. 814. 816<sup>6</sup> Kara Ahmed Pasha. 816<sup>7</sup> Belgrade. 816<sup>8</sup> Szolnok. 816<sup>9</sup> Eger. 816<sup>10</sup> His colleague became István Mecskey. Since Dobó could not leave Eger, he sent Mecskey to the partial assembly to Szikszó in July, see CSIFFÁRY 2005, 114.

Deo volente inservire curabo, de praemissis vero, ut Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima brevi et sine mora consulere dignetur, Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam 35 valde, ut possum, oro. Quam in reliquis felicissime valere desidero.

Datum in arce Agriensi 7. Iunii anno Domini 1552.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae deditissimus servitor

Stephanus Dobo de Ruzka etc.

B. Copia litterarum Stephani Dobo.

40

817

István Dobó to Miklós Oláh  
Eger, 12 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B., fol. 100.

*Notes:* Copy with Oláh's emendations.

1. He has reported to Oláh about what they have heard from the Turkish prisoner both via mail and through Gergely Horváth. The Pasha of Buda returned after he occupied Veszprém, now he is waiting at the field of Rákos to see Kara Ahmed Pasha's movements before deciding about besieging the castle of Eger. He is rumoured to be building a bridge, and István Losonczy has gone there to fight him. Since Oláh knows well how many men are available to defend the castle, Dobó asks him to send reinforcements. 2. Furthermore, he should instruct Gáspár Pető, István Zolthay, and Márton Káldy to save themselves for defending the castle, and he should instruct the leaders of the county to defend the castle. 3. He is doing what he can, if anything bad still happens, it will not be his fault but due to the fact that there are too few people. He wants to increase the number of infantrymen to 300. He should give a new horse to the young man who is handing this over if his own horse is dead, in order to make sure he can return to him with the news more quickly.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine mihi semper Gratosissime, servitorum meorum debitam perpetuamque exhibitionem!<sup>1</sup>

[1.] Negotia Turcarum quomodo hic agantur et quo mihi sunt per Turcum captivum relata, Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae antea quoque et per postam<sup>2</sup> et per servitorem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae egregium Gregorium Horwath<sup>3</sup> perscripsi. Qualiterque Budensis bassa<sup>4</sup> expugnato Vesprimio<sup>5</sup> reversus sit, credo Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae apertius quam mihi constare. Nunc est in castris in campo Rakos certoque mihi nuntiatum est, exspectare dicitur motum Ahmath bassae<sup>6</sup> et ubi motum illius intelligeret, habere intentionem arcem hanc Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae obsidere. Ille vero pontem iam struit super 10 Danubium et dicitur se movisse, contra quem dicitur magnificus dominus Stephanus de Lossoncz<sup>7</sup> etc., si quid proficere posset, profectus esse. Quare cum Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima aperte intelligit, ego quo numero gentium ad conservationem

816,40 B ... Dobo] *O add.*

817<sup>1</sup> On this letter, see SZÁNTÓ 1972; and SZÁNTÓ 1977. 817<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 816. 817<sup>3</sup> Gergely Horváth (†1552) was cavalryan captain and Dobó's messenger, see SUGÁR 1969, 221; and CSIFFÁRY 2003, 292. 817<sup>4</sup> Hadim Ali Pasha. 817<sup>5</sup> Veszprém. 817<sup>6</sup> Kara Ahmed Pasha. 817<sup>7</sup> István Losonczy.

huius arcis hic sim, regia quoque maiestas quantam copiam equitum et peditum ad  
15 defensionem eiusdem arcis hic teneat, supplico Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae  
tamquam Domino Gratosissimo, dignetur eadem Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima  
de opportuno subsidio quantum ad gentium copiam necesse est, eo modo mature  
providere, ne in tam amplissima arce prae paucitate gentium inopinate subruamur  
et (quod Deus avertat) tempore Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae per Turcam  
20 capiatur.

[2.] Praeterea dignetur Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima dominis Gaspar Pe-  
thew,<sup>8</sup> Stephano Zolthay<sup>9</sup> et Martino Kaldy<sup>10</sup> capitaneis hic constitutis per litteras  
mandare, ut et ipsi conservationi arcis se tenere debeant, similiter et ad comitatus  
superiores litteras dare, ut illi quoque saluti eorum consulendum de maturo subsidio  
25 arcis providere curent.

[3.] Ego quantum proficere possum, de eo Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae  
in me nihil diffidat, verum (quod Deus avertat), si quid sinistri huic arci contigerit,  
protestor regiae maiestati et Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae non me, sed pau-  
citatem hominum in ea existentem esse in causa. Ego propriori instructioni numerum  
30 trecentorum peditum complere curavi, ad conquerendumque pedites centum iam  
dimisi, pro eo Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima absque ulla mora dignetur super  
omnibus mihi citissimam facere relationem. Commisi adolescenti meo, ut si etiam  
equus ubi ad Vestram perveniet, Reverendissima Dominatio, illico morietur, cursu  
tamen celeri ad eandem Vestram Dominationem Reverendissimam festinare debeat,  
35 quod si fit, ut moreretur, dignetur Dominatio Vestra iterum equum alterum adolescen-  
ti meo dare, ut citissime redeat. Si etiam ille morietur loco illius quoque, Dominationi  
Vestrae Reverendissimae alterum dare sum paratus. Tantum est, ut Dominatio Vestra  
Reverendissima super omnibus mihi informationem citissimam dare dignetur. Restat,  
quod Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimam felicissime valere desidero.

40 Datum in arce Agriensi 12. Iunii anno Domini 1552.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae deditissimus servitor

Stephanus Dobo de Rwezka

C. Copia litterarum Stephani Dobo.

## 818

The Royal Lieutenancy Council in Bratislava to Miklós Oláh  
Bratislava, 15 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 58. Konv. A., fol. 54–56.

*Notes:* Original letter with seals. Dating corrected according to PÁLFFI 1999, 77.

817,28 regiae ... et] *O add.* 817,43 C ... Dobo] *O add.*

817<sup>8</sup> Gáspár Pető (†after 1561) was Cavalry Officer of Eger castle in 1552, see CSIFFÁRY 2003, 267 and 323–324. 817<sup>9</sup> István Zoltay was Cavalry Officer of Eger castle in 1552, see CSIFFÁRY 2003, 347–350. 817<sup>10</sup> Márton Káldy was pedestrian captain, see SZÁNTÓ 1972, 201.

1. Oláh knows what a hideous thing happened when they wanted to take Veszprém back: more than 10,000 people gathered at Pápa, the royal army was led by Teufel, but they froze so badly that they did nothing, and they learned about losing Veszprém from the farmers fleeing from there. He has it on good authority that the enemy did not hope to keep the castle, so they also had the large cannons removed from there and had them taken to Székesfehérvár. They did not allow anyone in, only those 150 privates stayed in the castle with a small amount of food. They could only keep Veszprém by luring the royal army away from there so they do not besiege it, and they rowed across the Danube and looted around (Balassa)gyarmat while ours dispersed, and Veszprém had time to grow stronger. 2. Our troops could have recaptured Veszprém during this time, and they could have ended the incursions if they had joined forces and headed for Székesfehérvár, but it is shameful how many opportunities they squandered. A soldier who came from Pápa told them that Veszprém has indeed been fortified the way it used to be, and everyone from the area is fleeing there. Oláh should inform the King so he can select a person to lead the army who is capable of fighting the Turks. 3. András (Bonaventura) Báthori is busy, Tamás Nádasdy is ailing, so there is nobody for the Hungarians to follow as their leader. Oláh should get Maximilian to come to Hungary now, he has good people in Bratislava. The air is not healthy now in Vienna anyway, and the Hungarians would be really energized by the King's presence.

Reverendissime atque Amplissime Praesul, Domine nobis Observandissime, salutem et servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

[1.] Intellexit iam hactenus Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio, quam irritum factum sit omne illud, quod de recuperando Wesprimio<sup>1</sup> tractabatur, fuerunt tempore obsidionis Wesprimii, et mox postea, congregata in Papa et aliis locis circumvicinis, 5 plus quam decem millia hominum armatorum adfuerunt, primi quique regiae maiestatis, domini nostri clementissimi capitanei, tam Thayffel,<sup>2</sup> quam alii ex Iaurino<sup>3</sup> et Komaron<sup>4</sup> profecti. Et tamen omnes illi usque adeo torpuerunt, et nullam bellicam diligentiam adhibuerunt, ut neque expugnationem et deperditionem Wesprimii aliter intellexerint, nisi quarto demum die ex agricolis quibusdam, qui ex illis partibus 10 fugiebant, poterant nedum recuperare arcem illam, sed cum hoste quoque manus conserere et victoriam certissimam reportare.

Relatum nobis est per fidedignos, qui postea apud Wesprimium fuerunt, quod hostis quoque ipse de retentione illius arcis adeo desperaverit, ut omnes maiores 15 bombardas, quae intus fuerant, exportari et in Albam Regalem<sup>5</sup> deduci fecerit, nemine primario homine in illa arce dimisso, sed quibusdam dumtaxat gregariis centum et quinquaginta militibus, qui et ipsi paucissimum intus haberent commeatum; hanc unicam habuit retinendi Wesprimii spem, si posset exercitum illum nostrum congregatum technis et artibus suis aliorum evocare et ab obsidione avertere, ac propterea 20 citissimo gressu transfretavit Danubium, et excursionses quasdam ac depopulationes circa Gyarmath<sup>6</sup> et alibi fieri fecit, ut nostri vel dispergerentur, prout factum est, vel illum sequerentur, et interim Wesprimium posset quiete munire, quod calidissimus hostis optavit.

818<sup>1</sup> Veszprém fell on 1 June, 1552. Drégely, Szécsény, Hollókő, Buják, Šahy and Balassagyarmat also fell in July, see PÁLFFY 1999, 76. 818<sup>2</sup> Erasmus Teufel (†1552) was an officer of the Habsburgs, and he was a Commander in the 1552 campaign. 818<sup>3</sup> Győr. 818<sup>4</sup> Komárom. 818<sup>5</sup> Székesfehérvár. 818<sup>6</sup> Today: Balassagyarmat.

[2.] Id magno nostro damno et ingenti nostrorum ducum ignavia assecutus est.  
 25 Poterant interim nostri, simili arte et Wesprimium recuperare et hostem ab illis  
 incursionibus revocare, si coacta manu versus Albam Regalem fuissent profecti. De-  
 flendum profecto et lacrimandum est tantas frustra fieri impensas, tantas regiae  
 maiestatis et miserrimi regni opes inaniter profundi, experientia docet capitaneos  
 30 hos extraneos, non tantum de retinendo et eliberando regno curare, quantum ut  
 amplissimis stipendiis se ipsos divites faciant et arces sibi tali quaestu coemant,  
 nolentes interim capita sua quibuspiam periculis obiectare quemadmodum prisci illi  
 Hungarorum capitanei regni metas ampliando faciebant, qui et nunc vigilanti studio  
 et diligentia maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi tot gentes iam conductitias  
 equitum, cataphractorum et peditum habemus, ut dolendum vehementer sit, omnem  
 35 bene gerendae rei occasionem ita frustrata elabi, et interim magnam insumi pecuniam.  
 Militaris quidem homo, qui hesterno die ad nos de Papa venerat, nobis retulit, ne  
 nunc quidem Wesprimium esse aliter firmatum, quam fuerat, sed illos, qui intus  
 sunt, admiratione quadam proxime quiescentis exercitus nostri ductos nunc primum  
 cepisse miseros agricolas bonis et seductoriis verbis allicere ad conducenda robora  
 40 congregare. Visum fuit nobis, Domine Reverendissime, super his omnibus ad Vestram  
 Reverendissimam Dominationem scribere, quae cum hoc tempore sit primas huius  
 afflicti regni nostri, sitque ex officio suo semper ad latus maiestatis regiae, habeatque  
 apud suam maiestatem condignam et meritam suam praesentiam atque auctoritatem,  
 velit suam maiestatem adhortari, petere et orare, ne gentes istas magno sumptu  
 45 conductas ita frustra torpescere et pecunias atque commeatum inaniter absummere  
 patiatur, et signanter ut praeficiatur illis dux aliquis, homo militaris et qui Turcos non  
 fama saltem, sed facie ad faciem noverit, quique illorum nedum truces aspectus, sed  
 ne hastas quidem et frameas perhorrescat.

[3.] Iam postquam dominus Bathory<sup>7</sup> officio Transsilvanico est intentus, dominus  
 50 vero Nadasdy<sup>8</sup> non satis recte valeat, neminem habent Hungari, quem ut suum  
 suaeque patriae et linguae ac militiae ducem sequantur, assueti alioqui prout longe  
 hilarioribus animis, ita et factis felicioribus sub Hungaro capitaneo militare, sed  
 haec omnia Vestra Reverendissima Dominatio exactius perpendere et tractare novit.  
 Nobis erat in animo personaliter quoque pro his tractandis Viennam ascendere, sed  
 55 intelligimus ex regnicolis, qui frequenter huc veniunt, fieri inter eos multa verba super  
 hoc, quod regia maiestas, dominus noster clementissimus necessario hoc tempore,  
 in longinquis partibus agat et regnum istud sua praesentia careat, scimusque pro  
 certo, quod longe plura loquerentur et in desperationem caderent, si neque locum-  
 tenens aliquis suae maiestatis intra limites huius regni reperiretur, nam et in aliis  
 60 quibuscumque suae maiestatis etiam parvis provinciis semper adest aliquis, qui vires  
 suae maiestatis tenet. Immo nobis multo melius videretur, si Vestra Reverendissima  
 Dominatio pro patriae istius communis salute efficeret apud serenissimum dominum  
 regem Bohemiae,<sup>9</sup> dominum nostrum gratiosissimum, ut hoc tempore sua maiestas

818,35 insumi] *corr. ex insummi*

818<sup>7</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 818<sup>8</sup> Tamás Nadasdy. 818<sup>9</sup> Future King Maximilian II.

hic in Hungaria habitaret, suaque praesentia omnes nos totumque regnum et incolas  
eius animaret. Habet hic Posonii sua maiestas gentes optimas, equites, cataphractus, 65  
habebit et plures, quibus posset, locis necessariis et toti regno subvenire, habet etiam  
aerem saluberrimum, quoniam Viennae audiatur esse aura non satis sana, et non  
carere civitatem ipsam aliqua mortalitate, esset profecto toti regno et omnibus eius in-  
colis, res et vires et necessaria. Servet summus Deus Reverendissimam Dominationem  
Vestram felicissimam. 70

Posonii die 15. Iunii 1552.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae servitores

Locumtenens et consiliarius regiae maiestatis Posonii constituti

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Nicolao Olaho, episcopo  
Agriensi, sacrae regiae maiestatis cancellario dignitissimo etc. domino nobis obser- 75  
vandissimo.

819

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 17 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B., fol. 118–119.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

1. He believes Maximilian has informed King Ferdinand I about everything that arrives to the Hungarian and German Chancellery, he will now report about the things that have reached him. He will understand from the copies of three of István Dobó's letters what Dobó has written about the Pasha of Buda. When the third letter arrived, he encouraged Maximilian to write to Erasmus Teufel and others who are outside the Eger city walls to enter the city in case of danger. 2. András (Bonaventura) Báthori is in Transylvania, so there is nobody to soothe the nation. King Ferdinand I also knows what György Bebek has done recently. However, Oláh is very worried that from the cannons that were taken to Eger last summer, according to István Mekcsey's report, only four smaller ones and five bigger ones are still there, the rest have been taken to Transylvania, Szolnok, and who knows where else. Oláh has ordered Dobó to recruit another 100 infantrymen. 3. He has read out Báthori's letter to Maximilian and had it translated into Latin, but he forgot to send it to King Ferdinand I, he is sending it now. 4. He is also sending the letter of the Councilors of the Royal Lieutenancy Council in Bratislava, although he only recognizes the seal of the Győr and Zagreb Bishops, he does not think the others are there at all, for example, Mihály Mérey is in Malinovo.

Sacratissima Regia Maiestas, Domine, Domine Clementissime, fidelitatis et servi-  
tiorum meorum humillimam in gratiam Maiestatis Vestrae commendationem!

[1.] Credo serenissimum Maximilianum regem Boemiae etc. filium Sacratissimae  
Maiestatis Vestrae carissimum, dominum meum clementissimum ea, quae ad cancel-  
lariam Germanicam in rebus Hungaricis et Turcicis quotidie veniunt, Sacratissimae 5  
Maiestati Vestrae nota fecisse et facere. Ea vero, quae ad me veniunt, secundum

818,71 1552] corr. ex 1551 819,4 clementissimum] O del. ex clementissimum et

mandatum Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae suae serenitati omnia communico. Quae etiam sua serenitas etsi Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae perscribat, tamen ego quoque volui eidem significare. Ex tribus his copiis litterarum<sup>1</sup> Stephani Dobo<sup>2</sup> praesentibus<sup>3</sup> annexis Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra intelligere dignabitur, quid de bassae Budensis<sup>4</sup> sinistris conatibus scribitur. Ad priores binas ipsius, tametsi antea quoque non intermisimus, quae pro hoc tempore et scribi et ordinari potuerunt. Tamen hodie, cum postremas<sup>4</sup> eius accepissem, serenissimus rex Boemiae me proponente et sollicitante hoc negotium scribi iussit et ad Erasmum Theyffel<sup>5</sup> et ad alios, qui Agriae<sup>6</sup> sunt extra arcem, (nam hi dicuntur palam dicere, quod etiam si obsidatur arx, nollent ad eam ingredi, nam non ad arcem, sed ad campum essent conducti), ut si opus fuerit, ingredientur arcem. Similiter scribitur ad dominos et comitatus illarum partium, ut ipsi quoque solutos aliquos pedites in praesidium arcis mittant, et praeterea secundum ordinationem et conclusionem dietae Posoniensis parati sint et ipsi et personaliter et cum gentibus suis.

[2.] Haec, Domine Clementissime, ita facta sunt hodie, sed deest loco Andreae Bathori nunc in Transsilvania occupati in partibus illis superioribus, qui levet gentes tempore necessitatis. De qua re nuper me ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram scripsisse memini.<sup>7</sup> Bebeck<sup>8</sup> autem quid hactenus fecerit, eadem cognovit. Hoc etiam me anxio, quod ex illis bombardis omnibus, quas Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra aestate superiore vel potius tertia Agriam miserat, non plures quam quatuor falconetas<sup>9</sup> et quintam maiorem paulo Agriae, sicuti his proximis diebus Stephanus Mekczey<sup>10</sup> mihi retulit, reliquerunt. Alias partim in Transsilvaniam, partim ad Zolnok<sup>11</sup> et nescio ad quae alia loca iam pridem illinc abduxerunt. Ego quoque commisi Stephano Dobo, ut ultra illos equites et pedites ordinarios, quos ex proventibus partim episcopatus, partim ex superadditione Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae istic habet, centum pedites ex meis propriis pecuniis conducatur.

[3.] Dominus Andreas Bathori ex Bathor, quas ad me manu sua scripserat litteras Hungarice<sup>12</sup> ante profectionem suam in Transsilvaniam, eas serenissimo regi Boemiae, domino meo clementissimo perlegeram nuper et e lingua Hungarica in Latinam versas dederam. Arbitratus eas suam serenitatem Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae misisse, sed quia id ob plurimas occupationes, ut semper fieri solet, oblivioni datum esse intelligo, misi nunc Maiestati Vestrae, ut intelligere eius querelas dignetur. Et licet tempore ingressus quoque sui in Transsilvaniam litteras suas huc dederit, non tamen ab simili utitur etiam postea querela.

[4.] Praeterea, Sacratissime Rex, hodie litteras<sup>13</sup> etiam dominorum locumtenentis<sup>14</sup> et consiliariorum, qui Posonii sunt, accepi communi nomine subscriptas. Sigillum tamen aliorum non agnovi, quam lauriensis<sup>15</sup> et Zagrabienensis.<sup>16</sup> Praeter enim hos duos

819,39 tempore] *O corr. ex post* 819,39 *sui*] *O corr. ex suum*

819<sup>1</sup> See Ep. 814., Ep. 816., and Ep. 817. 819<sup>2</sup> István Dobó. 819<sup>3</sup> Hadim Ali Pasha. 819<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 817. 819<sup>5</sup> Erasmus Teufel. 819<sup>6</sup> Eger. 819<sup>7</sup> We do not know this letter. 819<sup>8</sup> György Bebek. 819<sup>9</sup> *falconeta*, i.e. 'smaller cannon', see DU CANGE 1883. 819<sup>10</sup> István Mekcsey. 819<sup>11</sup> Szolnok. 819<sup>12</sup> Ep. 813. We only know this letter in Oláh's translation. 819<sup>13</sup> Ep. 818. 819<sup>14</sup> Ferenc Révay. 819<sup>15</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. 819<sup>16</sup> Pál Gregorjányczy.



alios consiliarios ordinarios nunc Posonii neminem esse audio. Merey<sup>17</sup> est in castello suo Eberhard prorogatis iam pridem iudiciis. Nos eos huc vocamus, ipsi vero nos eo 45 vocant. Et quia rogaverunt me, ut apud Sacratissimam Vestram Maiestatem secundum eorum opinionem supplicarem, non putavi esse alienum, si litteras eorum proprias in specie ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram mitterem. Quae gratiose providere dignabitur, quid ulterius sit faciendum. Deus optimus maximus Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram diutissime felicem et incolumem conservare et cito cum omnium 50 rerum prospero tractatu ac fine ad nos reducere dignetur. In cuius gratiam me et fidelia servitia mea iterum atque iterum unice commendo.

Ex Vienna 17. Iunii anno 1552.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor et capellanus Agriensis etc. manu propria 55

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae maiestati regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Boemiae etc. domino, domino meo clementissimo.

820

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 20 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B., fol. 144.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He will learn from Maximilian's letter what he has written in response to Bertalan Horváth's supplicatio, but Horváth is expecting an answer from King Ferdinand I, not Maximilian. He says that he will not go to Gyula, where Giovanni Battista Castaldo had sent him and where his station is, until he knows his family is safe. Oláh is asking King Ferdinand I to respond to Horváth, whose service is very important and indispensable now.*

Sacratissima Regia Maiestas Domine, Domine Clementissime, post orationum et fidelium servitorum meorum in gratiam Maiestatis Vestrae commendationem!

Cognoscet Sacra Maiestas Vestra ex litteris serenissimi regis Maximiliani etc., domini mei clementissimi, quid serenitas sua penes supplicationem Bartholomei Horwath<sup>1</sup> in commendationem eiusdem scribat. Cum autem idem Bartholomeus Horwath responsum se Vestrae Maiestatis hic exspectare velle dixerit, propterea quod non prius ad Gyula,<sup>2</sup> unde per dominum Castaldum<sup>3</sup> dimissus est, et ubi stationem cum gentibus suis habet, redire se posse affirmet, quam uxorem et familiam in aperto plane loco nunc degentem in tuto collocarit, eoque facto liberius se in posterum servitiis Maiestatis Vestrae vacaturum asserat, volui paucis et ipse supplicare Vestrae Maiestati, dignetur virum hunc, cuius servitus hoc maxime tempore est summe necessaria, cito gratioseque responso absolvere in his, de quibus eidem supplicavit, diutius 10

819<sup>17</sup> Mihály Mérey. 820<sup>1</sup> Bertalan Horváth was Captain of (Balassa)gyarmat, serving with 25–100 equestrians in the 1552 Transylvanian campaign in Košice, Gyula, and Oradea, see H. NÉMETH 2000, 218. 820<sup>2</sup> Gyula. 820<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo.

etenim eum hic teneri, negotiis partium inferiorum curae suae commissis nequaquam  
conducere existimo, uti Maiestas Vestra facile intelligit. Quam Deus optimus maximus  
15 felicem et incolumem quam diutissime servare dignetur.

Datum Vienna die vigesimo mensis Iunii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo  
quinquagesimo secundo.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor

Agriensis etc. manu propria

20 [On the outer side:] Sacratissimae Romanorum, Hungariae, Boemiae etc. regiae ma-  
iestati domino, domino meo clementissimo.

821

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 23 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B., fol. 148–149.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

1. Maximilian told Oláh three days ago to summarize what is to know about András (Bonaventura) Báthori's  
appointment as Voivode of Transylvania, then he ordered him to write this to King Ferdinand I, he is attaching  
a copy of the decree regarding Báthori. Báthori has also requested 100 horsemen for himself in addition to 200  
soldiers ordered for him, and another 200 for his brother, Miklós Báthori. Oláh does not know what answer King  
Ferdinand I gave to this, but Báthori says it was positive. King Ferdinand I has yielded the incomes of Tasnád  
to Báthori for one year, until he gets his possessions back. Oláh had never heard about the silver platter that  
belonged to the late George Martinuzzi, which Báthori received. 2. He believes that Maximilian has already  
informed King Ferdinand I about the Hungarian affairs. They are fortifying Veszprém and its surrounding area,  
and it would be more than desirable for King Ferdinand I to return.

Sacratissime Rex Domine, Domine Clementissime, post orationum et fidelium  
servitiorum meorum in gratiam Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae commendationem!

[1.] Mandavit mihi hoc triduo serenissimus rex Maximilianus, dominus meus  
clementissimus, ut sibi ea, quae mihi constarent de ordinatione cum domino Bathory<sup>1</sup>  
5 super vaivodatu Transsilvaniensi facta, explicarem. Quae cum serenitati suae enarras-  
sem, iussit eadem mihi, ut ad Maiestatem Vestram Sacram perscriberem. Mitto igitur  
cum praesentibus exemplum ordinationis cum eodem domino Bathory factae. Extra  
quam ordinationem petebat idem adhuc centum equites ad personam suam, ultra  
scilicet ducentos eos, qui in ordinationem continentur, atque insuper ducentos alios  
10 equites pro fratre suo Nicolao Bathory.<sup>2</sup> De quibus cuiusmodi responsum ei datum  
fuerit a Vestra Maiestate, mihi non constat, affirmat ipse quidem dominus Bathory,

820,18–19 Eiusdem ... propria] O add.

821 <sup>1</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 821 <sup>2</sup> Miklós Báthori.

per dominos Nadasdy<sup>3</sup> ac episcopum Nitriensem<sup>4</sup> sibi super his quoque optatum a Vestra Maiestate datum fuisse responsum, nam per eos dominos tractatur cum ipso habiti fuerant nomine Vestrae Maiestatis.

Concessit praeterea Maiestas Vestra ipsi domino Bathory curiam de Thasnad<sup>5</sup> cum 15 omnibus proventibus ad unum annum, donec videlicet arx Zomzedwar<sup>6</sup> reliquaue bona illa sibi et fratribus per Maiestatem Vestram liberentur.

De scutellis autem argenteis quondam Fratris Georgii<sup>7</sup> per Maiestatem Vestram eidem domino Bathory datis, mihi nihil antea est auditum. Alia, quae de his ad Maiestatem Vestram scriberem, non habui. 20

[2.] De statu rerum Hungaricarum nihil ad Maiestatem Vestram scribo, neque enim dubito, quin serenissimus rex Maximilianus de his omnibus copiose ad eam scribat. Video certe et circa Wesprimium<sup>8</sup> et alibi omnia fere loca finitima firmioribus egere praesidiis ac tum hac tum aliis de causis felicem Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae reditum non mediocriter esse necessarium; confido autem eandem et ista satis intelligere, 25 et cum primum potuerit ad fideles suos in haec loca reversuram. Dominus Deus servet Sacram Maiestatem Vestram felicem et incolumem quam diutissime.

Viennae die vigesimo tertio mensis Iunii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo secundo.  
Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humilis et fidelis servitor 30  
Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae Romanorum Hungariae, Bohemiae etc. regiae maiestati domino, domino meo clementissimo.

822

Chapter of Oradea to Miklós Oláh  
Oradea, 25 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA Misc. Fasc. 425. Konv. B., fol. 24.

*Published:* BUNYITAY 1883, 385–386; BUNYITAY 1887, 397–398.

*In Hungarian:* BUNYITAY 1883, 385. [regesta]; BUNYITAY 1887, 397. [regesta]

*Notes:* Original letter, seal is missing.

1. *The Chapter of Oradea reports to Oláh that the Lutherans have come to Oradea after István Losonczy banned them from Pâncota, and they are threatening the unity of faith in the city. 2. They have not received any help, or at least the right to take action against them, from any secular leader, not even András (Bonaventura) Báthori. The Lutherans have already taken over several parishes, and they have thrown out the priests. They ask Oláh to intercede with the King so he intervenes in time, lest this epidemic spreads even further.*

821,13 dominos ] *scr add.* 821,30–31 Eiusdem ... propria ] *O add.*

821<sup>3</sup> Tamás Nadasdy. 821<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Thurzó. 821<sup>5</sup> Tășnad. 821<sup>6</sup> Szomszédvár, today: Susedgrad.  
821<sup>7</sup> George Martinuzzi. 821<sup>8</sup> Veszprém.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine nobis Gratosissime, post humillima orationum  
nostrarum in Domino devotarum suffragia, obsequiorumque nostrorum promptam  
subiectionem!

[1.] Inter plurima mala, quae nos hoc turbulentissimo tempore undique pertur-  
bant, libentissime ac summa cum fidutia ad Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram  
tamquam ad sacram anchoram sacerdotii dignitatis confugimus omnes post gratosis-  
simam sacrae maiestatis tutelam, quam non ambigimus unacum eadem Reverendis-  
sima Dominatione Vestra protectionem nostram gratiose velle suscipere et gratosius  
nos capellanos suos in suam tutelam susceptos conservare cupere.

10 Temeraria ac caeca perversitas Lutheranorum, quos his proximis tantum diebus  
magnificus dominus Stephanus Lossoncy<sup>1</sup> expulsos de oppido suo Pankotha<sup>2</sup> profugos  
ac divagos fecit, civitatem Waradiensem<sup>3</sup> invasit virus<sup>4</sup> perversae suae doctrinae  
nunc clam, nunc palam per singulas domos infundendo. Non desunt iam plerique,  
qui auribus prurientibus ita infecti sunt, ut timendum sit, ne alios nondum adhuc  
15 corruptos brevi tempore corruptissimos reddant, et sanam rempublicam nostram  
hactenus conservatam de meliore fidei conditione deturbent et pessumdent.

[2.] Auxilium autem vel potestatem puniendi pestiferos ipstos Lutheranos a nullo  
principe saeculari habemus, ne ab ipso quidem, qui<sup>5</sup> in regimine episcopatus hic pri-  
mas est, quem quia Lutherani factionis ipsorum persuasionibus favorabilem animad-  
vertunt, audacter undique in rempublicam nostram confluunt, et impune quoscumque  
20 seducunt, plures etiam plebanatus iam nunc turpiter eiectis plebanis sub episcopatu  
Waradiensi occupaverunt, in quibus pro libidine sua Lutheranam tyrannidem exer-  
cent etiam nolente pro maiore parte populo.

Quare Reverendissimae eidem Dominationi Vestrae, velut confidentissimo patro-  
no humillime et devote supplicamus, dignetur in primis ob divinae bonitatis respec-  
tum sacram regiam maiestatem nostri causa in hoc saluberrimo negotio interpellare,  
dignetur sacra sua maiestas mature subvenire, ne contagium hoc Lutheranorum latius  
in dies in cordibus fidelium serpere valeat, quod sua sacra regia maiestas facile nunc  
evitabit, si et mandata sua dederit et mandatis suis potestatem expellendi vel puniendi  
30 Lutheranos uni integerrimo ex fidelibus suis addiderit.

In reliquo, Eandem Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram Deus altissimus diu  
felicem et incolumem nobis conservetur, cui nos humillime iterum atque iterum ex  
animo commendamus.

Datum Waradini sabbato post festum nativitatis beati Ioannis Baptistae anno  
35 Domini 1552.

Eiusdem Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae obsequiosissimi capellani  
capitulum ecclesiae Waradiensis

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822,14 auribus prurientibus] 2Tim4, 3.

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822<sup>1</sup> István Losonczy. 822<sup>2</sup> Pâncota. 822<sup>3</sup> Oradea. 822<sup>4</sup> The Chapter of Oradea calls the Lutheran  
faith a virus or *pestis* (plague) as did his contemporaries, István Brodarics, Chapter of Sibiu, and Camillo  
Ghilino, see KASZA 2012, 92; BUNYITAY-RAPAICS-KARÁCSONYI 1902, 260; SZILÁGYI 2022; in this edition: Ep.  
531. 822<sup>5</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori was Voivode of Transylvania between 1552 and 1553.

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo domino, domino Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi et cancellario sacrae regiae maiestatis Romanorum, domino nobis gratiosissimo.

823

Hungarian Chamber to Milkós Oláh  
Bratislava, 27 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 15 – 1552 – február – No. 10.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*Kamarjay chased them most recently a few days ago, but they could not pay him, in the end Ferenc Újlaki arranged for him to receive 200 florins on the condition that he will be satisfied with it and wait for the King to return and resolve his difficulties. Tamás Kamarjay had already written about these difficulties to the Controller while Albert Peregi was alive, as well as to the late Pál Várday, so that Várday and Oláh can inform the King about it together. However, as far as they can see, nothing has been done about it, so they are asking Oláh to get an answer from the King, although the Chamber cannot meet such a debt because it has hardly any revenue.*

Ad dominum cancellarium.

Reverendissime Domine, Domine et Patrone Observandissime, servitiorum nostrorum commendationem!

Proxime praeteritis diebus cum instaret nobis dominus Thomas Kamariai<sup>1</sup> et propter causas eas, quae certa descriptione contuentur, nihil ei numerare possemus, 5 effecit tandem reverendissimus dominus laurensis<sup>2</sup> locumtenens regiae maiestatis, ut Florenorum ducentos daremus ea lege, ut contentus his exspectaret reditum simul et resolutionem regiae maiestatis, domini nostri clementissimi de difficultatibus illis descriptis, quas olim vivente quondam reverendo domino Alberto praeposito<sup>3</sup> Camerae praefecto dominus magister rationum<sup>4</sup> conscripserat, ac reverendissimo olim domino 10 Strigoniensi<sup>5</sup> privatim ita dederat, ut ille una cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra maiestatem regiam de illis informaret ac resolutionem suae maiestatis scripto ad Cameram daret. Nondum autem intelligimus ullam esse difficultatem illarum resolutionum factam et nihilominus dominus Kamariai nos urget immemor conditionis sibi coram domino locumtenente declaratae. Rogamus praeterim Reverendissimam 15 Dominationem Vestram, ut ubi maiestas regia sacra redierit, velit a sua maiestate certum responsum accipere, stantibus enim et non resolutis illis difficultatibus antiquis non habet Camera modum, quo ipsi Camariai satisficiat, licet alioqui ex pecunia contributionis (quae rebus turbatis spe omnium minor esse cepit) nihil in huiusmodi vetera debita solvi posset. Maiestate regia hoc ipsum expresse prohibere, 20

823,5 numerare ] *auth corr.* ex dare 823,6 ut ] *auth del.* ex ut sub 823,11 una ] *auth add.* 823,12 maiestatis ] *auth del.* ex maiestatis ea re de 823,13–14 resolutionum ] *auth corr.* ex resolutioni 823,17 stantibus ] *auth del.* ex stantibus siquidem

823<sup>1</sup> Tamás Kamarjay. 823<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Újlaki. 823<sup>3</sup> Albert Peregi died in 1546. 823<sup>4</sup> Ferenc Kisserényi (†ca.1560) was Pál Várday's retainer (*familiaris*) and a Controller of the Hungarian Chamber in 1528–1529 and 1531–1549, see SZABÓ-TURÁKNÉ PÓKA 2021, 261–262; and REMETE 1963, 145. 823<sup>5</sup> Pál Várday died in 1549.

ceteri autem proventus Camerae, hoc est tricesimales, adeo sunt tenues, ut vix ad quotidianas et occidentales necessitates sufficiant. Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram optamus valere feliciter.

Posonii die 27. Iunii anno Domini 1552.

25 Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae deditissimi servitores

[On the outer side:] Ad dominum cancellarium.

824

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 28 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B., fol. 166.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Two loyal servitors have arrived, Ferenc Kisserényi and László Mossóczy, asking him to recommend to his attention their case in the attached supplicatio and to intercede on their behalf. Since he has found them to be loyal and diligent, he asks the King to listen to their supplicatio graciously and donate the estates they are asking for to them.*

Sacratissima Maiestas Regia Domine, et Domine Clementissime, post fidelium servitorum meorum in gratiam Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis humillimam commendationem!

Venerunt ad me duo boni et fideles Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis servitores, 5 Franciscus videlicet Seryeny<sup>1</sup> consiliarius et Ladislaus litteratus de Mossowcz<sup>2</sup> rationista camerae Eiusdem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis Ungaricae petentes me, ut negotium illorum, quod in supplicatione<sup>3</sup> praesentibus annexa comprehenderunt, eidem Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestati commendarem, et pro eo obtinendo intercederem. Quoniam vero servitia, fidelitatem et diligentiam utriusque illorum in negotiis 10 Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestatis iamdiu perspectam habeo et dignos illos existimo, quos Vestra Sacratissima Maiestas sua gratia prosequatur, unde humillime eidem supplico, dignetur preces et supplicationem illorum clementer exaudire, et bona, pro quibus supplicant, regia sua gratia et clementia illis gratiose donare, ut eo ferventius servitiis Vestrae Sacratissimae Maiestati insistere possint. Deus optimus maximus 15 servet eandem Vestram Sacratissimam Maiestatem sanam et incolumem, per longa tempora.

Datum Viennae 28. mensis Iunii 1552.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humilis et fidelis servitor

Agriensis manu propria

823,22 necessitates] *auth del. ex necessitates expeditum* 824,18–19 Eiusdem ... propria ] *O add.*

824<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Kisserényi. 824<sup>2</sup> László Mossóczy (†1575) was a Controller of the Hungarian Chamber. See more IVÁNYI 1926, 4–6. 824<sup>3</sup> See their supplicatio: ÖStA HHStA UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B. fol. 167. Kisserényi and Mossóczy asked to receive vacant Kiskaba, see IVÁNYI 1926, 6.

502

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae Romanorum Ungariae Bohemiae etc. regiae maiestati domino et domino clementissimo.

825

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 28 June 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 66. Konv. A., fol. 111.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*1. Since at Maximilian's order someone had to be sent to Mihály Perényi's wedding on his behalf, he sent Mihály Révay, who also went to Košice on his way home, and King Ferdinand I will learn from Ferenc Révay's attached letter what he heard from György Serédy. 2. In addition, the Provost of Leles was also here, and he says that Petrovics sent three legates to Poland recently, but they made a detour to Lelesz, and one of them, called Ördög, talked to the Provost, but he could not find out why they were going to Poland.*

Sacratissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, orationum devotarum et fidelium servitorum humillimam commendationem!

[1.] Cum his diebus ex mandato serenissimi regis Maximiliani, domini mei clementissimi ad nuptias magnifici Michaelis de Peren<sup>1</sup> aliquem nuntium de more, nomine Vestrae Maiestatis suaeque serenitatis deligere me oportuisset, nemineque alio se-  
tum offerente egregium Michaellem de Rewa,<sup>2</sup> filium videlicet domini Reway<sup>3</sup> in aulam  
Vestrae Maiestatis commendatum eo dimissem. Isque in reditu ex illis partibus  
Cassowiam<sup>4</sup> divertisset, ibi quae ex domino Georgio Seredy<sup>5</sup> intellexit, cognoscet  
Maiestas Vestra ex hac praesentibus inclusa scriptura, manu eiusdem Michaelis de  
Rewa confecta,<sup>6</sup> quae mihi pro mei officii ratione ad Maiestatem Vestram visa sunt  
perscribenda.

[2.] Venit praeterea hodie huc praepositus de Lelez<sup>7</sup> narravitque mihi proximis  
diebus ex Transsylvania tres nuntios in Poloniam ad Petrowyth<sup>8</sup> euntes in itinere ad  
Lelez<sup>9</sup> divertisse, et ex his unum cognomento Ewrdeg,<sup>10</sup> cuius frater superiori anno  
in Transsylvania vivente adhuc Fratre Georgio<sup>11</sup> fuerat interfectus, in arcem ad ipsum  
praepositum ascendisse, secumque esse colloctum, sed se nulla ratione elicere ab  
eo potuisse, quid negotii acturi in Poloniam proficiscantur. Quod item ad Vestram  
Maiestatem volui pro debito officii mei perscribere. Servet eandem summus Deus  
felicem et incolumem quam ditissime.

Viennae die decimo octavo mensis Iulii anno Domini 1552.

20

825<sup>1</sup> Mihály Perényi (†1557), *ispán* of Zemplén married Lukács Székely's daughter, Katalin Székely of Ormosd and Kövend (†1587) on 3 July, 1552, see SZABÓ-HANÁK 2021, 125; and KOVACHICH 1798, 93.  
825<sup>2</sup> Mihály Révay. 825<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Révay. 825<sup>4</sup> Košice. 825<sup>5</sup> György Serédy. 825<sup>6</sup> For a copy of Révay's report, see ÖStA HHStA UA AA Fasc. 66. Konv. A. fol. 112–113. 825<sup>7</sup> György Bódy was Provost of Leles between 1547 and 1557, see PANKOVICS 2013, 21. 825<sup>8</sup> Péter Petrovics. 825<sup>9</sup> Leles. 825<sup>10</sup> Ördög or Eördögh. We do not know him more closely. 825<sup>11</sup> George Martinuzzi was killed on 17 December, 1551.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et oboediens servitor

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae Romanorum Hungariae Bohemiae etc. regiae maiestati domino, domino meo clementissimo.

826

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 10 July 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA Misc. Fasc. 425., fol. 25rv, 28.

*Notes:* Original letter with autograph emendations, signature, and seal.

1. He will learn from Maximilian's letter what István Losonczy has reported. They have received King Ferdinand I's draft written to the estates about where and when the armed forces should gather; the formula is ready, and as soon as Maximilian and the councilors approve, these letters will be hopefully ready by tomorrow. Maximilian and King Ferdinand I both warned him about the number of parchments sent to him; if they had sent him more, it would not be a problem because then he would be able to inform them better about the everyday matters. He has to note that the estates are discontent because King Ferdinand I is away and Maximilian's trip to Hungary is also in doubt. 2. The Chapter of Oradea is complaining about the Lutherans in his attached letter, and he is also sending what he has heard from the Provost of Oradea so that he knows in what grave danger not only Oradea and its surrounding area but all of Transylvania is.

Sacra Maiestas Regiae Domine, Domine Clementissime! Orationum devotarum et fidelium servitorum meorum in gratiam Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae humillimam commendationem!

[1.] Cognoscet Vestra Sacra Maiestas ex litteris serenissimi regis Maximiliani, domini mei clementissimi, quid dominus Losonczy<sup>1</sup> huc proxime nuntiarit,<sup>2</sup> quid vicissim serenitas sua ei rescripserit, non dubito, quin Maiestas Vestra ad negotia ea sit curam adhibitura. Ceterum acceptis proximis litteris Maiestatis Vestrae super expeditione litterarum regalium ad status et ordines regni, quibus de die et loco ad conveniendum armati admonentur, confecta litterarum formula, quae serenissimo regi Maximiliano et his dominis consiliariis, qui hic sunt, probata est, litterae conscribi coeptae sunt perficienturque, ut spero ad summum in crastinum diem. Nam propter subscriptionem manus Vestrae Maiestatis selectos quosdam tantummodo scribas meos adhiberi oportuit, ut apposite scriptura in membranis cedat. Qua autem forma litterae expeditae sint, Sacra Maiestas Vestra ex earum exemplo 15 praesentibus incluso cognoscere dignabitur. Admonuit autem me et serenissimus rex Maximilianus, dominus meus clementissimus et ipsae quoque litterae Vestrae Maiestatis de numero membranarum ad me missarum, qua in re nihil erat, quod

825,21–22 Eiusdem ... propria] *O add.*

826<sup>1</sup> István Losonczy. 826<sup>2</sup> See Losonczy's letter to King Maximilian II on 29 June, 1552: ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B. fol. 176–177.



Maiestatem Vestram ista sollicitudo urgeret, aut eadem quicquam dubitaret. Nam si etiam plures mittere dignata fuisset membranas, non fieret error, ceteris in rebus, quae 20  
occurrunt, scio Maiestatem Vestram in dies hinc fieri certiolem. Hoc tamen et ego  
nolui praetermittere, omnes status et ordines regni, tum propter absentiam Vestrae  
Maiestatis, tum quod in serenissimi regis Maximiliani in Hungariam profectioe  
dubitant, in hunc diem male contentos fuisse, ac prope in desperationem incidisse,  
haec tamen omnia Maiestati Vestrae satis curae esse non dubito. Servet eandem Deus  
optimus maximus duitissime felicem et incolumem, in cuius gratiam me et humillima 25  
mea servitia iterum atque iterum unice commendo.

Ex Vienna 10. die Iulii anno Domini 1552.

[2.] Dum iam has obsignare vellem, capituli ecclesiae Waradiensis nuntius huc ad me venit, per quem multa detestanda et enormia de Lutheranis mihi nuntiarunt, miserunt tamen et has litteras, Ep. 822. quas in specie ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem 30  
Vestram misi. Supervenit etiam praepositus Orodienis,<sup>3</sup> qui tum Waradini, tum in aliis partium inferiorum locis versatus multa mihi narravit, quo cum nonnulla, quae verbis dixit, in scripta redigi iussi. Ea quoque Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae misi, ut intelligere dignaretur, quibus in periculis religio Christiana etiam in Hungaria ver-  
setur, non modo in Waradiensis diocesi, cuius Warkocz<sup>4</sup> Lutheranus nunc propositus 35  
est, sed etiam in aliis. Nam et ex Transsylvania et ex aliis episcopatum aliorum locis quotidie non absimilia et adferuntur et dicuntur. His ita existentibus vereor, ne Deus magis quam nunc irascatur nobis, et auxilium gratiamque suam abstrahat a nobis. Haec Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae ex mea primum in Deum pietate, tandem in Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram fide atque officio paucis volui significare, dignetur 40  
providere gratiose, ne tam blasphema in Deum committi possint. Nam alioquin brevi futurum arbitror, nisi provideatur in tempore, quod Catholica religio in Hungaria inter plebem et rara erit et contemptui omnium exposita.

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor

Agriensis etc. 45

[Enormia facta et dicta haereticorum in diocesi Varadiensis ecclesiae manentium. Narratio Georgii Drascowits praepositi Orodienis 10. Iulii Vienna facta 1552.]<sup>5</sup>

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae Romanorum Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. regiae maiestati etc. domino, domino meo semper clementissimo.

826,21 praetermittere] *O del. ex praetermittere quod* 826,22 quod in] *O corr. ex propter* 826,22 profectioe] *O corr. ex profecturum* 826,28–43 Dum... exposita] *O add.* 826,40 volui] *O add.* 826,44–45 Eiusdem ... etc.] *O add.*

826<sup>3</sup> György Draskovich. 826<sup>4</sup> Tamás Varkocs. 826<sup>5</sup> See BUNYITAY 1887, 398–399; and BUNYITAY 1883, 386–388.

Miklós Oláh, Pál Gregorjáczy, Pál Bornemissza, Ferenc Batthyány,  
and Mihály Mérey to King Ferdinand I  
Vienna, 10 July 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 66. Konv. A., fol. 72–73.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures and seal.

*King Ferdinand I will understand from Maximilian's letter in what cases István Losonczy has submitted supplications. Although they know King Ferdinand I would also give a gracious response on his own, they ask him to do so and give him what he is asking for because he is not undeserving of it.*

Sacra Regia Maiestas Domine, Domine Clementissime, fidelium servitorum nostrorum humillimam commendationem!

Intelliget Sacra Maiestas Vestra ex litteris serenissimi regis Maximiliani, domini nostri clementissimi, quibus de rebus dominus Losonczy<sup>1</sup> per suum internuntium huc missum supplicet.<sup>2</sup> Tametsi igitur nobis dubium non erat, quin Sacra Vestra Maiestas petitionibus eiusdem domini Losonczy accedente imprimis intercessione, serenissimi regis filii sui, clementer esset responsura, petente id tamen a nobis non tam ipso domino Losonczy, quam causa ipsa, facere non potuimus, quin ea qua debemus summisionem, supplicemus Vestrae Maiestati, dignetur postulationibus eiusdem domini Losonczy benignum dare responsum, et ea illi concedere, quae petit, neque enim in his quicquam est eiusmodi quod non merito videatur a Vestra Maiestate posse impetrare. Quod si et rerum ac temporum spectetur status, et in quantum discrimen ipse dominus Losonczy pro Vestrae Maiestatis regnique ac reipublicae Christianae servitio se coniecerit, quantoque in periculo versetur, diligentius secum Maiestas Vestra reputarit, uti eandem facere non dubitamus. Longe ille ampliori etiam gratia et munificentia Vestrae Maiestatis dignus iudicabitur, neque dubium est, quin his, quae petit, impetratis, et ipse et ceteri sui similes ad omnia intrepide pro Vestra Maiestate subeunte reddantur alacriores. Dominus Deus servet Maiestatem Vestram felicem et incolumem quam diutissime.

20 Viennae die 10. Iulii anno Domini 1552.

Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelissimi servitores

Agriensis etc. manu propria

Zagrabiensis<sup>3</sup>

Vesprimiensis<sup>4</sup>

25 Franciscus de Batian manu propria<sup>5</sup>

Merey manu propria<sup>6</sup>

827,22 Agriensis ... propria ] *O add.* 827,23 Zagrabiensis ] *auth add.* 827,24 Vesprimiensis ] *auth add.* 827,25 Franciscus ... propria ] *auth add.* 827,26 Merey ... propria ] *auth add.*

827<sup>1</sup> István Losonczy. 827<sup>2</sup> See Losonczy's *supplicatio* to King Maximilian II on 29 June, 1552, ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 64. Konv. B. fol. 176–177. 827<sup>3</sup> Pál Gregorjáczy. 827<sup>4</sup> Pál Bornemissza. 827<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Batthyány. 827<sup>6</sup> Mihály Mérey.

828

Miklós Oláh to György Seged  
Vienna, 20 August 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 204 – No. 742.  
*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*They have to discuss the matters which Seged has written about, as well as others, so he asks him to get on a carriage without delay and come to Oláh.*

Egregie Domine<sup>1</sup> et Amice nobis Honorande, salutem!

Habemus vobiscum tum de his negotiis, de quibus nobis scripseratis, tum etiam aliis rebus in vestrum commodum spectandum tractare, proinde rogamus vos, ut acceptis praesentibus sine ulla mora in kochy<sup>2</sup> huc ad nos venire velitis, secus ne feceritis. 5

Datum Viennae vigesima mensis Augusti 1552.

Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Egregio domino Georgio Seged de Gwnyaffalwa etc. amico nobis honorando.

829

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Vienna, 21 August [1552]

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34405.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal. Dating based on the signature, i.e. 1552 is the last year of Oláh's tenure as Bishop of Eger.

*He understands what Kristóf Batthyány wrote, and he has sent the prepared letter to the King. He has spoken about the other cases with Ferenc Batthyány, who said he would make sure the estates are prised from Pálffy's hands. Until then Ferenc Batthyány will cover the income those estates would yield that year.*

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorande, salutem!

Ea, de quibus Dominatio Vestra nobis scripsit, intelleximus, litteras regiae maiestatis pro Dominatione Vestra necessarias expeditas ad eam misimus. De aliis rebus locuti fuimus nuper cum domino Francisco Bathyany,<sup>1</sup> qui respondit se curaturum esse, ut bona de manu Laurentii litterati Pálffy<sup>2</sup> liberentur. Quae etiam in praesentia liberari non possunt, se tamen daturum esse Dominationi Vestrae tantum, quantum proventus bonorum illorum hoc anno facerent. Dominationem Vestra bene valere optamus.

828,7 Agriensis ... propria ] *O add.*

828<sup>1</sup> György Seged of Gunyafalva was a nobleman with possessions in Sopron county, as well as Provisor of Szigetvár castle, see KOPPÁNY 2014, 228. 828<sup>2</sup> Hungarian word *kocsi* meaning 'carriage'. 829<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Batthyány. 829<sup>2</sup> Lőrinc Pálffy († after 1557), often called *litteratus*, a prosecutor and a magistrate of the Royal Court, see NAGY 1862, 39.

Datum Viennae 21. Augusti.

Vester Agriensis etc. propria manu

10 [On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophoro de Bathyan, magistro pincernarum regiae maiestatis etc. domino et amico nobis honorandissimo.

830

Miklós Oláh to Hungarian Chamber  
Vienna, 27 September 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 41 – 1552 – No. 129.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

1. He has received their letter, in which they reject Oláh's indignation in terms of both his salary and the collection of the tithes of Sáros and Bereg counties. They have not responded to the letter he had sent to them though, although it is free from indignation, he simply asks them not to send instalments but send his annual salary in one go instead because he is strapped for cash. 2. As for the tithe, he does not like that while Eger is the protector of Sárospatak, Košice, and all of the surrounding area, they are even taking money from him when he needs further reinforcements. As for Sáros, János Dessewffy knows quite well that there were some who offered 1,200 florins for the tithe, and Werner was not so enthusiastic about fortifying the Eger castle, either. 3. He especially does not understand what they do not understand about the Bereg tithe because he had the right to give half of it to his relative, and without it Khust and Maramureş cannot be defended. So he is asking them to pay him his full year's salary, as well as the rent of Sáros and Bereg counties.

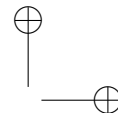
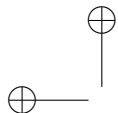
Egregii Domini et Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

[1.] Reddidit nobis puer domini Desewffy<sup>1</sup> proximas litteras Dominationum Vestrarum, quibus indignationem deprecantur, quam contra ipsas per nos conceptam ex eodem domino Desewffy cognovissent, et simul se tum de salario nostro, tum  
5 vero de arenda decimarum comitatum Saros et Bereg excusant. Nobis, cum diebus proximis ad Dominationes Vestras de his negotiis nostris litteras dedissem, mirum quidem visum fuerat nullum ab ipsis relatam esse responsum. Indignatio tamen nulla fuit manetque constans erga Dominationes Vestras amicitia et benevolentia nostra. Cum autem de salario persolvendo nunc ita scribant, ut proxime tantum angariae  
10 videantur stipendium esse soluturæ, petimus ab eisdem diligenter, ut non angariae solum, sed reliquum huius totius anni ad nos salarium mittant, nam quod omnibus undique redditibus hoc tempore destituto sumptuum inopia magnopere premamur, possunt Dominationes Vestrae facile cogitare.

[2.] Quod vero ad decimas attinet, non potest profecto nobis non displicere et  
15 simul etiam admirationem afferre, cum Agria<sup>2</sup> non solum arcis Saros,<sup>3</sup> verum etiam

829,9 Vester ... manu] *O add.* 830,4 cognovissent] *scr del.* ex cognovissent deprecantur

830<sup>1</sup> János Dessewffy (1500–1568) was Royal Counselor, Steward (*magister curiae regiae*) from 1554, President of the Royal Chamber from 1557, and *ispán* of Pozsega county, see VARJÚ 1903, 79–80. 830<sup>2</sup> Eger. 830<sup>3</sup> Sárospatak castle.



Cassoviae<sup>4</sup> atque omnis adeo istius regni partis superioris praecipuum sit propugnaculum, cumque facile constet, quantis et quam gravibus sumptibus arx Agriensis et antea sit conservata, et si (quod speramus) divina nunc ope gravem istam obsidionem evadat, imposterum et conservanda et reparanda et firmanda sit omni genere munitio-  
nis ac praesidii exiguos famem eos redditus, quod turbulentis his temporibus reliqui 20  
sunt, distrahi et in usum vel arcis Saros vel urbis Cassoviae converti, cum plane liqueat  
amissam arcem Saros integra Agria posse recuperari, sed non e contra, ac proinde  
non modo nihil ex redditibus Agriensibus ab Agria alienari oportere, sed aliunde  
etiam omnibus viribus ad eius conservationem munitioemque esse prospiciendum.  
Et quod ad numerum arendae ipsius decimae comitatus Saros attinet, constat domino 25  
Desewffy non defuisse hic eo praesente, qui mille ducentos Florenos pro ea decima  
offerrent, ut satis propterea mirari non possimus dominum Wernerum,<sup>5</sup> veterem  
amicum nostrum ita se in isto negotio vel nostri vel arcis Agriensis commodi ac  
conservationis parum cupidum ostendere. Nam quod ex rationibus tandem deduci  
posse Dominationes Vestrae scribunt, si quid in partem nostram supplendum foret, 30  
non videmus quonam pacto id fieri queat, cum ex tribus proventuum Agriensium  
partibus in suum qualibet usum designatis nihil ita deduci queat, quin quod deducitur  
ex una in altera necessaria deficiat, ac proinde tum mirari ea, quae in hac decimarum  
administratione vel potius usurpatione fiunt, non parum cogimur, tum vero est, quod  
nostrorum temporum statum, simul et exiguam in animis nostrorum hominum pie- 35  
tatem et religionem deploremus, quando licere sibi quisque ecclesiasticos proventus  
pro suo arbitratu dissipare et auferre facile existimat.

[3.] De decima comitatus Bereg quid item factum nostrum Dominationes Vestrae improbare debuerint, non videmus, cum nobis pro iure nostro licuerit eius decimae parte dimidiam affini nostro concedere et alioquin etiam castrum Hwzzth<sup>6</sup> et Mara- 40  
marosium<sup>7</sup> sine illis decimis facile provideri possit. Neque unquam (quod quidem nos sciamus), excepto hoc biennio decimae istae eo fuerint conductae. Quare petimus a Dominationibus Vestris, ut et salarium reliqui huius anni, simul et arendam superioris ac praesentis anni comitatum Saros et Bereg nobis persolvi curent. Quod nos omni 45  
amicitia et fraternitate a Dominationibus Vestris promerebimur et scripta haec nostra  
in bonam partem accipiant, valeantque feliciter.

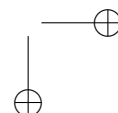
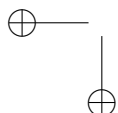
Viennae die 27. Octobris 1552.

Vester uti frater Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Egregiis dominis consiliariis camerae Hungaricae sacrae regiae maiestatis etc. dominis et amicis honorandis. 50

830,45 promerebimur ] *O del. ex promerebimur tam* 830,48 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

830<sup>4</sup> Košice. 830<sup>5</sup> Georg Werner. 830<sup>6</sup> Khust. 830<sup>7</sup> Maramureş.



Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Vienna, 11 November 1552

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 31.

*Notes:* Original, partly autograph letter with signature and seal.

*Nádasdy asked Oláh to draw up the royal deed for Kynsberg, which he would gladly do, but Nádasdy should know that the scribes are busy with distributing the soldiers' payment in his Győr tents. In addition, Orsolya Oláh writes that the wine cellar is done, although there is no wine in it yet. The King is expecting an answer in Gábor Pekry and Gáspár Móré's case, about which he wrote a few days ago. Eger is still in danger.*

Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine, Amice et uti Frater Honorandissime, salutem et servitorum nostrorum commendationem!

Rogatos nos habuit per suas litteras Spectabilis et Magnifica Dominatio Vestra, ut litteras donationales sacrae maiestatis regiae, domini nostri clementissimi super non-  
5 nullis bonis magnifico domino Kynspergh<sup>1</sup> collatis, idque gratis, expedire faceremus. Spectabilis et Magnifica Dominatio Vestra certo sibi persuaderet nos libenter et Dominationi Vestrae et eiusdem amicis velle gratificari. Scire tamen volumus Spectabilem et Magnificam Dominationem Vestram, scribarum hic sub tentoriis negotium non aliter  
se habere atque istic in castris Vestris sub Iaurino<sup>2</sup> positis stipendiariorum Vestrorum.  
10 Praeterea soror nostra<sup>3</sup> dicit iam cellam vinariam perfectam esse, sed nihil in ea vini contineri. In reliquo, Dominationem Vestram Magnificam feliciter valere optamus.

Viennae 11. die Novembris 1552.

Maiestas regia, dominus noster clementissimus exspectat responsum Dominationis Vestrae in negotio Gabrielis Pekry<sup>4</sup> et Gasparis More,<sup>5</sup> in quo proximis diebus litteras sua maiestas per postham ad Dominationem Vestram dedit. De rebus aliis coram  
15 literas sua maiestas per postham ad Dominationem Vestram dedit. De rebus aliis coram plura loquemur. Agria adhuc esset in periculo, tarda exercitus nostri et consultatione et motione, nisi Deus primum sua misericordia et potentia, deinde virtute proborum servitorum meorum et aliorum, qui in ea fuerunt, liberasset.

Frater et servitor Agriensis

20 [On the outer side:] Spectabili et magnifico domino comiti Thomae de Nadasd perpetuo terrae Fogaras, et comitatus Castriferrei comiti, iudici curiae necnon supremo regni Hungariae capitaneo, ac maiestatis regiae consiliario etc. domino et amico nobis honorandissimo.

831,13–18 Maiestas ... liberasset ] *O add.* 831,17 et potentia ] *O add.* 831,19 Frater ... Agriensis ] *O add.*

831<sup>1</sup> Probably Honorius Königsberg. He was Royal Commissioner in 1555 with András (Bonaventura) Báthori in Košice, see H. NÉMETH 1997, 148. 831<sup>2</sup> Győr. 831<sup>3</sup> Orsolya Oláh. 831<sup>4</sup> Gábor Pekry was Captain of Szolnok castle from 1551, see ILLÉSY 1893, 663; and BENEDEK 2007, 165. 831<sup>5</sup> Gáspár Móré also was Vice-captain of Szolnok castle, see ILLÉSY 1893, 658–661; and BENEDEK 2007, 159–161. Because of the fall of Szolnok, Móré was caught up in a trial of treachery, see SZENDREI 1889, 129–140.

Miklós Oláh to Trnava Town Council  
Vienna, 18 November 1552

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Altaristica

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh recommends doctor Pietro Illicino to the Trnava Town Council, whose every desire is to get one of the houses next to the Saint Nicolas Church. Oláh recommends Illicino to their attention due to his extraordinary merits. The King also cherishes him, so he could be of great help and glory to them. He thus asks them to give the first house that is vacated to Illicino, along with its incomes; Oláh will not be ungrateful in return, either.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici nobis Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Doctor Petrus Illicinus<sup>1</sup> canonicus Strigoniensis, quoddam desiderium suum nobis exposuit de una ex illis domibus, quae sunt altaribus adiunctae in ecclesia vestra Sancti Nicolai,<sup>2</sup> petivitque a nobis, ut se Dominationibus Vestris commendarem. 5 Nos, cum pro nostra erga illum benevolentiam, tum pro eius meritis non vulgaribus id propensissime praestare voluimus, cum vir sit eruditione ac probitate non mediocri, et apud regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum clementissimum gratia et existimatione haudquaquam parva, Vestrae vero civitati et ecclesiae utilitati et ornamento esse plurimum poterit. Itaque petimus a Dominationibus Vestris, quam possumus, vehe- 10 nenter, ut domum, quae primo vacabit, cum suis proventibus universis illi conferant, atque interim aliquam aliam habitationem ei decernant. Quoniam si hoc Dominationes Vestrae aliis canonicis praestiterunt, in neque doctrina, neque potestate vobis gratificandi, et gratiae referendae cum illo sunt comparandi, multo magis eiusmodi liberalitate erga eum uti poterunt. Nostri vero ob respectum quicquid beneficii in 15 ipsum doctorem Illicinum Dominationes Vestrae collocabunt, id nos eisdem simili amicitia ac multo etiam maiori reponere studebimus. Expectabimus autem ex litteris eiusdem cognoscere, quid hac in re Dominationes Vestrae constituerint. Eisdem feliciter valere optamus.

Viennae 18. Novembris 1552.

20

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis dominis, iudici ceterisque iuratis civibus civitatis Tyrnaviensis, amicis nobis honorandis.

832,21 Vester ... propria] *O add.*

832<sup>1</sup> Pietro Illicino (†1582) was a *doctor utriusque juris* and a humanist writer. He studied law at Padova in the late 1540s, then he lectured at the universities in Kraków and in Vienna. Oláh invited him to lead the chapter school of Esztergom in Trnava around 1552. In 1553, he became Canon of Alba Julia. After 1561, he practiced as a lawyer and because of his corruption cases, he clashed with his supporters, e.g. Oláh and Verancsics, and he was excommunicated in 1566/1567. For more on his life, see MOLNÁR 2019, especially 185–187. 832<sup>2</sup> St. Nicolas Church in Trnava.

833<sub>835</sub>

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Graz, 6 December 1552

Manuscript used: ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B., fol. 77.

Notes: Original draft.

1. He received Giovanni Battista Castaldo's and King Maximilian's letter the other day in Leoben, as well as Castaldo and András (Bonaventura) Báthori's two attached letters, in which they write about the office of the treasury and the inscriptio of the late Ferenc Vízaknai's possessions and property rights on Peter Haller's behalf. However, if Haller was made Treasurer, he could not be Councilor of Sibiu; Haller should rather be City Judge of Sibiu, and an appointment should be issued right away. He will write the answer to Castaldo and Báthori, but they cannot draw up the appointment without Oláh, so they are waiting for him here at the court. 2. He should not delay. He is sending these letters to him so that he can prepare everything. He should prepare Haller's appointment to City Judge of Sibiu, and send it to him via mail. He is also sending some letters that had been written to Oláh, which he had kept back.

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Fidelis sincere nobis Dilecte!

[1.] Superioribus diebus, cum adhuc essemus in oppido nostro Leoben, allatae fuerunt nobis annexae litterae spectabilis et magnifici fidelis nobis dilecti Iohannis Baptistae Castaldi,<sup>1</sup> marchionis Cassani et comitis Platinae, nostri consiliarii ac serenissimi principis domini, Maximiliani regis Bohemiae et filii nostri carissimi bellici locumtenentis, cum adiuncto exemplo binarum litterarum, quas ipse Castaldus et spectabilis ac magnifici Andreae de Bathor<sup>2</sup> vaivodae nostri Transsylvaniensis coniunctim super officio thesaurariatus et inscriptione bonorum et iurium possessionariarum egregii quondam Francisci Wyzacknay<sup>3</sup> pro egregio fidei nobis dilecto Petro Haller ab Hallerstain<sup>4</sup> consiliario nostro expediverunt, petiitque dictus Castaldus a nobis perhumillime, quod easdem litteras pro nostra in eundem Hallerum clementia gratiose confirmare dignaremur, prout Devotio Tua ex eisdem litteris suis cognoscere poterit.<sup>5</sup> Deinde vero in aliis litteris ad nos datis ostendit nobis fideliter iam dictum Hallerum, cum creatus sit thesaurarius, magistrum civium civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis<sup>6</sup> esse non posse, quin etiam si esse posset, tamen in fine praesentis mensis alium magistrum civium eligendum fore, eoque propter iudicat ex re nostra fore, quod iudex, quem nos creare debemus, nunc omnibus in rebus magistro civium assistat et quod ipse Hallerus iudex Cibiniensis eligatur atque constituatur, et quod litterae desuper expediendae confestim istuc mittantur. Super his itaque iam dicto bellico locumtenenti nostro<sup>7</sup> respondimus, tum praedictarum litterarum ab ipso et praefato

833,2 oppido nostro] *scr add.* 833,6 adiuncto] *scr corr. ex* quibus nobis adiuncti 833,6 quas ... Castaldus] *scr corr. ex* et suorum 833,8 coniunctim] *scr add.* 833,9 Vízaknai] *scr del. ex* Vízaknai quas coniunctim 833,13 in... datis] *scr add.* 833,14 civium] *scr del. ex* civium Cibinii

833<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo was Count of Cassano and Piadena. 833<sup>2</sup> András (Bonaventura) Báthori. 833<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Vízaknai (†1551). 833<sup>4</sup> Peter Haller von Hallerstein (1490?–1569) was President of the Council in Sibiu, and Treasurer of King Ferdinand I in Transylvania between 1552 and 1553, see OBORNI 2002, 18 et passim; GÜNDISCH 1947; and GÜNDISCH 1944. 833<sup>5</sup> See SZABÓ 2008, 14. 833<sup>6</sup> Sibiu. 833<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo.



vaivoda nostrosuper officio thesaurariatus et inscriptione bonorum quondam Francisci Wyzacknay emanatorum confirmationem tum iudicis Cibiniensis institutionem per Devotionem Tuam, tamquam nostrum per Hungaricam cancellariam expedire debere, ideoque id ad praesens Devotione scilicet Tua ab aula nostra regia adhuc absente fieri non posse, quamprimum autem reditura esset, sicuti brevi et in foras exspectaretur, 25 tunc nos operam daturos, ut expeditio statim quemadmodum necessitas postulet non mittatur.

[2.] Quandoquidem igitur Devotio Tua ipsamet considerare potest nostra plurimi referre, ne istiusmodi expeditioni longior mora interponatur. Nos autem de eiusdem Devotionis Tuae actu nihil penitus audiamus, visum est nobis Devotioni 30 Tuae supradictas litteras cum exemplis eorum, quae sunt confirmanda transmittere eidem harum serie clementes iniungentes, quod non solum petitam confirmationem super officio thesaurariatus atque inscriptione praenominatorum bonorum et iurium possessionariorum a quondam Francisco Wyzacknay relictorum ac per defectum 35 seminis ad nos devolutorum, sed etiam necessarias et opportunas litteras de eligendo constituendoque suprafato Petro Haller in iudicem Cibiniensem citra omnem moram vel dilationem expediat et ad nos per postham transmittat, prout Devotionem Tuam pro sua erga nos fide ac in pertractandis negotiis nostris diligentia et promptitudine facturam esse non ambigimus. Deinde transmittimus eidem cum praesentibus etiam 40 inclusas litteras ad Devotionem Tuam datas, quas hactenus penes manus nostras retinuimus non existimantes opus esse illas Devotioni Tuae mittere cum eandem de die in diem ipsimet exspectaremus. Id quod clementer Devotioni Tuae significare volumus.

Datum Gratz 6. Decembris 1552.

[Probably on the outer side:] Cancellario Hungarico.

45

834<sub>835</sub>

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Graz, 10 December 1552

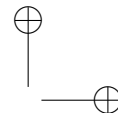
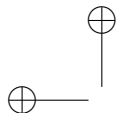
*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B., fol. 87.

*Notes:* Original letter with signatures.

*Oláh needs to go to him immediately, he should leave as soon as he reads the letter, and when he is six miles from Bruck an der Mur, he should stay there with his accompaniment and let him know he has arrived.*

833,21 nostro] *scr del. ex nostro ex emandarum* 833,21–22 super ... confirmationem] *scr add.* 833,26 quemadmodum ... postulet] *scr add.* 833,29–30 Nos... audiamus] *scr add.* 833,34–35 relictorum... devolutorum] *scr add.* 833,35 litteras] *scr del. ex litteras super in* 833,37 et... transmittat] *scr add.* 833,37 Devotionem Tuam] *scr add.* 833,39 Deinde] *scr del. ex Deinde postquam* 833,39 eidem] *scr corr. ex tibi* 833,39 etiam] *scr del. ex etiam litteras* 833,40 litteras] *scr add.* 833,41 retinuimus] *scr del. ex retinuimus quia* 833,41 non ... cum] *scr add.* 833,42 exspectaremus] *scr corr. ex exspectavimus* 833,42–43 Id ... volumus] *scr add.*

513



Ferdinandus divina favente clementia Romanorum Hungariae Bohemiae etc. rex  
semper augustus etc. Reverendissime, Devote, Fidelis nobis Dilecte!

Necessitas expostulat, ut te quamprimum huc ad nos conferas, prout abs te be-  
ninge petimus, quatenus te, lectis his litteris nostris, in viam des et cum in civitatem  
5 nostram Pruck<sup>1</sup> sex milliaria ab hinc distantem veneris, ibi cum familia tua parumper  
sistas nobisque adventum tuum significes. In quo nostram clementem et omnimodam  
executurus es voluntatem.

Datum in civitate nostra Gratz decimo die Decembris anno Domini millesimo  
quingentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, regnorum nostrorum Romani vigesimo se-  
10 cundo, aliorum vero vigesimo sexto.

Ferdinandus

Ad mandatum domini regis proprium.

Ionas dominus vicecancellarius  
Ludovicus Beers

15 [On the outer side:] Reverendissimo in Christo patri Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi,  
consiliario et per regnum nostrum Hungariae et cancellario etc. devoto fideli nobis  
dilecto.

833 834 **835** 837

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
Gloggnitz, 12 December 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B., fol. 90–91.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

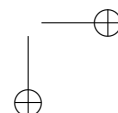
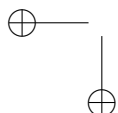
*He received King Ferdinand I's letter about Peter Haller's appointment today, he will prepare the letter as soon  
as he arrives. All he wants to know is if he should see the King right away, or if he can linger in the garden of  
his Vienna house for a little while. Lestár Feledi and György Rakovszky are with him, they have just arrived  
from Upper Hungary.*

Sacratissima Regia Maiestas Domine, Domine Clementissime, orationum, fideli-  
tatis et servitorum meo<rum> in gratiam Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae humilem  
commen<dationem>!

Hodie hic redditae sunt mihi Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae litterae in Gratz  
5 sexta huius datae<sup>1</sup> et ex Vienna ad me remissae in negotio Petri Haller etc. Cum-  
primum ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram ex Dei clementia pervenero, statim  
litterae expediri poterunt necessariae iussu Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae. Hoc  
unum supplico per eandem mihi gratiose significari, si recta ad Maiestatem Vestram  
Sacratissimam proficisci debeam,<sup>2</sup> an adhuc vento magis quam in horto Wiennensi<sup>3</sup>

834,11 Ferdinandus ] *auth add.*

834<sup>1</sup> Bruck an der Mur. 835<sup>1</sup> Ep. 833. 835<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 834. 835<sup>3</sup> On his Vienna palace, see Ep. 736.



et in via perflatus sum, alicubi m<...> perflari faciam. Feledi<sup>4</sup> et Rakoczy<sup>5</sup> <...> mecum 10  
sunt ex partibus superioribus <...> regni Hungariae et Cassoviae,<sup>6</sup> ubi pe<...> nulla  
est venientes. Deus optimus maximus Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram diutissime  
felicem et incolumem conservare digne<tur>. In cuius clementiam me et servitia mea  
fidelia iterum atque iterum humillime commendo.

Ex Gloknycz 12. Decembris anno 1552. 15

Eiusdem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae fidelis et humilis servitor  
Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Sacratissimae maiestati regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Boemiae  
etc. domino, domino meo clementissimo.

Cito, cito, cito, citissime. 20

836

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Graz, 13 December 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B., fol. 112rv.

*Notes:* Original draft.

1. Although he wants to spare Oláh because he knows Oláh is unwell, he still has to summon him to his court as soon as his health permits, he should come to Bruck an der Mur, which is six miles away, and he should let him know when he has arrived. From there he should only take his immediate accompaniment to the court. 2. Oláh knows that King Ferdinand I has summoned Lestár Feledi to make him Captain of Košice, but because no answer has arrived from him since then, King Ferdinand I asks Oláh to inform him as soon as he learns anything, or if he has not received King Ferdinand I's letter, Oláh should send it to him again; King Ferdinand I can namely not tolerate Košice remaining without a captain.

Ferdinandus etc. Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Fidelis nobis Dilecte!

[1.] Quamquam infirmitati, qua Devotionem Tuam impediri audivimus, pro ea clementia, qua Devotionem Tuam prosequimur, libenter admodum parceremus, ne <enim> viae et rigidi temporis molestia subscribenda esset, attamen cum Devotionis Tuae opera et praesentia hoc tempore in pertractandis arduis gravissimisque tam 5  
publicis quam privatis regni nostri Hungariae negotiis summopere indignamus, non potuimus praetermittere, quin Devotionem Tuam ad nos in aulam hanc nostram regiam evocaremus, etiamsi eandem sua sponte non diutius quam per imbecillitatem expedire emansuram esse credamus. Devotioni Tuae ob id gratiose iniungentes, ut

836,1 Pater] *scr del. ex* Pater Devote 836,2 infirmitati] *scr del. ex* infirmitati Tuae 836,2 qua...  
audivimus] *scr add.* 836,7 Tuam] *scr del. ex* Tuam hac 836,7 nos] *scr del. ex* nos et 836,8–9 etiamsi...  
credamus] *scr add.* 836,9 ob id] *scr add.* 836,9–10 ut quamprimum] *scr corr. ex* <...>

835 <sup>4</sup> Lestár Feledi was Captain of Košice. In 1553, Péter Bornemisza tried to convert him to the Lutheran faith, without success, see SCHULEK 1939, 4–5; and BORNEMISZA Péter, Postilla V. hhhh last pages. 835 <sup>5</sup> György Rakovszky, see Ep. 838. Rakovszky (†1560) was Royal Commissioner, see DOMOKOS 1997, 668; and FEDERMAYER 2019, 81–82. 835 <sup>6</sup> Košice.

515

10 quamprimum sive suae valetudinis incommodo fieri poterit, sese in viam det atque  
huc ad nos veniat, ita tamen quando in oppidum nostrum Pruck,<sup>1</sup> quod sex miliaribus  
hinc abest, appulerit, paucis aliquot istic diebus moram trahat. Donec de adventu  
suo certiores reddamur, prout nos illico etiam Devotio Tua de eo certiozem reddere  
debebit, postea vero a nobis admonitaiuxta ordinationem a nobis dandam minori  
15 qua poterit familia et comitiva propter praesentium temporum periculum ad aulam  
nostram regiam accomodat.<sup>2</sup>

[2.] Deinde Devotio Tua non ignorat Eustachium a Veledy<sup>3</sup> in regiam aulam  
nostram evocatum fuisse hac de causa, ut ei capitaneum Cassoviensem<sup>4</sup> conferamus.  
Posteaquam autem nobis (quatenus nos cognitum habemus) nullum plane responsum  
20 ab ipso relatum est, nostrum autem plurimi intersit, ut praefatae civitati nostrae  
Cassoviensi de capitaneo tempestive provideatur de<...> Devotioni Tuae benigniter  
committimus, si responsum aliquod ab ipso accepisset, quod nos de eo evestigio  
informet, sin autem nihil dum ab ipso accepisset, volumus quidem, Tua Devotio eo  
illico per proprium nuntium rescribat et exemplum priorum litterarum nostrarum  
25 transmittat, denuo firmissime iste mandando, quae citra omnem moram aut largi<...>  
nem sese in aulam nostram regiam conferat, prout summa rei necessitas postulat.  
Non possumus enim ferre, quod Cassovia<sup>5</sup> diutius quam parsi< ...> capitaneo careat.  
In eis Devotio Tua factura <sit> nobis rem maxime gratam clementia nostra regia erga  
ipsum recognoscenda.

30 Datum Grätz 13. Decembris 1552.

[On the outer side:] Reverendissimo in Christo patri Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi  
nostro consiliario et per regnum nostrum Hungariae cancellario devoto fideli nobis  
dilecto.

<sup>835</sup>837

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Graz, 15 December 1552

*Manuscripts used*

*ms. I:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B. fol. 114.

*ms. II:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B. fol. 115.

*Published:* IPOLYI 1875, 586.

*In Romanian:* ALBU-CAPOIANU 1974, 156–157.

*Notes:* Ms. I. is the original letter with signatures. Ms. II. is its draft.

836,10 poterit] *scr del. ex* poterit quod 836,10 sese] *scr del. ex* sese citra ullam moram 836,11 Pruck]  
*scr corr. ex* Bruck 836,12 paucis] *scr add.* 836,13 suo] *scr del. ex* suo a Devotione Tua 836,13 etiam ...  
eo] *scr add.* 836,14 debebit] *scr del. ex* debebit ut ita 836,14 vero] *scr corr. ex* sic 836,14 admonita]  
*scr del. ex* admonita 836,14 iuxta ... dandam] *scr add.* 836,16 accomodat] *scr corr. ex* accomodare  
queat sicut et alii offocales et ministri facere poterant 836,17 Devotio] *scr del. ex* Devotio Vestra 836,18  
conferamus] *scr corr. ex* conferat 836,19 quatenus] *scr del. ex* quatenus nobis 836,20 ipso] *scr del. ex*  
ipso nobis 836,20–21 nostrum ... provideatur] *scr add.* 836,23 volumus ... Devotio] *scr corr. ex* quod  
836,25 mandando] *scr corr. ex* mandat 836,27 ferre] *scr corr. ex* diutius concedere

836<sup>1</sup> Bruck an der Mur. 836<sup>2</sup> See Ep. 833. 836<sup>3</sup> Lestár Feledi. 836<sup>4</sup> Until 1552, György Serédy was  
Captain of Košice, Feledi became his successor. 836<sup>5</sup> Košice.

*He has received Oláh's letter of the 12<sup>th</sup>, in which he asks if he should head straight to the court. He thinks that Oláh has received his letter from the day before yesterday, in which he wrote that Oláh should only come when his health allows it. Oláh should come to Bruck an der Mur, he will write to him to let him know when he can see him.*

Ferdinandus divina favente clementia Romanorum Hungariae, Bohemiae etc. rex.  
Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Devote Fidelis nobis Dilecte!

Accepimus litteras<sup>1</sup> Devotionis Tuae e Glocknicz XII. praesentis mensis ad nos  
datas, in quibus petit a nobis certior fieri an recta ad nos proficisci, vel an magis adhuc  
se vento perflandare alicubi exponere debeat, quam in horto Viennensi et itinere 5  
perflata fuerit. Nos itaque non dubitamus, quin Devotio Tua iam litteras, quas ad  
eandem nudiustertius dedimus,<sup>2</sup> acceperit, in eis eidem clementer commisimus, quod  
si absque valetudinis suae incommodo fieri posset, se statim in viam daret, et ad nos  
proficisceretur. Ita tamen quando in oppidum nostrum Pruckam<sup>3</sup> venerit, quod istic  
subsisteret, donec per litteras de adventu suo admoniti ordinem et modum, quo ad nos 10  
venire debebit, ei rescriberemus, vel nuntiaremus. Quare eandem nunc hortamur et  
clementer requirimus, ut ad mentem ac voluntatem nostram, quam ex eisdem litteris  
nostris intelligere potuit, profectionem seu adventum ad nos suum prosequatur. In eo  
namque factura est Devotio Tua benegratam voluntatem nostram.

Datum in oppido nostro Grätz die XV. mensis Decembris anno Domini MDLIIo, 15  
regnorum nostrorum Romani XXII., aliorum vero XXVI.

Ferdinandus

Ad mandatum sacrae regiae maiestatis proprium.

Ionas dominus vicecancellarius  
M. Sing. Khingersergh 20

Responsivae ad Agriensem.

[On the other side:] Reverendissimo in Christo patri Nicolao Olaho episcopo Agriensi  
nostro consiliario et per regnum nostrum Hungariae cancellario devoto fideli nobis  
dilecto.

838

King Ferdinand I to Miklós Oláh  
Graz, 16 December 1552

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, UA AA Fasc. 68. Konv. B., fol. 123r.

*Notes:* Original draft.

*He has been informed that Oláh has arrived to Bruck an der Mur. He orders him to come straight to the court  
with his immediate accompaniment, and he should leave his servants whom he can do without for a few days*

837,1 Ferdinandus ... rex ] *ms. II.* Ferdinandus. 837,15–16 Datum ... XXVI ] *ms. II.* Gratz 15. Decembris  
1552. 837,17 Ferdinandus ] *ms. I. aut add.; ms. II. om* 837,18–21 Ad ... Agriensem. ] *ms. II. om.*

837<sup>1</sup> Ep. 835. 837<sup>2</sup> Ep. 836. 837<sup>3</sup> Bruck an der Mur.

in Bruck. He should not take umbrage that he is not receiving him in airy Ebersdorf, but he will be ten days late because he has made a detour to Leoben. Lestár Feledi and György Rakovszky are rumoured to be with him; he should bring them, too.

Ferdinandus etc.

Intelleximus Devotionem Tuam in oppidum nostrum Buckam<sup>1</sup> salvam et incolu-  
mem apprehendisse idque nobis pro nostra etiam <eadem> clementia nobis <magis>  
atque gratum accedit. Quare eidem nunc clementer committimus, ut minima qua  
5 poterit familia cras se recta huc ad aulam nostram regiam conferat, et reliquos  
servitores suos, quos non semper necesse est Devotioni Tuae ad manum esse istic  
Bruckae per aliquot adhuc dies relinquant, neque id gravetur attente, quod nos etiam  
licet in arce nostra Eberstorff<sup>2</sup> satis multum salubris aurae ceperimus te et non recta  
huc profecti sumus, sed ex itinere in oppidum nostrum Leoben divertimus, et ibi  
10 decem dies moram habuerimus. Factum est eo etc.

Datum Gratz 16. Decembris 1552.

Postscripta cum intelligamus etiam cum Devotione Tua esse <...> fidelem nobis  
dilectum Eustachium a Veledy<sup>3</sup> et Georgium Rakowsky.<sup>4</sup> Ideo volumus quod ipsos  
quoque <...> adducat.

15 [Probably on the outer side:] Cancellario Hungarico.

839

Miklós Oláh to King Ferdinand I  
[Vienna], [1552]

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA HHStA, Türkei I. Karton 10. Konv.1. 1553. I–VIII., fol. 1–2.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal. Date on the cover but it is only approximate.

*He sends him the latest news he has from András Tarnóczy.*

Sacratissime Rex Domine, Domine Clementissime!

Tharnoczy<sup>1</sup> scribit<sup>2</sup> ad me haec nova, quae hodie accepi, misique ea ad Sacratissi-  
mam Maiestatem Vestram, ut intelligere dignetur, qualia sint.

Servitor fidelis et humilis Agriensis

5 [On the outer side:] Sacratissimae regiae maiestati domino, domino meo clementissi-  
mo.

Ad manus proprias.

838,4 minima] *scr corr.* ex minori 838,5 et] *scr del.* ex et reliquam familiae suae partem 838,6  
servitores] *scr del.* ex servitores quibus 838,6 suos] *scr del.* ex suos quibus carere potest 838,6 semper]  
*scr del.* ex semper ad 838,8 multum] *scr del.* ex multum aurae 838,9 ex itinere] *scr corr.* ex prius antea  
per diem dies

838<sup>1</sup> Bruck an der Mur. 838<sup>2</sup> Ebersdorf. 838<sup>3</sup> Lestár Feledi. 838<sup>4</sup> György Rakovszky. 839<sup>1</sup> András  
Tarnóczy was Captain-in-chief of the armed boatmen of Komárom until October 1551 when King Ferdinand  
I relieved him of his service, see EMBER 1990, 70. 839<sup>2</sup> On Tarnóczy's earlier letters, see TAKÁTS 1906, 17–20.

518

## 840

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Graz, 14 January 1553

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34393.

*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*Oláh has understood what Kristóf Batthyány wrote in his letter. He is also sorry to hear that Batthyány is facing so many difficulties, and that the feud between him and his uncle, Ferenc Batthyány is not over, either. Oláh would be glad to mediate between them, and if he can achieve something, he will let him know through the man in Varaždin because he has sent Batthyány's man back to him so he does not have to bear that cost. He thanks Batthyány for the game meat he sent.*

Magnifice Domine et Amice nobis Honorandissime, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Ea, quae nobis Magnificentia Vestra in litteris suis significavit, clare intelleximus. Dolemus sane Dominationem Vestram in tantis molestiis constitutam esse et differentiis controversiisque, quae inter Magnificentiam Vestram et magnificum dominum 5 Franciscum de Batthyan<sup>1</sup> patrum eiusdem vertuntur, nullum unquam finem imponi. Nos libenter Dominationis Vestrae causa apud ipsum dominum Franciscumpartes nostras interponemus laborabimusque, si quid boni efficere poterimus, et quicquid 10 perfecimus aut egerimus, Dominationi Vestrae per hominem Varasdiensem<sup>2</sup> significabimus. Hominem autem Dominationis Vestrae hic retinere nolimus, ne faceret sumptus, sed ad Dominationem Vestram remisimus. Pro ferinis carnibus ac aliis, quae nobis Dominatio Vestra Magnifica misit, eidem agimus gratias, et quod nostri memor fuit, nos vicissim mutua amicitia Dominationi Vestrae non deerimus, eandem feliciter 15 valere optamus.

Graczy 14. Ianuarii anno Domini 1553.

15

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophoro de Batthyan pincernarum regalium magistro etc. domino et amico nobis honorandissimo.

## 841

Miklós Oláh to Kristóf Batthyány  
Graz, 21 January 1553

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, P 1314 – No. 34394.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

840,7 partes ] *corr. ex parteis* 840,16 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

840<sup>1</sup> Ferenc Batthyány. 840<sup>2</sup> We do not know him more closely.

*Oláh has revised the royal letter addressed to the Councilors of the Chamber and attaches it to this letter. He is also trying to do his best in everything else.*

Magnifice Domine et Amice Honorandissime, salutem et mei commendationem!  
Litteras regias ad camerarios feci reformari et cum praesentibus ad Dominationem Vestram remisi. In aliis etiam negotiis eiusdem, in quibus nuper scripserat, habeo curam et videbo, quid praestare possim, faciam, quaecumque mihi erunt possibilis.  
5 Dominationem Vestram bene valere opto.  
Ex Gracz 21. Ianuarii 1553.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Christophoro Bathyany magistro pincernarum sacratissimae maiestatis regiae etc. domino et amico honorandissimo.

842

Miklós Oláh to Philipp Breiner  
[Graz?] , [30 January] 1553

*Manuscript used:* ÖStA FHKA, HFU RN 4. Konv. 1553. Jan., fol. 14.

*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

*László Bánffy has asked him to recommend his case to Breuner's attention. So he is asking Breuner on account of his friendship with Bánffy to represent Bánffy's case in front of the King, as soon as he returns home.*

Magnifice Domine!<sup>1</sup>

Rogavit me magnificus dominus Ladislaus Bánffy,<sup>2</sup> ut in commendationem negotii sui apud Dominationem Vestram preces quoque meas adderem. Quod cum rogatus dominationis suae ob amicitiam nostram communem negare non potui, rogo  
5 Dominationem Vestram Magnificam, velit negotia ipsius habere commendata apud sacratissimam maiestatem regiam, dominum nostrum clementissimum, ut iam tandem domum reverti possit. Tametsi autem sciam Dominationem Vestram huic bono domino eiusque iustae causae sponte sua favere. Tamen et ego rogatus has meas ad Dominationem Vestram dandas existimavi.

10

Vester Agriensis manu propria

[On the outer side:] Magnifico domino Philippo Preyner praefecto camerae aulicae sacratissimae regiae maiestatis etc. domino et amico observandissimo.

842 <sup>1</sup> Philipp Breiner was Prefect of the Court, Lord of Stübing, Fladnitz, and Rabenstein, and he was probably a merchant and actor in Austria, see H. NÉMETH 2007, 396; and Weitra, PFA Urkunden (1358–1590) 1553 08 17. 842 <sup>2</sup> László Bánffy of Alsóindva (†1584) was *ispán* of Zala county, between 1556–1573, he was Royal Master of the Doorkeepers, and between 1574–1584, he was Royal Master of the Horse, see SZÁSZ 2021, 20–21; and FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 80.



843

Miklós Oláh to Trnava Town Council  
Graz, 9 March 1553

*Manuscript used:* ŠAT MMT, Altaristica  
*Notes:* Original letter with signature and seal.

*He reminds them that he had already written to them on behalf of doctor Pietro Illicino, so that they give him the best available house. Since he knows that they had promised him the cantor's house, but now they seem to have changed their mind, he asks them to keep their promise and give the house to Illicino.*

Prudentes et Circumspecti Domini et Amici Honorandi, salutem et nostri commendationem!

Recordamur antequoque ad Dominationes Vestras in favorem doctoris Petri Illicini<sup>1</sup> nos litteras<sup>2</sup> dedisse, ut scilicet nostri causa de prima vacante domo ipsi providere velitis, quo commodiorem residentiam ibi facere posset. Cum autem nunc intelligamus domum quandam per cantoratus permutationem vacare Dominationesque Vestrae ipsi doctori de illa domo providenda antea sese obtulerint, nunc vero, quantum intelligimus, sententiam mutare proponant. Rogamus easdem, ut cum nostra petitione praemia eam oblationem feceritis, id re ipsa declarare ac domum illam nemini alteri quam praedicto doctori conferre et donare velitis. Quod nos vicissim Dominationibus 5 Vestris nostra opera etiam in maiorem reponere studebimus. Easque bene valere optamus.

Datum in Gracz IX. die Martii anno Domini 1553.

Vester Agriensis etc. manu propria

[On the outer side:] Prudentibus et circumspectis iudici ceterisque civibus iuratis 15 civitatis Tyrnaviensis etc. dominis et amicis honorandis.

844

Miklós Oláh to Tamás Nádasdy  
Graz, 19 March 1553

*Manuscript used:* MNL OL, E 185 – Oláh Miklós – N. Tamás – No. 36.  
*Notes:* Autograph letter with signature and seal.

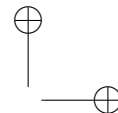
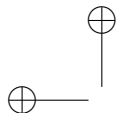
*Imre Botka will tell him what he has accomplished regarding the letter with the German Chancellery and through what hardships.*

Servitiorum meorum commendationem, Spectabilis et Magnifice Domine et Frater Observandissime!

In negotio Dominationis Vestrae quid hic effecerimus et quantum laboris in expeditione litterarum ex cancellaria Germanica habuerimus, Dominationi Vestrae referet

843,14 Vester ... propria ] *O add.*

843 <sup>1</sup> Pietro Illicino. 843 <sup>2</sup> Ep. 832.



5 is dominus Bothka.<sup>1</sup> Non est igitur, quis me eandem longioribus litteris turbare, quae etiam hic agantur, in rebus aliis ipse referre poterit. Dominationem Vestram feliciter unacum domina coniuge<sup>2</sup> sua carissima, domina mea observandissima valere opto, quibus servitia mea commendo.

Ex Gracz 19. Martii anno 1553.

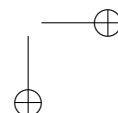
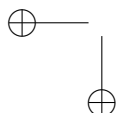
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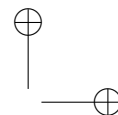
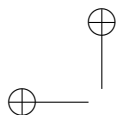
Frater et servitor Agriensis etc. manu sua

[On the outer side:] Ad manus spectabilis et magnifici domini comitis Thomae de Nadasd etc. dentur.

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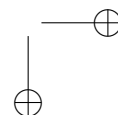
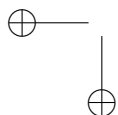
844 <sup>1</sup> Probably Imre Botka of Szántó. He was Tamás Nádasdy's secretary and retainer (*familiaris*), see Antal Sárkány's letters to Tamás Nádasdy, KOMÁROMY 1910, 383–384, 527; and SZATLÓCZKI 2016, 95. 844 <sup>2</sup> Orsolya Kanizsai.

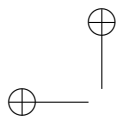




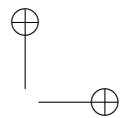
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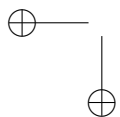


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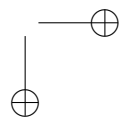


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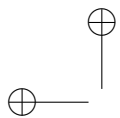
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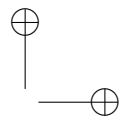
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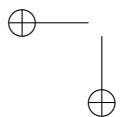


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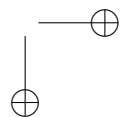


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